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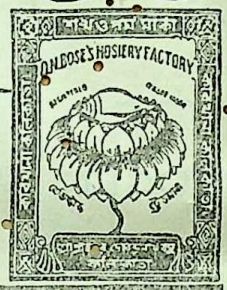

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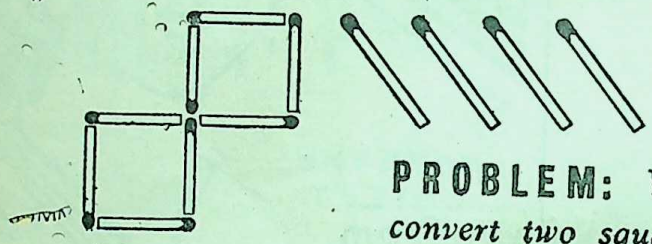
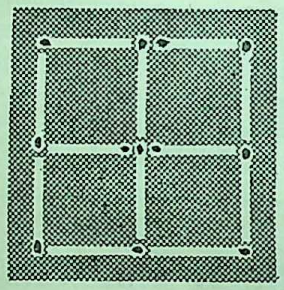


PROBLEM: *With four match sticks convert two squares into four.*



ANSWER: *Place the additional four sticks as shown in the diagram.*

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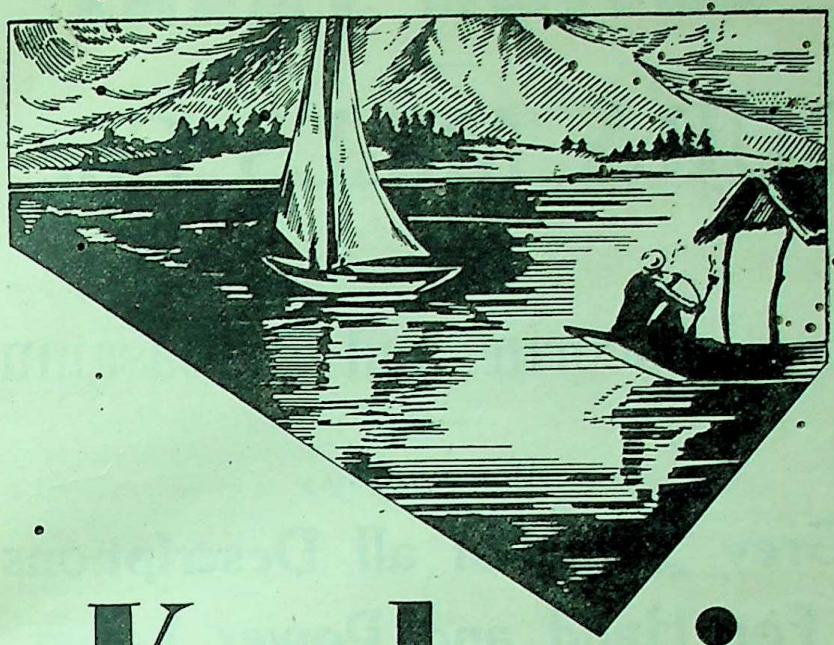

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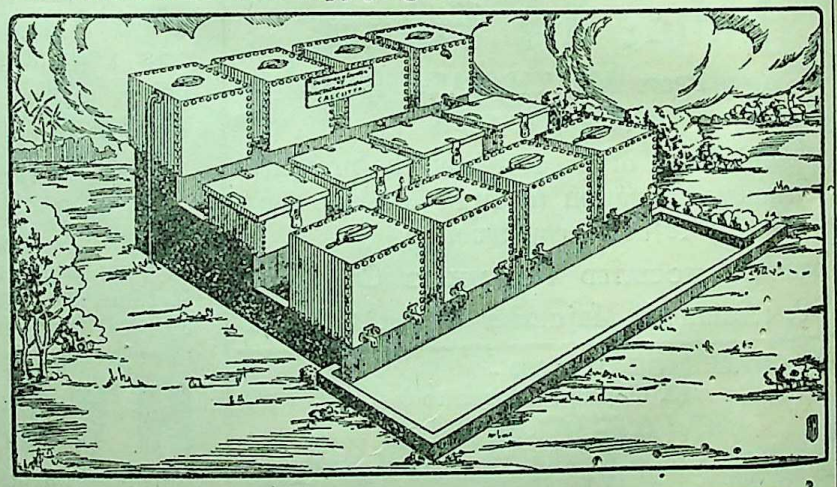

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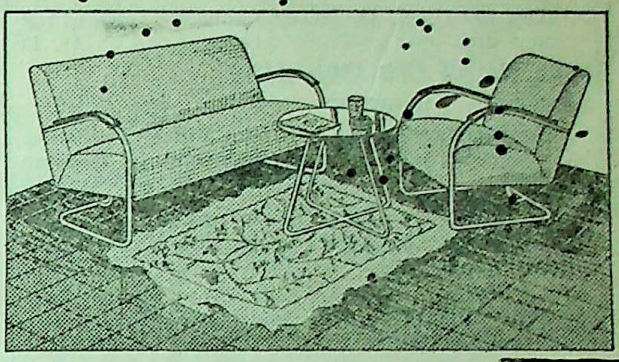

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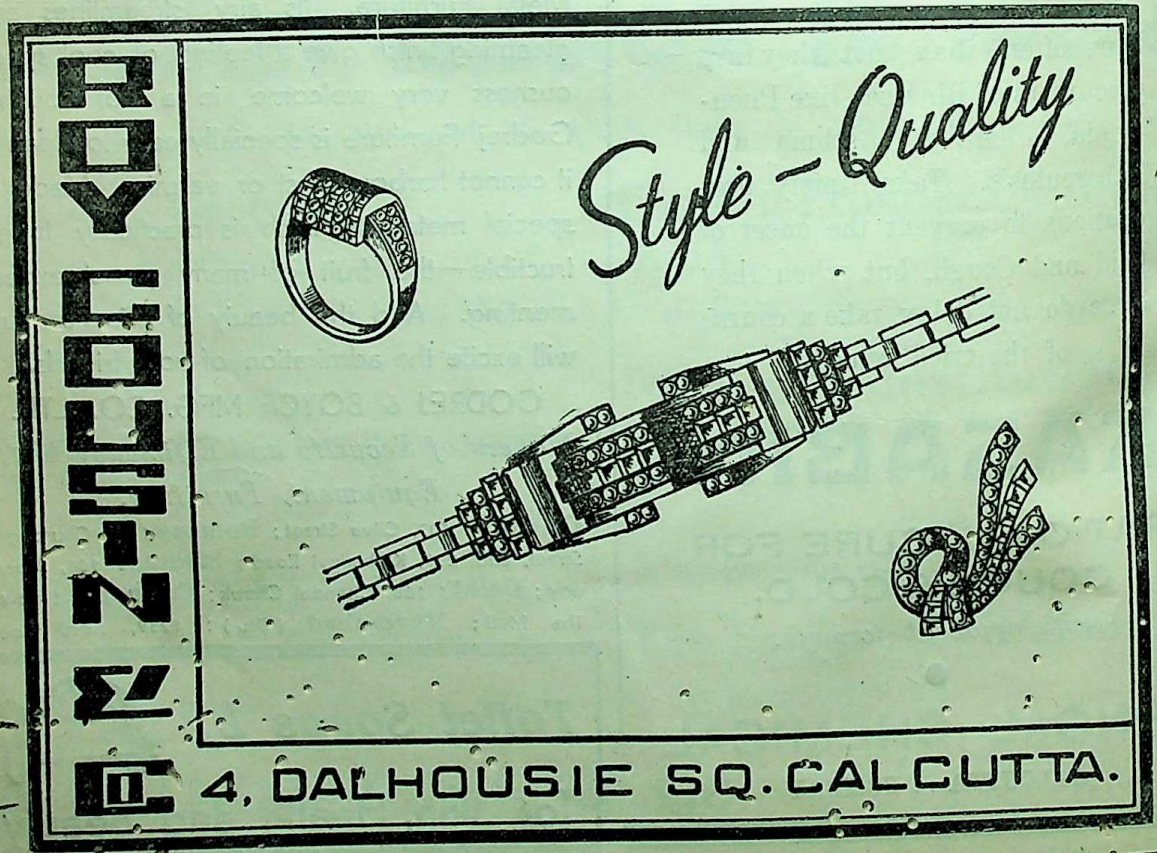

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NOTES

1947

The old year has but a couple of days to go while these lines are being written. It has been a year of trials, beyond doubt, for India and the Indians. Famine knocking at the door, strikes holding up industry and public utility services, stringent and acrimonious political argument resulting in the raising of passions all round and finally terrible communal riots whereby thousands upon thousands perished, tens of thousands were rendered destitute and hundreds of millions were left disturbed and bereft of peace and a sense of security, all these calamities went into the making of a year of storm and stress. But despite all the gales of communal passions and the darkening of the political horizons, the nation's heart has remained stout because at last the Beacon of Freedom has been lit.

What of the New Year? As yet the skies remain too dark to see any portents, good or evil. But the gleam of the Beacon is there to light us on our way, and if the tending be not hesitant, the gleam may well become a blaze, dispelling all the gloom that there be till the coming of the dawn of the day that shall see the fruition of all our hopes and desires. Let us, therefore, hope that the coming year will see that dawn and meanwhile let us keep our faith on high.

There is no denying that critical times lie ahead and that our leaders are sorely beset, as fateful decisions may be called for at any moment. But every nation, great or small, that aspired after liberty had to go through such trials more than once, and History tells us that only those of them survived with honour and glory whose leaders chose to face the fiery ordeal without flinching. On such an occasion, on the eve of the American War of Independence, Patrick Henry made the memorable speech that led to the eventful decisions that altered the course of destiny of the great American nation. We present our readers with two excerpts from the same that seem to be singularly apposite now:

"We are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of Nature has placed in our power . . . The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone, it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave."*

The above extract is, of course, part of the now world-famous speech that ended thus:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

The British Cabinet and the Constituent Assembly

The pronouncements of the British Cabinet on December 6 have accentuated the intransigence of the Muslim League in its attitude towards the Constituent Assembly. The moves that have been made, if they are successful, would either force the Congress to abandon the provinces of Assam and the North-Western Frontier Province to the intrigues and machinations of the reactionaries, or will make the Congress resign from the Viceregal Cabinet. The *impasse* that has been created thus, calls for courageous decision and resolute action on the part of the Congress. There can be no going back, no retracing of the steps taken in the march for Independence, though there might be a pause at the cross-roads for taking counsel and taking of stocks regarding resources. The Congress must face, if necessary, the combined forces of Imperialism and reaction within the country.

We think the British Cabinet has displayed a lamentable lack of faith in its own professed principles. There should not have been any pandering to the demands of the Churchill group of British Conservatives in this matter of settling the terms of Indian Independence by negotiation. The British Labour Party should bear in mind that this parlous state in which Britain has been placed, after two great world wars, is a direct result of the machinations of that party which has

* *Speech in Virginia Convention, Richmond, Virginia, March 23, 1775.*

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always placed power above honour and lust for gain above the rights of humanity. It is incapable of changing its colour or creed and it stands in the direct line of succession to those ruthless and unprincipled men who forged the Axis, so long as it acknowledges that Public Enemy of Human Liberty, Mr. Winston Churchill, as its leader. The British Cabinet should realize that the Muslim League is the creation of the Conservative Party and is being guided and nurtured by them to serve the ends desired by the selfsame Conservative Party. The strengthening of the hands of the League, therefore, means added strength to the Conservative Party, which would finally end in discomfiture and discredit to Labour in the British Cabinet. The Labour Party seems to be unaware of the fact that India has been chosen by the Conservative Party as the lever by which to displace Labour from office. And further, the Labour Cabinet seems to be unable to realize that an embittered parting of the ways between the British Labour Party and the Indian National Congress would be calamitous in the extreme for both Britain and India and may well spell the doom for the British Commonwealth in the not so very distant future.

The life-spans of Empires have tended to become shorter with progressive realization of human rights by the world. The reason is not far to seek, for all empires are built on a foundation of perfidy, intrigue and treacherous breaches of faith and trust. The British Empire in Asia was no exception, indeed, if anything an example. British Labour, in its inexperience, seems to be unaware of the stinking depths to which the reputation of Britain and the British had been lowered in Asia by the perfidy, ruthlessness and double-dealing of the chosen instruments of the Conservative Party between 1915 and 1945. We write in this strain because we are still reluctant to believe that the British Labour Cabinet is about to venture on the same dishonourable path through deliberate intent, after having raised the stocks of the British so high in May 16th, for the first time in a century. The actions of Sir Hartley Shawcross at U. N. O. and the interpretation of Sec. 19 (5) and (8) by the British Cabinet have been rude shocks, but there is still time to redress matters.

For the Congress, retreat is unthinkable. There can be no compromise with evil at this hour of destiny. The Constituent Assembly must proceed with the framing of the charter of Indian Independence regardless of all barriers and difficulties placed in its path. If there be trial and suffering on the way, let us face it now. The British Cabinet statement of December 6 is a double-edged sword, in more senses than one, ready for the use of whosoever has the courage, faith and tenacity requisite to wield it and the judgment and skill to direct it. Let us hold our hands, by all means, while there is any chance of an honourable settlement, but there must not be any bargaining with the liberty of millions who have fought for the cause as the stake.

A. I. W. C. Statement on the British Cabinet Declaration

The Working Committee of the Congress has issued a long statement after prolonged deliberation on the British Government's declaration of December 6. As the matter is going before the All-India Congress Committee, a few comments may not be out of place. Two Ulsters are sought to be created on the Eastern and Western frontiers of the Sovereign State of India by means of the hardening of the Grouping Scheme through the Cabinet declaration of December 6. These will form a *cordon sanitaire* isolating Free India from her neighbours in Asia on the East and the West. It is to be noted that two out of the three major ports of India go into these twin Ulsters and the World Air-route is effectively plugged as well, at both ends, by this move. Strategically India will be placed in a sack with both ends tied. With the Himalayas on the North and the Indian Ocean in the South, with the British Navy on guard at Trincomalee and Colombo in Ceylon, Free India would be isolated beyond redemption. If we add to this the many major and minor Ulsters that may be formed within the body politic of Free India by continuous incitement of the Native States, it would be seen that the Independence of India as envisaged by the British Cabinet at present would be a sorry jest, worthy of Churchill, Hitler and Tojo, and nothing more. Groups B and C, in the hands of the League can continue with their programme of intransigence and enmity to the Congress assured of the fullest aid of British Imperialism. And *per contra* British Imperialism can go on working its will on the suffering millions of India, in the same hypocritical double-faced fashion as in the past two centuries, as long as this arrangement lasts.

All the other points and the Congress attitude are presented fully in the A.-I. Working Committee statement, which is given below :

1. The Working Committee have given careful consideration to the statement issued by the British Government on Dec. 6, 1946, as well as other statements made recently on their behalf in Parliament. These statements, though made by way of interpretation and elucidation, are clearly additions to and variations of the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, on which the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based.

2. The statement of May 16, 1946, laid down in paragraph 15 as basic principles of the constitution that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States," that "all subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces" and that "provinces should be free to form Groups."

The provinces were thus intended to be autonomous, subject to the Union controlling certain specified subjects. Paragraph 19 laid down, *inter alia*, the procedure for Sections to meet, for decisions to be taken as to whether Groups should be formed or not and for any province to elect to come out of the Group in which it might have been placed.

3. In their resolution of May 24, 1946, the Working Committee pointed out what appeared to be a divergence between the basic principles and the procedure suggested, in that a measure of compulsion was introduced which infringed the basic principles of provincial autonomy. The Cabinet Mission, thereupon, issued a statement on May 25, 1946, in which it was stated that "the interpretation, put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the Statement, to the effect that the provinces can, in the first instance, make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed, does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for grouping of the provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the two parties."

The point at issue was not merely one of procedure but the fundamental principle of provincial a[u]to-

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nomy and whether or not a province or part should be coerced against its will.

The Congress made it clear later that their objection was not to provinces entering Sections, but to compulsory grouping and the possibility of a dominating province framing a constitution for another province entirely against the wishes of the latter. This might result in the framing of rules, the regulation of franchise, electorates, constituencies for elections and the composition of the Legislature, which might seriously prejudice or even nullify the provision for a province subsequently to opt out of a Group.

It was pointed out that this could never be the intention of the Cabinet Mission as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme they had propounded. The Congress approach to the problem of constitution-making has all along been that coercion should not be exercised against any province or part of the country and that the constitution of free India should be drawn up by the co-operation and goodwill of all parties and provinces concerned.

In a letter dated 15 June, 1946, from Lord Wavell to Maulana Azad, then President of the Congress, it was stated that "the delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of grouping. I would, however, point out that the statement of May 16 does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the provinces concerned sitting together in Sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain provinces should meet in Sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form groups."

Thus the principle which was emphasised again was that grouping was not compulsory and in regard to Sections a certain procedure was indicated. This procedure was not clear and could be interpreted in more than one way and in any event a point of procedure could not over-ride a basic principle. We pointed out that the right interpretation should be one which did no violence to that principle.

Further, in order to smooth the way to the co-operation of all concerned in the working of the proposed scheme we not only made it clear that we were prepared to go into the Sections, but also we suggested that if our interpretation was not accepted we would be agreeable to reference on this point to the Federal Court.

It is well-known that the proposal in regard to grouping affected injuriously two provinces especially, namely, Assam and the N.-W. F. P., as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. Their representatives expressed their strong disapproval of this proposal. In a letter to the Secretary of State dated 25th May, 1946, Master Tara Singh gave expression to the anxiety and apprehensions of the Sikhs and asked for clarification in regard to certain matters.

The Secretary of State sent an answer to this letter on June 1, 1946, in the course of which he said: "I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of the statement."

In spite of this explicit statement, the British Government have on Dec. 6, issued a statement which is both an addition to and an interpretation of the Statement of May 16, 1946.

They have done so after more than six and a half months, during which period many developments have taken place as a consequence of the original statement. Throughout this period the position of the Congress was made repeatedly clear to the British Government or their representatives, and it was with full knowledge of this position that the British Government took subsequent steps in furtherance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

That position was in conformity with the basic principles laid down in the statement of May 16, 1946, which statement the Congress had accepted in its entirety.

Further the Congress had expressed its willingness to refer, if necessity arose, the point of interpretation to the Federal Court, whose decision should be accepted by the parties concerned. In the course of his letter dated June 28, 1946, addressed to Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy stated that Congress had accepted the statement of May 16. In the course of a broadcast on August 24, 1946, the Viceroy, in appealing to the Muslim League to co-operate, pointed out that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

8. The Muslim League reversed its former decision and rejected the British Cabinet Mission's scheme by formal resolution and even decided to resort to direct action. Their spokesmen have since repeatedly challenged the very basis of that scheme, that is, the constitution of a Union of India and have [illegible] to their demand for a partition of India.

Even after the British Government's statement of Dec. 6, 1946, the leaders of the Muslim League have reiterated this demand for partition and the establishment of two separate independent Governments in India.

9. When the invitation of the British Government was received by the Congress at the end of November last to send its representatives to London, the Congress position was clearly indicated again. It was on an assurance of the Prime Minister of Great Britain that a representative of the Congress proceeded to London.

10. In spite of this assurance and of previous assurances to the effect that no additions to, or interpretations of, the statement of May 16, 1946, were going to be made, the British Government have now issued a statement which clearly, in several respects, goes beyond the original statement, on the basis of which progress has been made till now.

11. The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Government should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the minds of large numbers of people in India.

For some time past the attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India has been such as to add to the difficulties and complexities of the situation in the country. Their present intervention long after the members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created a new situation which is full of peril for the future. Because of this, the Working Committee have given anxious and prolonged thought to it.

12. The Congress seeks to frame, through the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution of a free and independent India with the willing co-operation of all elements of the Indian people. The Working Committee regret that Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly have refrained from attending its opening session.

The Committee, however, appreciated and express their gratification at the presence in the Constituent Assembly of representatives of all other interests and sections of the people of India, and note with pleasure the spirit of co-operation in a common task and a high endeavour which has been in evidence during the sessions of the Assembly.

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13. In their statement of Dec. 6, 1946, the British Government, in giving their interpretation of a doubtful point of procedure, have referred to it as a "fundamental point" and suggested that the Constituent Assembly may refer it to the Federal Court at a very early date.

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept the decision of this Court should it go against their own interpretation. On behalf of the Muslim League also it has been stated that they will not be bound by the decision of the Federal Court, and a demand for partition of India, which is a negation of the Cabinet Mission's scheme, continues to be put forward.

While the Congress has always been willing to agree to a reference to the Federal Court, any reference now, when none of the other parties are prepared to join in it or to accept it, and one of them does not even accept the basis of the scheme, becomes totally uncalled for and unbecoming, and unsuited to the dignity of either the Congress or the Federal Court. By their repeated statements, British statesmen have ruled this out.

14. The Working Committee are still of opinion that the interpretation put by the British Government in regard to the method of voting in the Sections is not in conformity with provincial autonomy, which is one of the fundamental bases of the scheme proposed in the statement of May 16. The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the Constituent Assembly, and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of cooperation, provided that no fundamental principle is violated.

In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences which must follow any decisions, the Working Committee are convening an emergent meeting of the A.-I.C.C. in Delhi early in January to consider the latest developments and to give such directions as it may deem fit.

The Indian Political Science Conference

Prof. D. N. Banerjee, Head of the Department of Political Science in the University of Dacca, in his presidential address at the ninth session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Delhi on December 31, 1946 dealt with the question of self-determination with a view to combating the case for the partition of India.

With extensive quotations he points out that "the right of self-determination was not to be, even according to President Wilson, its chief protagonist, an absolute and unqualified right." He refers to the insuperable difficulties that were experienced by the victorious allies after the first World War in the application of the principle of self-determination to Europe. He invites our leaders to learn a lesson from the famous Aaland Islands dispute. There, in that case, says Prof. Banerjee, though the people of the Aaland Islands had voted almost unanimously in favour of separation by plebescites held in 1918 and again in 1919, yet the League of Nations decided to recognize Finnish sovereignty over the Islands "under the condition that autonomous rights should be granted to the population of the Islands."

Refering to those who seek to justify the application of the principle of self-determination to the solution of our communal problem, on the Russian model including the right of secession enjoyed there by each Constituent Republic of the Union, Prof. Banerjee says : Firstly that 'they do not appear to have properly understood the constitution of the Union—particularly the nature of the relation of the Union to its Constituent Republics in respect of their respective jurisdictions." Secondly, that "they do not seem to have properly realised the position of the All-Union Communist Party in relation to the actual working of the constitution of the Soviet Union,"—a party which is 'essentially unitary' with its 'ubiquitious guidance and persuasion' and 'holds the key positions in the administration of the state.' And thirdly, that "we should not forget here the position and importance of one of the Constituent Republics in the Soviet Union, namely, The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, *i.e.*, Russia proper, which comprises, according to one authority, about '90 per cent' of the area of the Union and a little over half of its total population." Prof. Banerjee maintains that "it will not be far from wrong to say that the Soviet Union is a 'voluntary union' only in name, and that the right to secession granted to each Constituent Republic in it is in fact only a paper right." He, however, does not "minimise the importance of the policy of cultural and regional autonomy which the framers of the Soviet Constitution have deliberately and whole-heartedly adopted for the solution of the problem of nationalities in the Soviet Union" and "would certainly advocate a concession of this right to every important cultural or religious group in this country."

Prof. Banerjee maintains that "this right of self-determination, if it means a right of independent statehood, can only be applied to a country as a whole which is geographically, economically and strategically a single unit, and not to any part of it or to any particular portion of its population. Otherwise there will arise many insuperable difficulties in a country like India. If, to take a single instance, 23 per cent of the population of India claims the right of self-determination in the sense of independent statehood, because it professes a particular religion, and if that claim is conceded, then certainly 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, 66 per cent of the population of Assam and 48 per cent of the combined population of Assam and Bengal, who may profess a different religion or religions, have a far greater right to self-determination so far as their form of government is concerned. And once this process of concession on the ground of religion is started, there will be many more claims of an irresistible character and our problem will become absolutey insoluble unless we should be prepared to face a total disintegration of the country."

Prof. Banerjee, therefore, welcomes "the solution of our constitutional problem as recommended by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in their Statement of 16th May last, in so far as it is based on the principle of federalism for the whole of India and thus preserves, to quote the words of the Viceroy, 'the essential unity of India' which was unfortunately threatened by the dispute between its two major political parties."

Prof. Banerjee notes that according to the proposals of the Cabinet Mission, "the framing of the constitutions of the provinces and also of the Groups (if any) is to precede the 'settling' of the Union Constitution" and asks : "How can the Provincial an

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Group Constitutions be properly framed at all unless the Union Constitution is *first settled* and an agreement is reached among all parties on the structure, *powers* and *functions* of the Union (*i.e.,* Central) Government of India as a whole?' If it be said that "the Constitution-making scheme embodied in the Statement of 16th May last has expressly and specifically enumerated the powers to be vested in the Centre," his reply is that, therein lies the crux of the whole question. What exactly are meant by the proposed Union (*i.e.,* Central) matters, namely, 'Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications' and 'the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects?' What are the exact implications of these 'subjects' and 'powers' in terms for instance, of foreign trade, commercial treaties, import and export duties, income-tax, basic industries, inter-unit communication facilities, inter-unit river systems, currency, coinage, banking and grave internal disorder and lawlessness? Prof. Banerjee maintains that 'what applies to the Federation of the United States of America will equally apply, under the principles of Construction, to our proposed Federation.'

Prof. Banerjee says, "It is quite likely that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy intentionally avoided going into details in regard to the actual powers of the Union (*i.e.,* the Central) Government. Perhaps they thought that it would be unwise to do so at this stage. But the members of the Union Constituent Assembly should not be blind to realities: they must face facts. And if they are to succeed in their endeavours properly to frame a constitution for India as a whole they must first agree, as far as humanly possible, on both the *express* and *implied* powers to be vested in the Centre before they should proceed to draw up the constitutions of the provinces and Groups (if any). Otherwise, the question of residuary powers for the constituent units of the proposed Union of India cannot have any real meaning. Any attempt to act in a different way, that is to say, any attempt to draw up the provincial and Group constitutions first before the Union Constitution is properly 'settled' will really be like putting the cart before the horse. . . . It is sincerely hoped that the defect will be rectified by the Union Constituent Assembly itself on its own initiative."

Prof. Banerjee adds, "What would happen in case of a grave internal disorder or lawlessness breaking out in any part of India, which either the local government concerned cannot effectively suppress, or to suppress which the local government does not, for one reason or another, intentionally adopt vigorous measures? Certainly in any such event the Union Government should not be allowed simply to look on supinely: it must be vested with constitutional authority to intervene either at the request of the Local Government, or even, if necessary, on its own initiative. There should, therefore, be a provision in our future constitution corresponding to Article 16 of the present Swiss Constitution taken along with clauses 3, 10, and 11 of Article 102 of the same constitution. As it is well-known, under these provisions of the Swiss Constitution, the Federal Council (*i.e.,* the Swiss Federal Executive) is empowered to ensure, if necessary on its own initiative, the internal safety of Switzerland and the maintenance of peace and order, in case of a grave disorder or serious threat to it from within or without. The primary object of the State is 'the preservation of law and order and the maintenance of the social failure' against civil war and anarchy. The common people want peace and are not much concerned with constitutional nicetics. And this peace must be ensured to them. Hence arises the imperative necessity of such a provision in our future constitution as I have suggested above. This is not at all a communal question. After what has happened in Bengal, Bihar, and in some other parts of India since August last, not to go further back, such a provision is particularly necessary for the protection of minorities both in Muslim-majority units and in Hindu-majority units of the proposed Union of India. I sincerely hope and trust that there will be no difference of opinion on this point among the framers of our future constitution, who should also provide for a statutory coalition (or composite) executive, representative, as in Switzerland, of all important parties in the legislature, both at the Centre and in the provinces (and Groups, if any), preferably together with Ministerial responsibility on British pattern. If, however, it is held that the proposed Union subject of 'Defence' means not merely defence of India against foreign aggression, but also defence against internal disorder, lawlessness, or anarchy, then that point should be made definitely clear by inserting suitable provisions in our future constitution so that there might not arise any occasion for any misunderstanding later on."

Pandit Pant on Two-Nation Theory

Pandit G. B. Pant, Premier of U. P., has delivered the Convocation Address at the Allahabad University this year. In his address, Pandit Pant has discussed at some length the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah on the background of concrete facts and hard realities. He pointed out that Hindus and Muslims will always adhere to their ancestral homesteads and holdings. Any talk of transfer of population "is ridiculously absurd and too fantastic to need any answer." Hindus and Muslims together will always be found scattered all over India. Let alone freedom and progress, "can there be any peace in the absence of real amity and good will? Can there be the least shred of a chance for the fulfilment of the crying needs of social rehabilitation and economic reconstruction which are the real objectives of every political effort?" Pandit Pant then said:

> The doctorine of two nations has a disruptive effect. It provides the soil on which strife and dissension grow. Sovereignty and territory are the essential ingredients and attributes of a political State. People occupying a distinct tract of territory enclosed within specific boundaries and exercising sovereignty over that earmarked area as against the rest of the world are regarded as and qualified to be treated as a nation in the accepted sense of that expression in political science and international law. This rules out the possibility of there being two separate exclusive nations within the same physical region. Hindus and Muslims have both a common base, and, if India is taken as a unit, it cannot admit of more than one nation. Even judged by the criteria of community of descent or political institutions there is an all-pervasive community of race, descent, language, etc., running through all compartments and layers of Hindus and Muslims, making them one nation and uniting them into a magnificent whole.

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Whether India be uninational or multinational, one thing is certain that it is not, in any event, bi-national. Purity of race is all too rare. Except a handful of ethnologists and antiquarians nobody is interested in tracing one's descent from the dim past, even if it be not a dark past. In India there is no doubt a rich multiplicity of physical types, but there is neither antagonism between different sections nor any particularly close affinity inside the same racial group. Religions transcend and act through all racial boundaries, with the result that both Hindu and Muslim communities are multi-racial in composition. A characteristic uniformity runs through them all, although there is a rich variety within each of them.

Muslims of India represent as many races as do the Hindus of India. If the accident of the Muslims belonging to these different races does not stand in the way of their being regarded as one nation, one must conclude that the racial factor has no bearing on the matter, and, if, in spite of these racial varieties all Muslims can form one nation then assuredly all Indians, belonging exactly to the same types, can, with much greater reason, constitute a true nation. Racially there is no warrant for discriminating between the Hindus and Muslims—whether in Bengal or in the Punjab or in Sind. There is undoubtedly much more in common between the two within each respective region than say between the Muslims or between the Hindus of these three different tracts.

Pandit Pant then explained that not only the Hindus and Muslims are racially one and thus born of a common stock, but their genesis and source are similarly one and the same. Historically Hindus and Muslims are not only descended from common ancestors but they have also been living a common social, economic and cultural life for hundreds of years. Their languages vary not communally but regionally. Thus Bengali is the common language of every one of the sixty million inhabitants of Bengal and although the majority are the followers of Mahammad, the language is more allied with Sanskrit than any other provincial dialect of India. Its script too is essentially the Brahmi akin to the Deva Nagri character. The Bengali community has a rich culture and vast literature based on indigenous foundations, essentially Indian and poles apart from the Semitic or Iranian. There is little in common between the Bengali language and the Punjabee, the Pashto of N.-W.F. or Sindhi current in Sindh. The Muslim farmer of Bengal can neither understand nor make himself understood by any of his co-regionists outside Bengal. U. P., Bihar, Northern C.P., Eastern Punjab, Central India and Rajputana have one common language called by various names, such as Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu. The grammar, syntax and structure are alike, but the vocabulary has a larger proportion of words of Persian and Arabic origin in certain areas such as Delhi and Lucknow.

Macartney, one of the modern authorities on the problems of nationalities and minorities, has, after a meticulous discussion of these subjects in his celebrated work *National States and National Minorities*, comes to the conclusion that "all attempts to solve the minority problem, by getting rid of the minority, have proved thoroughly discouraging. . . . It seems, therefore, that States of mixed population must reconcile themselves to the continued pressure of their minorities. . . . The troubles of our day arise out of the modern conception of the national State : out of the identification of the political ideals of all the inhabitants of the State with the national-cultural ideals of the majority in it. . . . once this confusion between the two things which are fundamentally different can be abandoned, there is no reason why the members of a score of different nationalities should not live together in peace and harmony in the same State, and not even the smallest of them need suffer from the moral degradation which today attends the lot of the national minority." Lord Acton wrote, "If we take the establishment of liberty for the realisation of duties to be the end of civil society, we must conclude that those states are substantially the most perfect which . . . include various nationalities without oppressing them. Those in which no mixture of races has occurred are imperfect ; and those in which its efforts have disappeared are decrepit. A State which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself ; a State, which labours to neutralise, to absorb or to expel them, is destitute of the chief basis of self-government." The demand of the League to have separate national States of Muslimans is barely six years old, and it cuts across the history of a larger number of centuries. Hindus and Muslims of India are spread over the whole of the country in such a way and have got so intermingled with one another in the population of the country that it is impossible to cut out any portion and convert it into a State which will not have a considerable minority left. If Muslims as a 'nation' feel it impossible to the rule of Hindus as a 'nation', in an area where Hindus are in a majority of 75 per cent, why should Hindus submit to Muslim rule in a Muslim zone where they command only a precarious majority of 55 *or* 60 per cent ?

Mahatma Gandhi's Advice to Assam

The Premier of Assam Shri G. N. Bardoloi sought Mahatma Gandhi's advice on the point of the Grouping Scheme, through two representatives. Mahatmaji, as is usual with him, went straight to the point without any reservations. He said :

> "The British cannot interfere with the working of the Constituent Assembly. Supposing the vast majority including the Muslims and others form a constitution you can defy the British Parliament if it seeks to interfere. Power is in your hands. Some such thing happened in Ireland only recently. And de Valera is no non-violent fighter. The position of India is far better than that of Ireland. If we have not the penetration we will lose the advantage we have. And it is apparently being lost today."

He was equally clear about the Federal Court and the advisability of asking for a decision from it in the face of the British Cabinet's declaration of December. He said :

> "The Federal Court is the creation of the British. It is a packed court. To be consistent, the Congress must abide by its decision whatever it may be. If Assam keeps quiet, it is finished.

His advice to Assam was unequivocal and clear.

> "No one can force Assam to do what it does not want to do. It is autonomous to a large extent today. Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold truth against the whole world."
>
> "I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into the sections. It should lodge its protest and remain

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from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of satyagraha against the Congress for the good of the Congress.

It must become fully independent and autonomous. Whether you have that courage, and conviction, I do not know. You alone can say that. But if you can make that declaration, it will be a fine thing.

As soon as the time comes for the Constituent Assembly to go into sections, you will say, "Gentlemen, Assam retires". For the independence of India, it is the only condition. Each unit must be able to decide and act for itself. I am hoping that in this, Assam will lead the way. I have the same advice for the Sikhs.

But your position is much happier than that of the Sikhs. You are a whole province. They are a community inside a province. But I feel every individual has the right to act for himself, just as I have."

Asked about the possibility of the British Government's intervention, he said:

Who is the British Government? If we think independence is going to descend on our heads from England or somewhere, we are greatly mistaken. It won't be independence. We will be crushed to atoms. We are fluctuating between independence and helpless dependence. The Cabinet Mission's plan lies in between.

"If we act rightly there will be the full-blown flower of independence. If we react wrongly the blossom will wither away. Mind you, the League standpoint is quite correct. If they stand out, the Constituent Assembly cannot impose its Constitution on an unwilling party. The British Government has no say in the matter, one way or the other.

"If Assam takes care of itself the rest of India will be able to look after itself. What have you got to do with the constitution of the Union Government? You should form your own constitutions. That is enough. You have the basis of a constitution all right even now.

"I have never despised the 1935 constitution. It is based on provincial autonomy. It has the capacity for fullest growth, provided the people are worthy of it. The Hill people are with you. Many Muslims are also with you. The remainder can be too, if you act squarely.

"You will have to forget petty jealousies and rivalries and overcome your weaknesses. Assam has many weaknesses as it has much strength, for I know my Assam."

Exhorting Assam to find its own salvation he said:

"I have given you all this time to steel your hearts, to give you courage. If you do not act correctly now, Assam will be finished. Tell Bardoloi, I do not feel the least uneasiness. My mind is made up.

"Assam must not lose its soul. It must uphold against the whole world. Else, I will say that Assam had only manikins and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way."

And what is true for Assam is true for the North-Western Frontier Province, for the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Hindus of West Bengal. It is about time we all realized that we have to fight for our own destiny, and that the only chance of avoiding the actual strife lies in our being fully prepared for all eventualities.

Eviction Policy of Assam Government

A communique was issued in December 1946 by the Publicity Department of the Assam Government explaining the eviction policy of the Government. It states that in accordance with an agreement arrived at between Maulavi Mohammad Saadulla, the then Premier, and leader of the Muslim League Party and Mr. G. N. Bardoloi and others belonging to the different parties in the Legislature, a resolution on Land settlement superseding all previous resolutions on the subject was adopted by the Coalition Ministry and published on July 19, 1945. That resolution aimed at settling of surplus cultivable waste land with landless immigrants who came to Assam before January 1, 1938, on application, after making provision for those among the indigenous population who have insufficient land or no land for their support together with a margin for future expansion and protection of Tribal and other backward classes in areas where they are in a majority by creation of Tribal Belts.

In pursuance of this resolution, the communique states, "Eviction operations were started by the last government in Dokonia, Bhangamari, Kuri-hamari and Laheswari Reserves in Kamrup district, and all unauthorised encroachers were evicted and the Reserves were made free from unauthorised encroachments, but during the election campaign, the eviction operation was not further continued in the other Reserves by the then Ministry. The present Government are merely carrying on the policy adopted on the basis of agreement of the political parties in the Legislature—and proclaimed in the form of a resolution by their predecessors—of clearing the Reserves of all unprotected encroachers and keeping them clear of fresh encroachment. The present Government have made no change or modification in the resolution then issued. There has been no discrimination on the score of religion, caste or creed."

Referring to the growth of immigration, the communique says: "About 30 years ago, the cultivators of East Bengal began to immigrate into the Assam Valley and occupied waste lands in the lower districts, namely, Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong. . . . Trouble began when the bulk of the available waste was taken up and the immigrants moved nearer to the Assamese villages. Some of the immigrants mainly by purchase from their neighbours had by then become a set of middle-class landlords owning considerable areas of land, getting these lands cultivated by tenants and labourers. It is these tenants and labourers who are believed to have been imported from their homes in Bengal by tales of abundance of land in Assam who first formed the nucleus of landless immigrants. This process was accelerated when the Muslim League conceived the idea of including Assam in the Eastern zone of Pakistan and proceeded to give colour to it through the political power and opportunity which came to it during the war. Muslim League Ministers of Bengal and Assam met together; the National War Front resources for publicity were pressed into service; and under the guise of Grow More Food campaign there came into existence a policy of aggression against the vital interests of indigenous people . . . The Assamese people in spite of the natural increase of population and the consequent pressure on land have as a rule respected the inviolability of Reserves; their respect for law and general public welfare would be penalized if the Government of Assam were to put up with and recognise occupation of land by persons from outside the province through defiance of law."

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The communique refers to the attempts that have been made to give the eviction policy of the Government of Assam a communal colour for political purposes and gives a reply, "Although it is true that the majority of the encroachers were Muslims, yet in point of fact, out of the total of 2,214 encroachers involved in these evictions, as many as 293 persons belong to the Tribal, Scheduled and Hindu communities, 646 persons out of 2,214 had no houses in the reserves but had occupied land in the reserves for growing crops in defiance of law, although they had land elsewhere."

The communique concludes by giving a warning to the evictees and those who are genuinely interested in their welfare that the Assam Government will do all that is possible for the preservation of law and order and any defiance can only bring about serious consequences for them.

What is going on in Assam in the name of immigration is not ordered settlement but unlawful encroachment with the motive of converting that province into a Moslem majority area or Pakistan. And the League wants that the indigenous people of the province must not raise their voice of protest.

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan on Communal Issues

Major communal issues are likely to come up before the Federal Court in the course of the next few weeks or months. It will, therefore, be useful to refresh one's mind about the views of Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, one of the Puisne Judges, on communal issues in India. It was published some time ago but will bear recapitulation. Sir Muhammad says :

> The principal factor in the situation is that though the Muslims form only a quarter of the total population of India, they are unequally distributed among the various Provinces. British India is divided into 11 Governors' Provinces. Baluchistan, though not yet a Governor's Province, is a large enough area to rank as a Province for the purpose of Centre. In five out of these 12 Provinces—namely, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind (these forming the north-west block), and Bengal (in the north-east), the Muslims constitute a majority of the population. In Assam (the extreme north-eastern Provinces) *the Muslims are roughly 40 per cent.*, but are rapidly increasing, due mainly to immigration from East Bengal, where the population is largely Muslim. Even today, if Bengal and Assam are treated as one block, the Muslims would be found to be in a majority in the whole block. In the remaining six Provinces the Muslims constitute comparatively small minorities.
>
> A Federal Centre or the whole of India constructed on the pattern laid down in the 1935 Act is bound to be predominantly non-Muslim in composition. The Muslims fear that under that Act, not only will they be in a position of subordination at the Centre itself, but that the Centre is likely to dominate the Provinces and thus the effect to nullify the Muslim majorities in the north-west and the north-east blocks. They claim that the only solution of the problem is that these two blocks should be allowed to constitute themselves into independent States *having direct relations with the United Kingdom* and the outside world the rest of India being at liberty to frame a constitution for itself along whatever lines it pleases. This scheme of partition is known as Pakistan, though the name was originally adopted for a different conception.
>
> The principal objections against this scheme advanced on behalf of non-Muslims may be summarized thus:—It is pointed out that the adoption of this scheme would not settle even the Muslim versus non-Muslim question in India, much less settle the problem of the minorities as a whole. The Pakistan areas would contain large non-Muslim minorities and the rest of India would contain a large Muslim population amounting to over 30,000,000 so that a scheme for the protection and safeguarding of the rights of minorities would still have to be devised. As regards the vital subject of defence, India as a whole would have to come to some arrangement with the United Kingdom and the other members of the British Commonwealth and may have to devise a common system along with Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, and possibly the Dutch East Indies. This would predicate in the first instance a common defence system for the whole of India. India's foreign policy would to a large extent be governed by considerations of defence and security and would be bound up with its defence arrangements. India's tariff policy would also have to be adjusted to world conditions. The and considerations relating to industrialization and commerce would necessitate the adoption of a uniform standard of sea customs and common currency.
>
> It is also urged that the geographical position of India as one large natural unit confers certain advantages upon it which are not directly connected with or affected by, the communal question, and that it would be a pity needlessly to sacrifice these advantages if they could be retained in any settlement that might be arrived at between the principal communities. The issues that emerge from this brief survey of the position and which any constitutional settlement must resolve are:—
>
> 1. Muslim fear of a predominantly non-Muslim Centre overshadowing and dominating the Provinces;
> 2. The necessity of a common system of defence and a common tariff policy and currency;
> 3. The continuation, if possible, of advantages and benefits resulting from India's geographical unity so long as Muslim interests are not sacrificed or put in jeopardy;
> 4. Some effective method of safeguarding minority rights.
>
> So far note has been taken only of conditions in British India. There is, however, also the problem of Indian States. It would be extremely desirable to bring the Indian States into any arrangement that might be set up for dealing with items (2) and (3) set out above.
>
> It is obvious that for any kind of a Centre to be accepted by the Muslims *their fears must be met* and *far that reason alone* the powers of the Centre must be precisely defined. The start must be made on the basis of independent units. That is to say, British Indian Provinces and groups of Indian States must be treated as sovereign in their own respective spheres, entrusting such authority as may be needful for certain common purposes to a Centre that would function as their agent.
>
> On the foregoing analysis the subjects which would be entrusted to the Centre would be defence, foreign affairs, sea customs, crrrency, and, foreign exchange. With regard to another group of subjects—namely, communications *i.e.*, civil aviation, railways, posts, telegraph, telephones, and wireless—the powers of the Centre would have to be limited to securing co-ordination for the maintenance of standards of efficiency and safety, and to ensuring that no unit or group of units would discriminate against another unit or group of units with respect to these services and charges to be levied therefor.

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The Muslims claim that they are a separate nation, and that if they are asked to join in setting up a common Centre for the whole of India their share in all central organs (legislative, executive, judicial) must be 50 per cent. If, however, the shape of the constitution is such as to reassure them that there would be no room for the domination of one community by another, they might perhaps be willing to abate *to some extent, their claim to a 50 per cent share.*

For the purposes of represention at the Centre, the British Indian units will be the 12 provinces as at present constituted. The Indian States should be invited to form themselves into eight groups, each of which will rank as a unit. This would make a total of 20 units. *Each unit* should have *equal representation* in the central legislature. If each unit were to elect five representatives to the central legislature, the strength of that legislature would be 100 (If it was confined to British India alone its strength would be 60). These representatives must be elected, in the case of British Indian Provinces, by the provincial legislature (in the case of Baluchistan, by the Shahi Jirga or other body corresponding to a provincial legislature). *This system of election would give the Muslims 25 representatives out of 60,* without recourse being had to any artificial system of weighting. The Indian States groups would have to devise some system for electing their representatives to the central legislature, *which should also ensure the return of the same proportion of Muslims from the Indian States* as from British India.

The central legislature should have power to propose amendments of the constitution, but no such amendment should become effective *unless it has the support of a majority of the representatives of each unit* and until it is adopted and confirmed by the legislatures of the British Indian units. Any proposal to alter the boundaries of the British Indian units must be treated as a proposal for the amendment of the constitution.

In the central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on the basis of 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim, and the Head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and non-Muslim. As regards defence and other central services, the Muslim claim would again be half, more particularly as the north-west and north-east Muslim blocks would be first to bear the brunt of any attack upon India by land, or air, and any weakness in the defence arrangements would in the first instance put these areas in jeopardy. If, however, the Muslims are effectively safeguarded in other respects they might perhaps be persuaded to accept a 40 per cent. share in all sections of the defence services technical as well as non-technical, and a 33⅓ share in other central services.

As regards safeguards for the minorities, the scheme adopted in the 1935 Act has proved a complete failure. All safeguards, therefore, relating to religion (including the free profession, practice, preaching and change of religion), culture, education, language, etc., must be so framed as to be capable of judicial action. This would make the Supreme Court of India the ultimate guardian of the minorities and even of the majorities in respect of these matters.

That being so, the composition of the Court would become a matter of vital interest to the Muslims. *Here, too, the number of Muslim Judges should not be less than half, and the Chief Justice should be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim. When the Chief Justice is a non-Muslim, Muslim judges should be appointed on the recommendation of the senior Muslim Judge.*

Comments are superfluous regarding the above views and plans of this legal luminary adorning the Federal Court. It is sufficient to say that it supports a recent statement by Mahatma Gandhi in which he calls above seat of justice "a packed court." It should be pointed out, however, that Sir Muhammad has altered percentages to suit him wherever necessary and has deliberately neglected to mention the percentages of Hindus in his Moslem provinces. The question of totals of population, which on a democratic principle would provide the basis for representation, he has deliberately omitted altogether. For example, the percentage of Muslims in India is nearer 23 per cent than 25 per cent and in Assam, the Muslims form only 33·7 and not "roughly 40 per cent" as he says. He does not mention the fact that in the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims are in a bare majority, 57·1 per cent and 54·7 respectively and as such the very large non-Muslim populations of those two provinces, totalling about 36 millions, may justifiably demand the same safeguards within Pakistan. He wants 50 per cent control of India for the Pakistanites and at least 5 per cent for other minorities, so that, the 30 per cent, out of which British Imperialism drew all its supporters and reactionaries, might dominate over the 70 per cent that supplied all the fighters for freedom.

Soviet Comment on Pakistan

Our friends of the Communist Party of India, have backed the Pakistan project of the Muslim League all through on various pretexts, such as self-determination, communal amity and so forth. The real motive is plain to all who have watched their activities against the Congress, open and veiled. We should like to know what is the reaction of their leaders to the following *A. P. A.* report of a Moscow broadcast commentary on Monday the 23rd December :

> Moscow Radio in an English commentary by A. Dyakov on Monday declared division of India into Hindu and Muslim states would increase community antagonism in India and blames British policy for the present pitch of Hindu-Muslim hostility.
>
> "The purpose of all the manoeuvring over the formation of the Government in India was to provoke Muslim League action against the Congress which under Indian conditions was bound to bring Hindu-Muslim clashes and bloodshed in its train," the commentator said.
>
> Opposing Pakistan, he said: "Far from eliminating the community antagonism in India, such a division would only make it worse—which is just what the authors of the division project want—so that India may be a scene of seething passions and massacres *and so that the British would have an excuse for perpetual interference in India's internal affairs and would thus be able to retain their hold on the country.*"

M. Dyakov has not minced matters in his commentary. We would like to point out to the younger group of enthusiasts of the C. P. I. that it is time that they used their own judgment to find out who they are serving in reality, at the behest of their leaders. It is worthy of note that the Calcutta Communist daily has not printed—far less commented upon—the above Moscow broadcast. We do not know if the Bombay Communist dailies have done so.

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Mr. Jinnah's Reception in Egypt

Mr. Jinnah went to Egypt with high hopes. In England his mentors and patrons of the Conservative party had backed him openly, and at great length. What Mr. Jinnah failed to grasp was that the British vested interests were backing him in order that their ill-gotten gains and their unsocial channels of loot be kept open. That is to say they are so certain of his party's dependence on their mercy that they had no doubts whatsoever that they would be able to impose their will on Pakistan when and if that ever materialized, and through that medium they would also be able to keep the rest of India partially within their sphere of action. But in Egypt and the Middle East, the converse is true, as the peoples of those areas want to break Britain's stranglehold on their land and life, and as such they have no incentive or disposition to view Mr. Jinnah and his schemes in any but the true light. It is no wonder, therefore, that Mr. Jinnah's ebullitions and fulminations failed to raise the faintest interest in just those quarters where he had hoped for strong and enthusiastic support. He tried to scare the people of the Middle East with the bogey of "Hindu Imperialism," with what results the following press reports of his press conference in Cairo, and his departure would show :

> At a press conference in Cairo's famous Shepherds Hotel, on Thursday morning, Mr. M. A. Jinnah announced that the main purpose of his stay in Egypt's capital is to acquaint the people with the complexities of the Indian problem.
>
> The meeting had been in progress only a few minutes, when the League leader was asked if he had truly said on reaching Cairo three nights previously that the entire Middle East would be imperilled by "Hindu imperialism" from India if that country's Muslims were not granted Pakistan.
>
> Astonishment was writ large on the faces of the assembled company, when Mr. M. A. Jinnah admitted the statement—and it would be true to say that he was not taken very seriously after that.
>
> At least two senior members of the fraternity left the room at this early stage of the proceedings. Mr. M. A. Jinnah's case must surely be very weak, it was felt, if it was his intention to scare Egypt and the Arab world into supporting it by arguments so utterly ridiculous! Nor did Mr. Jinnah improve matters when every time he felt himself cornered, he would say, "I am not here to argue."
>
> He trotted out the old shibboleths about Muslim nationhood—cunningly associating it with what he thought should be the Islamic indivisibility—and conjured up visions of Islamic 'slavery' under the "Hindu Raj" but he failed, tragically, to grasp the essential facts that Egypt is Arab more than Muslim, and that Egypt is thinking of the Egyptian territory, otherwise of the Nile Valley—and is in no mood to hearken to men who preach or press for disunity and division.
>
> Mr. Jinnah said, "I depend upon nobody to achieve the Muslim aim—Pakistan—neither Britain nor agreement with the Congress party."
>
> Answering the question concerning his feelings about Egypt's demand for unity with the Sudan as compared with the Hindu-Muslim problem, Mr. Jinnah said that the two cases had no resemblance.
>
> Concluding Mr. M. A. Jinnah said, "Therefore, I think the whole of the Middle East will fall from the frying-pan into the fire. The Middle East countries want to be free and self-governing and not subject to spheres of influence."

Regarding the information he left, the following report is interesting :

> Mr. M. A. Jinnah left Cairo for India on December 19, a disappointed man. Besides the bare mention of his departure there has been nothing in the morning's papers to show that he was a high personage who had come to Egypt with a special important message.
>
> How Mr. Jinnah felt during his stay here about the complete absence of editorial comment on his words and movements cannot be gauged, but I have it from a well-informed source that he was known to have remarked on one occasion that he was greatly disappointed in the interest shown by Egyptian leaders in his Pakistan scheme.
>
> One of these latter, it was added, had summed up Mr. Jinnah as "a clever lawyer, but hardly a balanced politician or a convincing statesman."

Mr. Jinnah's failure lies in his inability to realize that he is regarded as acting in the interests of British Imperialism despite all his protests to the contrary. Nationals of all countries that have suffered and are suffering from the effects of British Imperialism would judge his actions, therefore, from the results that have come and may accrue later. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's opinion, drawn from her experience at U.N.O. are likely to be correct. She said at New Delhi :

> I found without exception that not one of the Eastern nations supported Mr. Jinnah. Not only that but in many of the meetings which I addressed the Eastern delegations asked to be allowed to speak. On one occasion when Pandit Nehru's birthday was being celebrated by the National Committee for India's freedom a number of Eastern delegates asked to be allowed to take part in the proceedings and speak.
>
> They, I think, will be our best ambassadors when they go back to their countries in counteracting the insidious propaganda which is being carried on in most of the Eastern World today.

Elections in Sind

Elections to the Sind Legislative Assembly outwardly records a victory for the Muslim League. The final party position in the new Assembly is : Muslim League 33, Congress 20, Europeans 3, and Nationalist Muslims 3. Obviously with this position in the Legislative Assembly, the Muslim League can now have a Ministry of its own on a stable basis.

It is important to note, however, that the League as according to its traditions, has not fought the elections with a clean hand. There are interesting revelations in this connexion in a statement issued on December 12 by Sheik Abdul Majid, the leader of the Sind Muslim Jamiat in which he said :

> "The Assembly elections, recently held in Sind have been just a huge farce. All imaginable corrupt practices were resorted to—coercion, undue influence and official terrorism were common means adopted by the League to beat its opponents. False impersonation directly under the patronage of the polling and presiding officers have taken place on a scale incomprehensible.
>
> "In the elections for the Land-holders constituency which came first, the Premier himself, a League candidate, called voters through the collectors and other officials and almost got them directed to vote for him. Voters were promised office

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those promises were duly redeemed after the elections were over.

"In a certain polling station, the clock was deliberately advanced and the votes of 'dead' persons were recorded before the appointed time. One of those 'dead' whose vote was thus recorded was a retired tehsildar, by no means a person unknown to the presiding authority.

"In a Labour constituency the polling stations of the previous year were changed in spite of protest of Mr. Bechar in a manner as would suit the convenience of the candidate favoured by the League. Trucks full of Mr. Bechar's voters were sent back as their votes had already been recorded by unknown persons, nor were some tendered votes accepted. In these cases, voters carrying Mr. Bechar's slip were surrounded by hooligans inside the compound. Their slips were snatched away and they were prevented from voting.

"Lady voters were insulted and out of sheer fear very few had the courage to enter the polling stations.

"Mr. Bechar himself along with some of his workers and an independent journalist were assaulted. All this took place in the presence of the police and other officials who declined to interfere. In fact, the polling and the presiding officers and even the police officers and the constables posted were chosen from men who would be helpful in the scheme of this farce.

"What happened in a large majority of general Muslim constituencies a fortnight later was but a reflection of the above, only practised on a much wider scale. In one of the constituencies where the Premier's son was a candidate such things were done as were unheard of in the annals of democratic elections.

"On the night previous to the polling-day, a brother of a Jamiat candidate who was his chief organiser and a polling agent was served with a notice demanding under Section 108 (Cr. P. C.) a large security and within a few hours he was placed under arrest. The Subdivisional Magistrate issuing the notice almost immediately thereafter drove away in the Premier's own car and did not return to his headquarters until the next midday.

"Every care was taken to spread the news of this arrest among the supporters of the Jamiat candidate with a threat that similar fate awaited them unless they forthwith withdrew their support. Numerous 'dead' people were as though brought to life to vote. Hundreds of literate supporters of a Jamiat candidate discovered that their voting slips had already been issued against mere thumb impressions of impersonators.

"Books of two of the polling agents of the Jamiat candidate were seized by the *mukhtayarkars* and they were threatened with prosecutions unless they returned their polling agent's authority and agreed to support the League.

"The League candidates put up in districts other than their own generally brought a large contingent of men from their home districts to support them in their scheme of impersonations. What has been said of the constituency of the Premier's son is symbolic of what happened in most of the other Muslim constituencies.

"Mr. G. M. Syed was the special object of attention of that section of the League organisation which was set up and trained to fight the elections in this unholy manner as of officials who deemed it a part of their duty to see that the League wins the seats, by any means, fair or foul.

"Last week Haji Moula Bux, one of the successful candidates in the Landholders constituency was besieged by a crowd of Muslim Leaguers, who abused, assaulted and prevented him from moving out for nearly two hours under the very nose of the Returning Officer and some police officers.

"I have mentioned but a few instances of the acts of *goondaism* and corrupt practices indulged in which have reduced elections to a mockery.

"I challenge the Government to hold an independent and impartial inquiry into all allegations relating to their own and their officers' misconduct. It is now for the province and the country to decide how far they would tolerate this rebirth of fascism in this land."

This is the manner in which the Muslim League has "won" the elections. From the very start they have been in a position of advantage with Sir Francis Mudie as Governor. His partisan tactics which prevented the formation of a Progressive Coalition Ministry in Sind is now matter of recorded history. During the elections, he maintained the Hidayetullah Ministry in power and thus handed over the entire administrative machinery to the League for use in their favour during the elections. The process and the course of the elections have been correctly described by Mr. Majid, the result was a foregone conclusion.

Datia Unrest

After a protracted unrest for about a month a settlement was reached in Datia in the first week of December when the Political Department yielded to the popular demand for the dismissal of Dewan Ainuddin. The cause of the trouble was the bad administration of the Dewan who for the last three years has been in the service of the State. There were serious allegations against him. The unrest arose primarily because with a view to counteract the agitation for responsible government, Dewan Ainuddin instigated communalism. He was also accused of importing Muslim Leaguers and Ambedkarites who in public meetings made abusive statements generally against Hindus, and against Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders in particular. Hindus were invited to embrace Islam.

As a result of this open instigation, some miscreants defiled Hindu idols and when people including State employees and Muslims demanded an enquiry, they were discourteously treated by the Dewan. Thereupon, the State people resorted to *hartal* and nearly 400 State employees resigned. The Ruler of Datia intervened at this stage and dismissed Dewan Ainuddin. But immediately afterwards the Resident of the Central Indian States Sir Robert Campbell, cancelled the orders of the Ruler, deprived him of all his powers, entrusted the administration to the Political Agent and launced a repressive policy.

This led to serious repercussions in Datia. All markets throughout the State suspended business, and nearly 1,300 State employees resigned paralysing the administration. The non-co-operation with the administration was so complete that the Crown police and military which had been rushed to quell the movement had to procure all requirements including foodstuffs from neighbouring British Indian territories.

Within a few days the situation became extremely grave. The attention of the whole country was drawn Mr. Coupland, the Political Adviser, went there

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and held discussions with the Ruler, the new Resident Mr. Bradshaw, and the new Political Agent, Mr. Wood Ballard. The old incumbents of these offices were transferred to other places, presumably with a view to facilitate a settlement.

After a few days of negotiations, a settlement was reached and the Ruler of the State, Maharaj Gobinda Singh, made an announcement giving out the decision of the Political Department. The terms of settlement were that Dewan Ainuddin would be dismissed from service and would leave Datia on December 6, political prisoners would be released, the State employees, who had resigned would be reinstated, and there would be no victimisation either of the State subjects who participated in anti-Dewan agitation or of the State-employees who resigned. The announcement further stated that the Ruler would have the ultimate voice in selecting a new Dewan.

When the news of this settlement was received, Dr. Pattavi Sitaramayya, Acting President of the States People's Conference, remarked, "The issue now reported settled, happens to have been circumscribed though it involved the mighty potentate of the Political Department. Under issues await solution which will be the real test of the Maharaja's progressiveness and the Political Department's sincerity. Datia, like other States, demands responsible government and if the Maharaja is not responsive, the triangular fight just now concluded between the Political Department on the one side and the Maharaja and his people on the other, may present a reorientation with the Maharaja and the Political Department on the one side and the people on the other." The victory of the people of Datia marks yet another step forward in the State people's march towards freedom.

Gandhiji and Nehru on Hyderabad Reforms

The Hyderabad Reforms, under which the general elections are now being held, were condemned as no reforms at all and a warning that Satyagraha would be resorted to was given by Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. While admitting that the reforms were 'unsatisfactory in several respects,' Sir Mirza stated that it was 'possible to remove these defects.' We have published the main provisions of the Hyderabad Reforms Scheme in which it was seen that they were not merely defective but ran counter to the very idea of democracy. This constitution was drawn up by rank reactionaries on a basis of parity of representation where 85 per cent of the people were Hindus.

The Muslim League organs have, of late, published some letters that passed between Gandhiji and Sir Mirza Ismail and Pandit Nehru and the president of the State Congress. They are given below :

GANDHIJI'S LETTER

Sevagram,
Wardha, C. P.
11-8-1946

Dear Sir, M. Ismail,

Representatives from Hyderabad have seen me. They are Shri Kashinath Vaidya and Swami Ramanand Tirath. They have discussed with me the so-called reforms contemplated in the state. I have studied them somewhat as they appeared in the press. The reforms seem to be only so-called. To me they appear to be a step backward rather than forward. I do not know that you can do much to alter them, but I wonder why you cannot scrap them altogether. The least that any state can do at this time is to recognise the status and influence of the States People's Conference, of which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the president and secure its endorsement before proceeding with any popular measure. This ensures smooth passage for any such thing.

Rajkumari has already drawn your attention to Shrimati Padmaja Naidu's pamphlet on police atrocities in some of the Hyderabad villages. I would like you to enlighten me on these two points. I am sorry to have to worry you when you have just begun your new career.

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL'S REPLY

Hyderabad-Deccan
21st August, 194

My dear Mahatmaji,

I write to thank you very much for your letter. As you know, I have just taken charge, and am busy studying the many problems with which the state is confronted, one of which being the reforms. These, I realise, are unsatisfactory in several respects but I feel that it is quite possible to remove these defects and bring the reforms into line in all essential respects with those in Mysore, Baroda, Jaipur or elsewhere. Hyderabad has got its peculiar problems, and these have to be solved in its own way. If there is one thing more than another which has pleased me it is the liberal attitude of his Exalted Highness towards constitutional changes. I was particularly pleased to notice how fair he wants to be in dealing with the communal question. Such being his attitude. I have every reason to hope that the progress of Hyderabad in the constitutional as in other fields—education, industries, public health, etc.—will be as gratifying as it will be rapid in the near future. I hope, therefore, the world will give us a little time to make a start and then see how far we have been successful.

My intention is to send for various groups and discuss the reforms with them. Then, if they agree, summon a joint meeting and decide on the changes to be made. I personally cannot scrap the reforms and start afresh. The latter course would involve considerable delay. It would take a committee, at least two years if not more to collect evidence and submit its report as I know from my experience both in Mysore and Jaipur. I cannot afford to wait so long, nor is it desirable from the public point of view, and so I am anxious to get a move on with as little delay as possible. No constitution and no arrangement is either perfect or permanent. Changes can always be made as we go along. To make a beginning is really the important thing.

You may be sure that I shall try always to practise democracy in this singularly undemocratic age, and will do all I can to further the interests of the people and establish constitutional government in the state. I can only hope that you will be satisfied with this assurance from me and rely upon me to do all that is possible or advisable in the present circumstances to achieve our common aim.

With warmest regards,

GANDHIJI'S SECOND LETTER

Bhangi Colony
New Delhi,
20-9-1946

Much as I should like to, I may not write to you in Urdu

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I have now talked to Swami Ramanand Tirath and Shri Kashinath Vaidya. As I have already told you the contemplated reforms are no reforms. The more I think of them the more I feel that they are not worthy of you. You may not seek to impose them on the inhabitants of Hyderabad. If you are sure that the States Peoples Conference does not represent them, then of course I om out of court.

Maulana Sahib wants to help you. Sarojini Devi likewise. I count myself among them. But you know my limitations. I am a born satyagrahi and hope to die as such, and that is my limitation as it is my strength. Strength has got to be proved. The limitation stares all my friends in the face.

If you cannot scrap the reforms and if you will not impose them, you should postpone them and see whether they admit of amendments. Of course, their real guide is the States Peoples' Conference. But they have not yet learnt to forget me as I would like them to do. And since you and I know and like each other I must write this for what it is worth.

PT. NEHRU'S LETTER

Government Road,
New Delhi,
24th September,

My dear Swamyji,

I received your letter and also met all those who came here on behalf of the State Congress. I discussed with them the situation as it obtains at present in Hyderabad. I perfectly agree with your view in regard to the reforms scheme and am of the opinion that it is throughly unworkable and basically wrong but the exigencies of the situation prevailing in the country require that you must judge and weigh the issues involved in the question from the All-India point of view because its repercussions will not remain isolated and confined but will have a wider range. My advice to you is therefore as follows:

1. You are quite justified in rejecting the reforms scheme and you should strive that it is fully scrapped by the Government.

2. If Government do not change their attitude and the scheme is put into operation you should do everything to demonstrate your opposition to it barring resort to Satyagraha and picketing.

3. You must not refuse opportunities to discuss matters with the Government if and when other responsible office-bearers are invited and in such discussion your effort should be directed to the utter scrapping of the present reforms scheme because radical changes in it will not be pissible speedily as it will involve delay.

4. In any discussion that takes place with the Government you must, however, emphasise that an interim arrangement should be made by reconstituting the present Executive Council and you should be willing to share responsibility on parity basis. In the meantime new reforms can be drafted without any hurry.

You should also bear in mind that, though much cannot be expected from Sir Mirza, you should give him a chance and not cause unnecessary embarrassment.

It has been brought to my koowledge that the Nizam is in a favourable mood at present. You should therefore not do for the present anything to alienate his sympathies.

You must continue your utmost effort to strengthen the State Congress and perfect its organisation.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the above advice has been offered with a view to give the State Congress a sort of general guidance, but you are best judge of the local situation and can adjust things.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal.

Background to London Talks

Mr. P. D. Sharma, the scoop-king of Delhi, flew to London by a special plane to cover the London talks and came back with Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh. Here is what he saw at first-hand, reproduced from the *Forum* :

Without any fear of contradiction, I maintain that from Tuesday to Thursday, the current was against the President of the Muslim League. The London *Times*, whose editorials did reflect what was happening behind the scenes gave true indications of what was coming. On the misty morning that we landed at London Airport, on Tuesday, this oracle from Ludgate Circus told us that Jinnah would get the clarification that he sought. It, however, told him in plain language that his non-co-operation would not do his cause any good. On Thursday morning, the *Times* argued in favour of his claims and contentions but sounded a serious note of warning that if Jinnah persisted in his unaccommodating and unbending attitude, he alone would be blamed for putting spokes in the wheels of India's march to progress and independence. Till then Jinnah was not amenable to reason. In private and informal talks he was talking of the British betrayal of the Muslim League and manoeuvres to placate the Congress. On Friday, after his meeting with Prime Minister Attlee and the members of the Cabinet Delegation including Lord Wavell, the tide had completely turned in his favour. A. V. Alexander, Defence Minister, who had been put in charge of the League leader had succeeded in softening him. The Earl of Munster and other Conservative high-ups had paid repeated calls at the Claridges. Jinnah had given the assurance that he would wish the British well and want them to stay on in India, at least in his Pakistan, and would be their friend if they lent support to his interpretation of the grouping clauses in the British plan. He demanded that not only should H. M. G. endorse the Cabinet Mission's interpretation of May 25th, but also make the Congress accept it. He indicated that without the Congress acceptance of the meaning of the grouping clauses, his League would not come into the Constituent Assembly.

A lot of rush activity followed in the leading hotels of London. Sir Stafford Cripps called on Nehru, R. A. Butler rushed to Baldev Singh. They made it clear that the interpretation put by the three members of the Cabinet Mission to India in the Statement, dated 25th May, held the field and that the highest legal opinion available to H. M. G. supported that meaning. Nehru was not deterred, nor did Baldev Singh budge. They stuck to the Congress definition. Jinnah having agreed, the individual interviews with Nehru and Baldev Singh were cancelled on Friday afternoon to make time for the Joint Conference at 10, Downing Street. The Conference met at 6 p.m., dispersed within seventy minutes and the Indian leaders came back to their Hotels realising that the British Government was dead-set against the Congress and determined to back Jinnah. Still a shock awaited them. The draft of the statement shown to them at 10, Downing Street, did not embody the provocative paragraph reverting the veto on pregress and constitution-making to Jinnah. Attlee had cleverly undone his statement of March 15th—minority

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could not be allowed to check the march of the majority.

How this happened I cannot tell. Why this happened I can guess, on the basis of what I saw and heard in London. Here are the causes of the Labour Government's somersault.

Number one : Attlee's keenness to maintain an All-Party United Front on the India policy as consideration for all-party agreement on foreign policy.

Number two : Conviction in the minds of the British high-ups in all parties that the Congress would never be friendly to the British Government.

Number three : The realisation that the Muslim League could and would keep the vast numbers of Indian Muslims pro-British.

Number four : Whitehall and Westminster do not like the way India was hobnobbing with Russia. Nehru's personal representative, V. K. Krishna Menon is *persona nongrata* there.

Number five : Lord Wavell sent from India a weighty portfolio carrying secret documents—speeches and utterances of the Congress leaders, particularly at the Meerut Session, the talk of struggle ahead and the defaming of the Viceroy in public by his Congress colleagues. Lord Wavell lamented that he was reduced to the position of a non-entity.

Number six : The fact that the Congress members of the Interim Government supported the first International Aviation Agreement between two countries—America and India while the Muslim League opposed it on the inspiration of British vested interests.

Number seven : The fact that Nehru did not raise the only crucial issue which would have been raised—the entry of the League into the Interim Government without accepting to come into the Constituent Assembly and Lord Wavell's part therein of giving assurances on behalf of the League which he had not got from Jinnah.

I have mentioned the last at the end because it requires further comment. Nehru raised the issue in private talks but presumably was persuaded not to mention it at the joint conference to rescue Wavell from the difficult and untenable position and thus came the interpretation making it possible for the League to argue that its stand had been endorsed by the British Government so that its nominees may remain inside the Interim Indian Cabinet without coming into the Constituent Assembly. But perhaps Attlee overshot the mark. Time alone will tell!

Mr. Sharma has no doubt thrown some new and not unexpected light on the London talks. He might well have included a *number eight, i.e.,* maintainance of the trade routes from treaty or 'ceded' ports. The big business of a battered Britain may now agree to quit because they know that they must, but at the same time it is quite natural that while quitting they will want at least two ports, at least Karachi and Chittagong, if not Calcutta, under the plea of granting Pakistan. With Karachi, Colombo and Chittagong in British hands and with Persian Gulf and Singapore on the two sides, attempts may be made to keep India encircled till Britain gains time to reconquer.

Smuts on His Defeat at U. N. O.

Returning home after his defeat at the U. N. O. on the Indian question, General Smuts said at Pretoria that the United Nations was "not a Parliament of mankind in which coloured races were represented in a greater number than the white races. He pointed out that two-thirds of that body were coloured. The white third "will have to sit up." "They have always been ruling power and they still are," declared General Smuts and asked in despair, "For how long will knows?" The answer is on the wall. He had to admit that in the United Nations "you decide by votes and votes go by majorities and the majority is not white."

As Imperialism dies hard therefore this South African General does not like to shed his racial arrogance and declare himself a citizen of the world. Instead, he still clings to his old pet idea of racial seclusion battening upon the exploitation of the coloured people. Still he seeks to justify his eighteenth century mind. He said

> "The idea of human equality was dominant at the United Nations. We have been brought up differently—not only we in South Africa, but the white world. If this idea were applied to South Africa, we see at once the difficulties in which we would be placed—2,000,000 whites surrounded by 150,000,000 coloured people. If there is to be equality in all respects, where do we come in? Had we not better pack up and go? It is a concept which does not fit the facts in South Africa.
>
> "The fact is that equality does not prevail anywhere in the world. In South Africa, an Indian considers himself superior to the native, the coloured man looks on himself superior to the natives, and the European looks on himself as superior to the coloured man."

A coloured man for him is a bad neighbour but a good henchman if it suits him. He quotes Jinnah, the arch reactionary of the modern world, whom certainly he is not going to let a house by his side. And his thesis is as strange, false and irrelevant as it can be. He said

> "The idea of equality simply does not work here in South Africa or anywhere in the world. India, who attacked us is a country of the greatest discrimination in the world. They talk of ghettos. I was amused to read of Mr. Jinnah's proposal to-day. His proposal for India is not equality, but separation. He says that the only solution of India's problem is to move all Hindus into one part of the country and Mohammedans into another but they do not call that ghetto. If there is separation in South Africa it is ghetto but if hundreds of thousands of human beings in India are moved, it is only a solution of the Indian problem."

General Smuts added: "In Jerusalem, Jews and Arabs cannot live together. They say, 'We will not have equality.' They say 'I am an Arab' or 'I am a Jew' and 'to blaze with you'."

General Smuts, referring to the situation in Natal added: "I will stand by Natal as long as Natal stands by us. Europeans in Natal said that they could not tolerate penetration of Indians into European areas. They are prepared to live in peace with Indians and submit to the idea of equality, but they say. 'Please do not mix us all up.'"

General Smuts said: "That was the spirit of the law (the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act) passed through Parliament last session. I submitted both the Indian and European to the same process. Statements made by Indians about the Act were so absurd as to be incredible. To-day, it is not that are under the harrow. Decisions are being taken to-day which may be reversed or become obsolete in future. I refuse not be stampeded by setbacks, blows insults."

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As regards his references to internal differences in India, Smuts got his replies from Sir Maharaj Singh and Mr. Justice Chagla at the U. N. O. Probably smarting under the lashes, he has advised his audience at Pretoria not to regard what had happened at the United Nations as more than a set-back. He declared "If that word (equality) is to stand, the United Nations will go. The Great Powers have a veto to insure themselves. The International Court is our veto."

Acharya Kripalani's Reply to F.-M. Smuts

It is an irony of fate that within an year of the miserable end of the world-conquest schemes of the mighty champions of the *Herrenvolk* of the West and the East, lesser champions would rise amongst their antagonists, advocating the same age-old Law of the Jungle, that has been the root-cause of most of the suffering and agony of the human race. Outwardly Man —especially Man in the Western World—has marched far on the path of progress from the days of the Cave-Man, the Cave-Bear and the Sabre-toothed Tiger. But the inward hollowness of civilization is easily seen when the thin veneer of Western culture is cracked open by rude contact with the hard realities of Human Rights. Acharya Kripalani's reply to F.-M. Smuts makes it quite clear, that at least that is the case with that doughty champion of Western Democracy, who is now behaving like the Devil in the proverb.

Acharya Kripalani says :

It is the statement of a man who, smarting under defeat, has thrown off the mask and blurted out the truth.

All these years, the aged Marshal has posed as the champion of democracy and the rights of man. When the British Empire was under the shadow of Hitler's threat, he became an eloquent advocate of the four freedoms and thundered against the Nazi theory of racial superiority.

In fact, Hitler's claim to rule over a portion of Europe was a modest one compared with the claim of a handful of white intruders perpetually to exploit the coloured millions of Africa. The whole stress of the Marshal's grouse against the idea of human equality which, according to him, was unfortunately dominant at the U. N. O.

It is indeed true that equality does not prevail anywhere in the world, and every reformer has to advocate it and work for it. However, instead of deploring the fact of inequality, this champion of the Atlantic Charter quotes it as an argument against the ideal itself. His statement is a pathetic confession of his dread of equality. It is not the fate of the 150,000,000 coloured people that concerns him but of the small and privileged white minority.

If the whites cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of equality with the coloured races of the world, they have no place in Asia and Africa. Racial imperialism is even more odious than economic imperialism. So long as either of them prevails, and so long as there are Smuts and Churchills to turn the four freedoms into a mockery, there can be no peace in this world.

India's Defeat in Security Council Election

The real cause for India's failure to secure a seat on the United Nations' Security Council has now been revealed by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, a member of the Indian delegation to the U.N.O. In a press interview at the Flushing Meadows, New York, he said :

> One point must be stated without fear of contradiction, Britain attempted to thwart us in our work from the beginning, several times coming into the open, but we did not flinch for we knew the high moral ground for our action in the United Nations Organization and were ultimately sustained by a majority of votes of the assembled delegations. It was Britain's open hostility that led to losing our claim to a seat on the Security Council but this loss was more than offset by our victories on the issues dealing with trusteeship, fore. troops abroad and treatment of Indians in South Africa.

Immigration Bill in East Africa

"Indian opinion in all the four territories of East Africa is unanimously opposed to the present immigration Bills," says the Report, submitted by the Government of India Delegation to East Africa on the proposed immigration restrictions in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganayika and Zanzibar. The delegation consisted of Sir Maharaj Singh, Mr. K. Sarwar Hasan and Mr. C. S. Jha. Its main purpose was to examine, in consultation with public opinion in East Africa, particularly Indian opinion, whether there was any necessity for legislation on the proposed lines and the extent to which such legislation would affect Indian interests. It was asked to collect accurate information on the following matters that have a bearing on the proposed legislation :

(a) the rate of growth and present extent of the Indian population in the territories;

(b) the present position regarding unemployment in the territories and the extent to which immigration, particularly that of Indians, may be said to have contributed towards such unemployment;

(c) the existing scope and facilities for the settlement of new Indian immigrants in these territories;

(d) the attitude of the African population towards this question; in particular, if there is any justification for the view taken that the African population is opposed to the immigration of Indians;

(e) whether the provisions of the bills will in practice be discriminatory against Indians; and

(f) the extent to which Indians must play a part in the post-war development of the territories. The delegation was asked to submit a comprehensive report to the Government of India on all aspects of the proposed legislation in the light of the results of its investigations.

The delegation established close contacts with all sections of the Indian community and also met a number of Europeans, Africans and a few Arabs and Goans, besides a large number of officials.

The Delegation's recommendations, in substance, are as follows :

The Delegation points out that the last official census in the East African territories was taken in 1931. The next census was due in 1941 but could not be held because of the war. The Delegation considers that before any measures are taken for tightening up the pre-war immigration restrictions, an official census is essential. Along with the census there should be an economic survey by a Commission together with a survey of employment and undertakings, all immigration races being adequately represented in the Commission. It would not otherwise appear possible to secure the data on which any proposal for immigration restriction should be based.

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Immigration is an essential counterpart of development and, if planning of immigration is to be done, it should be based on statistical data and should be co-related to the pace and extent of development at every stage. The present Bills, in our opinion, proceed on assumptions which are for the best part unverified.'

Summarising its views on the Immigration Bills, the Delegation says :

There is no evidence of excessive or unregulated immigration in the past and the assumption that in the absence of drastic immigration restrictions such as are proposed in the present Immigration Bills, there will be an influx of persons from Europe and Asia, is not warranted by past experience or present indications. Nor is there evidence that immigration has been responsible in the past for unemployment; on the contrary it has been generally admitted that much of the prosperity and development of the East African territories has been due to the energy and enterprise of the immigrant races.

There is no unemployment at present amongst any class of people in East Africa. Nor are there any accurate or well-ascertained figures on which unemployment on a large scale can be reasonably apprehended in the near future. The problem of the re-settlement of demobilised soldiers is not a continuing problem. One solution for it is the creation of more employment. The cessation of immigration may indeed have the opposite effect by retarding development.

The fear of excessive immigration beyond the absorbing capacity of East Africa is not borne out by past experience. In periods of depression it is expected that, as has happened before, there will be a temporary cessation of immigration and even emigration from the territories concerned.

In Kenya the throwing open of the Highlands to non-European races will give land and occupation, such as they are accustomed to and appreciate, to thousands of Africans. This, in turn, will provide employment to a large number of Indians. The total area of the Highlands is about 7 million acres of which only a relatively small portion is at present under cultivation. At present there are in Kenya about 2,000 Italian ex-prisoners of war. Their repatriation, which is contemplated, will *ipso facto* give employment both to Africans and persons of the immigrant races.

As regards racial discrimination, the Delegation says :

The present Immigration Bills, although non-discriminatory and non-racial in form, will in practice adversely affect Indian immigration much more than the immigration of Europeans. In fact they will have the effect of almost closing the door to the further entrance of Indians. We have been assured that the purpose of the Bills is not to discriminate against Indians. But having regard to the past history of immigration restrictions and to present utterances by persons in authority and by non-official Europeans, we think that the apprehensions entertained by Indians have sufficient foundation. Racial discrimination in practice is as objectionable as discrimination against law, and in some respects it is more dangerous as it is more insidious in its operation.

The provisions of the Bills are extremely stringent and will have the effect not only of restricting the coming of outsiders but will also be an encroachment on the liberty and security of individuals lawfully resident in the territories. The question of domicil should not be mixed up with that of immigration. Nor is there any justification for legislation directed against persons ordinarily residing in East African territories.

Soviet Comment on Kenya Affairs

Discriminations against Africans in Kenya are worse than against Indians in South Africa, said the Soviet commentator, Mikhailov, in a broadcast describing conditions of peoples in Britain's colonies in Africa. He said, "The British press, which certainly is not likely to paint the picture blacker than it is, reports that the position of the African population in Kenya is deteriorating from year to year. Driven from the land, natives of Kenya have to sell their labour to European residents for next to nothing. Ninety-five per cent of the native population are illiterate. This is hardly surprising when you consider that the sum allowed last year for the education of four million Kenyans was just £500."

Declaring that Kenya was no exception, commentator Mikhailov continued :

'The native populations are browbeaten and repressed in all the British colonies in Africa. In Nigeria with her population of over 23,000,000 there is not a single African in an administrative post of any importance.

'Even the chosen few who managed to get a college education in England feel like 'Pariahs' when they return home, Mikhailov said.

To this day forms of race discrimination are still operating in all African colonies which now-a-days seem absolutely monstrous.

'On ships plying between England and West Africa African passengers, some of them with English university education, are debarred from cabins and saloons and quartered in holds running with water. In hotels and restaurants people of the coloured race are segregated from the whites as if they were lepers.

Declaring that in the West Indies colony of Trinidad corporal punishment has just been reintroduced for native inhabitants, Mikhailov added, "No wonder such civilising steps are not cheered by the peoples of Africa and that, as one British paper puts it, the enthusiasm with which the colonies greeted the Labour Government has now largely evaporated."

British Labour Government's handling of colonial policy has thus come in for sharp international criticism. The Secretary of States for Colonies in the British Government, Mr. Arthur Creach Jones, had to take note of it. He told a mass meeting, organised by the Fabian Colonial Bureau in London on December 14 that he had fiercely criticised some of the abuses and injustices which existed in the British colonial arrangements. He said, "I am aware of the unfortunate effects in certain regions of land alienation and racial segregation and will do my best to correct the consequences of misguided policies in the past." Regarding Africa he said that they recognised the limits of direct rule in that country and control of local social services and finance was being evolved in the territories. It is regrettable that the British Labour Government have started thinking of solving the colonial problem by establishing some local social services or increasing the number of a few schools. It is shocking to find the Colonial Secretary of the Labour Government declare in Churchillian fashion, "Whatever unfortunate things may have come to the Africans by Western penetration *there is no going back*, and there are great blessings

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which can be registered in terms of ordinary life, freedom from tyranny, war and famine and much superstition."

Hindu Mahasava Session at Gorakhpur

The 27th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has concluded its session at Gorakhpur. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee delivering the inaugural address on December 27 referred to different aspects of political life in our country.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly he said that if all members of the Constituent Assembly remain united and proceed with their task without any anxiety to appease the Muslim League or to make any surrender on the fundamental issues of Indian unity and liberty, there is no power on earth that can ultimately stand in the way of our attaining the goal. In his opinion India and particularly the Hindus who constitute 75 per cent of her population will never attain freedom, if the Constitution of India has to be fashioned according to the whims or demands of the Muslim League. He upheld the view that the Constituent Assembly, though created by the British Government, must have its real sanction in the people of India and asked the Congress to "realise that the more it makes Indian freedom dependent on Hindu-Muslim agreement, the greater the mess it will make."

He was "almost certain that India must pass through another stage of bitter struggle before she attains her complete freedom." "Responsibility for such a terrible catastrophe," he said, "will rest entirely on the British Government," for it will arise, if it arises, due to a refusal on the part of the British Government to part with power in a peaceful manner and its persistence in setting up the Muslim League as a perpetual excuse or barrier.

After analysing the absurdities of the Pakistan demand among which he listed the claim to Assam, Dr. Mookerjee said, "If Hindus and Muslims are to live together in India, they have to devise some formula other than Pakistan or exchange of population. I can only contemplate the acceptance from both sides of an agreed scheme for protection of the religious and cultural rights of all communities and for creating conditions which will ultimately remove religion from the field of politics. There may be an agreed redistribution of provincial boundaries within one India, so that a major element living in a particular zone may develop itself according to its own light and judgment. Small minorities living in scattered areas within such zones may also be collected together and stronger units created with the help of the State, leading to greater confidence and security in the minds of the minority concerned. Communal settlement will become easily possible only when the third party withdraws from India."

In a reference to Bengal Dr. Mookerjee said that her problem was not a local or provincial one. He said, "If Mr. Jinnah knew that the tactics pursued by his followers in Bengal could not continue for ever as a one-sided game, he would immediately reconsider his present policy. His occasional threats of civil war need not frighten anybody. Hindus may suffer in some parts, but after all he should remember that he represents a community which is less than 25 per cent of India's population, and if he starts a civil war, it will eventually mean a war between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of India's population."

Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar in his presidential address chalked out a four-point programme to propagate the ideas and ideals for which the Hindu Mahasabha stands and to indicate to the Hindus the right lines of their defence against Muslim aggression. First, to agitate both the Hindu masses and classes in the ideology of the Mahasabha and to make them communally conscious; secondly, to organise a Hindu front composed of the caste Hindus, the scheduled classes, the Sikhs and others with a view to meeting successfully all open or veiled aggression in any part of India; thirdly, to remould the Hindu mind by making it more self-reliant and, if necessary, even militant; and fourthly, to start under the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha a fund called "The Hindu Reconstruction and Relief Fund," to be collected through its provincial branches, each provincial branch keeping for itself 75 per cent of the fund collected by it and giving the remaining 25 to the Working Committee for All-India purposes.

Regarding the League demand for Pakistan, Mr. Bhopatkar said that the present was an occasion in our national history when communalism had got to be [illegible] by communalism and nationalism was required to be purified by taking it through the fire of communalism. "Every Hindu," he said, "must be taught to feel that he is a Hindu and as such he is determined to protect his religion, culture and interests whatever bloodbaths he is required to pass through."

Mr. Bhopatkar urged the Constituent Assembly, "which seems to be determined to frame India's constitution," to abolish the distinction between martial and non-martial races and to see that the military strength of Hindustan was, as far as possible, equibalanced amongst its various provinces, consistently with its discipline and efficiency. He held that the autonomy of a province would be a meaningless term if it was not backed up by the valour and military prowess of the residents of that province. He added that what was true of the army was equally true of the police force in each province and that care must be taken so to form it as not to give any community an undue representation thereon.

In his opinion the Simla Conference in 1945 was a clever move on the part of the British Government to divide India on entirely novel lines. "Instead of dividing India territorially," he said, "it sought to divide her representatively at the Centre and aimed at so dividing her in the provinces, without even the redeeming feature of joint electorates. The Simla proposals were manifestly pro-Muslim and unfair and unjust to the Hindus and Sikhs and Scheduled Castes. They surreptitiously introduced the principle of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims. They purported to give to the Muslims far more than what was legitimately due to them. They called upon the Indian National Congress to break loose from old moorings, to cease to be both Indian and national and to represent only the Caste Hindus in so far as the formation of the Executive Council is concerned."

Dealing with the Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mr. Bhopatkar recalled the Mahasabha's appeal to all the Hindus to realise the danger inherent in them and said that the danger still lay in the proposed three-tier constitution. "The Group system is sure to prove the rock on which the ship of India's constitution will break."

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The Burma Debate

After the India Debate, there was another debate in the House of Commons on affairs in Burma. Prime Minister Attlee made the following statement on Burma :

Questions have arisen as to the manner in which the pledges given by successive Governments in this country to the Burmese people should be implemented, and in order to assist elucidation of these matters, the British Government propose to invite a representative group of Burmans from the Governor's Executive Council to visit this country in the near future for discussions.

In a statement made to this House on January 20, 1931, at the time of the decision to separate Burma from India, it was stated that the British Government wished it to be understood that the prospects of constitutional advance held out to Burma, as part of British India, would not be prejudiced by the decision to proceed with the separation of Burma from India.

Since that time great steps forward towards self-Government have been made in India, and developments in the same direction have taken place in Burma. In the latter case, however, the matter has been greatly complicated by the Japanese invasion and occupation, from which Burma emerged, after the surrender of the Japanese, in a condition of great chaos and without any settled Burmese Government.

In the White Paper, which was subsequently issued by the Government and agreed to by this House a plan was set out, whereby it was hoped that Burmese self-government would be rapidly achieved.

Recent developments in India have led the Burmese people to desire to expedite their own advance to self-government, and their leaders have expressed some impatience with the apparently slow development of the White Paper plan.

In these circumstances, the British Government think that that plan merits reconsideration, and that Burmese leaders should be given the fullest opportunity of putting forward all suggestions, which they may wish to make with a view to their discussion.

The British Government do not regard the White Paper plan as unchangeable in the light of the developing circumstances. Their desire is that the Burmese people should attain their self-government by the quickest and most convenient path possible. The British Government further take the view that the pledge of 1931 must be fully carried out.

In particular, I would repeat, so far as Burma is concerned, what I have already said with regard to India. We do not desire to retain within the Commonwealth and the empire any unwilling peoples.

We consider that the new constitution for Burma should be settled by the nations of Burma, and we believe that arrangements to this end can be made as a result of the forthcoming elections without the necessity for holding fresh elections for a Constituent Assembly on the analogy of what has already been done in India, where the Constituent Assembly is based upon ordinary provincial elections.

It is not possible, of course, as was pointed out in the case of India to enact a new Interim constitution, and the old constitution must, therefore, be carried on in full: but the British Government have no desire to interfere with the day-to-day administration, which is now in the hands of Burmese members of the Governor's executive, and we shall endeavour in the forthcoming discussions to remove any difficulties that the delegation may feel still to exist in this regard.

Mr. Churchill then rose and began his usual lamentations. In the India debate he had some supporters, but here he found himself practically left alone. He lamented that "the British Empire seems to be running off almost as fast as the American loan." Premier Attlee interrupted him when he threw the challenge that "the words which came from the Prime Minister's lips today, supported as they are by the overwhelming majority of this house quite unrepresentative of the balance of forces in this country, these words are in fact irrevocable and he has in fact sworn Burma away from the British Crown by what is being done." Interrupting Attlee said, "I have always thought of Mr. Churchill as a great historian, but he seems to have forgotten some recent history. When he talks of India, he seems to have forgotten the Cripps Mission, the declaration made in his own interim Government by Mr. Amery—and our declaration have gone no further than that. He has also forgotten that when I made my statement on India in this House, there was no opposition in this House. There was no opposition in the country. I think he was the only objector. He has often found himself alone in these matters."

Attlee continued, "He had very few supporters right through the long period in which we were dealing with just what he said was the right process—slow constitutional advance which he suggested but which he opposed at every step. Did he accept Dominion Status in those days? No, he opposed it. He has opposed every step towards advance. I am well aware that Mr. Churchill has been in these things long before. But you cannot put the clock back in these things. There is a necessary advance and there is an advance in public opinion and it is much more dangerous to lag behind than to keep up with the movement of public opinion in those countries. In these matters this country in the past had not been too fast, but too slow."

The Premier concluded with the following words :

If Mr. Churchill is going back to history, one of the unfortunate things was failure to deal with the Irish question for years and years until Mr. Churchill and his Government had to act in what I think he would call a policy of scuttle at the end of the first world war. At the time that Burma was separated the Burmese were assured that their constitutional advance would go *pari passu* with that of India. In fact the problems are not so difficult in Burma. You have not the terrible communal trouble you have in India. The declaration we have made is not one in which we say to Burma, 'Go out of the British Commonwealth'.

Indo-China's Struggle Against French Imperialism

Since the middle of December 1946 we have been receiving very disturbing news from Indo-China. The fourth Republic of France is, as soon as it is reborn, bent upon securing its lost imperialist control over the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. It was only on March 6, 1946, that the Viet-Namese Democratic Republic was recognised as a Free State by the French Government. A preliminary agreement that was then signed recognised the right of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic to have its own Parliament, Army and Finances, and reserved the question of the union of the

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three Viet-Namese provinces, Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China to be decided by a popular referendum.

But French reactionaries in Indo-China soon began to play their game and by June 1, 1946, were able to set up a puppet government in Cochin China with the manifest intention of preventing the unity of the Viet-Namese people. This puppet government at Cochin China received nothing but hatred from the people and by November 9, 1946, the Ministers had to resign. Dr. Nguyen Van Thinh, the head of the puppet government, exposed the French game and committed suicide.

Soon after, the French authorities in Hanoi claimed the right to control all exports and imports through the Viet-Namese port of Haiphong and thus violated the sovereignty of the Viet-Namese Republic which was recognised by the French Home Government. Fighting began when on November 20, the French troops attacked a Viet-Namese boat in Haiphong. Since then sporadic fighting in different parts of Indo-China has been reported. By the middle of December it was reported that the situation in Indo-China was serious and Hanoi was virtually in a state of siege. On December 20, Admiral Thiery d'Argenlien, the French High Commissioner of Indo-China, flew to Hanoi from Paris to take personal charge of the serious situation there. In Paris, the situation was considered so serious by Prime Minister M. Leon Blum that he personally appealed to the National Assembly on the same day to postpone the public debate on Indo-China until the Colonial Minister M. Marius Montet, who was to fly to Saigon the next day, returned to Paris in a fortnight's time.

On the morning of December 20, President Ho Chi Minh of the Viet-Namese Republic proclaimed a state of emergency in Viet-Nam and declared that the Viet-Namese preferred death to slavery and pleaded for support in Viet-Nam's fight for freedom. "I am confident," he said, "that 20,000,000 Viet-Namese would ultimately vanquish 100,000 reactionaries." Meanwhile, French authorities also proclaimed martial law throughout Northern Indo-China and took extraordinary precautions in view of the possibility that fighting might spread to the Southern province of Cochin-China. French reinforcements have been rushed from French territories in Africa and from France itself. General Jacques Philippe Lebre, the guiding figure of the Free French fighting forces in Africa during the war and former French Commander-in-Chief in Indo-China, left Paris by air on December 24, (1) to study events and the military situation, (2) to study the cause of the present conflict and means by which peace may be re-established, (3) to estimate necessary reinforcements, and (4) to report his findings to the French Colonial Minister, M. Marius Montet, who is at present in Indo-China.

French authorities in Indo-China have announced a stiffer colonial policy affecting the Viet-Namese Republic. On December 25, Admiral d'Argenlien announced over the Saigon Radio : "France does not intend in the present stage of evolution of the Indo-Chinese people to give them total and unconditional independence which would be a fiction gravely prejudicial to the interests of both parties." M. Montet also spoke similarly at a dinner given in his honour at Saigon, "It is no longer possible to speak of reaching free agreement with the Viet-Nam Republican Government."

The whole Asiatic Continent, indeed all the United Nations, must be interested in the happenings in Indo-China. Urging Asiatic Nations to respond to Indo-China's appeal for help, U Saw, former Premier of Burma and leader of the Myochit Party said, "If the Dutch and the English are, as they declare, going to free Asia from their yoke, there is no reason why France should not quit Indo-China."

We hope a reasonable basis for settlement will be easily found if only France would give up the outmoded idea of enforcing her imperialistic rule on Indo-China. The Viet-Nam authorities have made no demands which cannot be justified. They want that French troops should withdraw to the positions which they occupied before December 17, and that Admiral Thiery d'Argenlien, French High Commissioner, Gen. Morliero, the French Military Commander, and General Philippe Lebre should be immediately recalled. They have also pointed out that the importance given by the French authorities to the puppet government of Cochin-China was dangerous and might be taken as a provocation.

On December 23, M. Blum, the Socialist Premier of France, announced in the French National Assembly, "Our end remains the same, to bring into being a free Viet-Nam within the framework of the French Union." But if this be the end, we must say that the means so far applied, *i.e.*, sending of reinforcements and reactionary officials to Indo-China, is wholly unsuited.

Charkha to Remedy Yarn Shortage

In a meeting of the All-India Handloom Board held at Bombay, Mr. Dharma Vira, Textile Commissioner, Government of India, said that Charkha might remedy yarn shortage and appealed to Provincial and State Governments to encourage hand-spinning. He presented a gloomy picture of the yarn position. He said that when the Yarn Distribution Scheme was introduced, the quantity of yarn available for distribution was expected to approximate to 70,000 bales per month. It was, however, possible to make available larger supplies averaging to 83,334 bales per month, during the first year of the scheme. But this improvement was short-lived and the quantity available for distribution has fallen much short of the first year's average owing, according to Mr. Dharma Vira, mainly to strikes, absenteeism, riots, and finally to the reduction in working hours of the mills.

Referring to hand-spinning, Mr. Dharma Vira said :

> "The position is likely to be relieved somewhat by the increasing imports of yarn, particularly art silk, all of which can now be imported under open general licence from the U. K. and under special licence from the U.S.A. Endeavours are also being made to encourage imports of cotton yarn but the quantities likely to be available will be very small, at least for some time to come. Thus no appreciable improvement in the yarn position can be expected till such time as the full complement of new machinery is imported and starts working. I would therefore, commend to the serious consideration of the Provincial and State Governments, the desirability of encouraging hand-spinning on a wide and organised basis. The Indian handloom industry of the pre-machine age owed its world renown as much to the skill of the hand-spinners as to the ingenuity of the weavers. It may not be possible to attain perfection in the spinning of even coarse-medium counts in the initial stages but if properly fostered, hand-spinning can still play not un-

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important role in providing a part-time vocation for the agriculturists, relieving the present unsatisfactory yarn position and in providing cloth for those whose needs are genuine and not confined to fine and super-fine varieties.

It is a matter of genuine regret that the Indian Textile Commissioner fails to suggest any remedy for the solution of the cloth shortage other than suggesting hand-spinning. Officials of his position had so far only ridicule for the Charkha and Mr. Prakasam's Khadi Scheme has met with a vehement opposition from high personages both inside and outside the Government. India was almost self-sufficient in respect of cloth at the beginning of the second world war and it is only regrettable to find that after the war her position has become so helpless that she is told to wait for British and American imported yarn! If this be the achievement of the Indian Mill Industry, it is better that the whole industry be reorganised on National lines.

India : Bulwark Against Materialism

Reverend G. D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore, in his Convocation address to the Punjab University, described India as an "incurably spiritual land" and a "bulwark against materialism." He said :

> The fact that India is a land which is incurably spiritual makes me feel that in the future she will play no small part in protecting spiritual values against the inroads and invasions of materialism. That will be true to your ancient heritage, your age-long tradition. Haldane's dictum 'the more things are interpreted as spiritual, the more real they become,' surely finds an echo in Indian thinking even in these modern days. We, from the West, are expecting this from you in the East. Your spiritual way of looking at things will not only save your own souls alive but it will also be a great contribution towards the adjustment of thinking which over-emphasis on material things is making more than ever vital and necessary.

Like Dr. Livingstone he described the young graduates of the University as "a mass of unco-ordinated subjects, a chaos instead of a cosmos." Referring to the Russian writer P. D. Ouspenskey's book *The New Model of the Universe*, published some forty years ago, in which he prophesied that the next fifty years would see a phenomenal expansion in scientific development, the Bishop said :

> With the conquest of the air, discovery of radio and radar, penicillin and the phenomenal power that lies behind atomic energy, we are bound to acknowledge that his prophecy has come true and is in process of continuing to do so year by year. It is a comfort however to remember also that Ouspenskey had also something to say about discoveries and possibilities in the spiritual realm. He prophesied that all the scientific inventions of man would be eventually, in the process of time, safeguarded by an increase and development in man's spiritual faculties also, and so the immense potential of scientific achievement be brought under control for the benefit of the human race. It is comforting to remember that these thoughts come from Russia. It is this second part of Ouspenskey's prophecy that the world is waiting for to-day. The potentalities of atomic energy have caused feelings of grave apprehension to run through the minds of men all over the world. Efforts are being made for international understanding but still the fear lurks in human consciousness all the world over that all will not be well and that civilised life on this planet is due for destruction; and that this will come very much sooner than the effects of the second law in thermodynamics, which seems such an immeasurable distance away that it does not cause us wakeful nights or any perceptible apprehension.

Rev. Barne then explained in the following few words how India's spiritual contribution had been to unite and not to divide :

> —And where can one come for a guarantee of the spiritual side of man better than to India, the country which for centuries has been incurably spiritual in her interpretation of life? I like to think of the possibilities of religion joining and not separating the inhabitants of India as they have been doing lately with such disastrous results. In these days of restlessness and confusion I like to remember what Aldous-Huxley claims in his book *The Perennial Philosophy* when he writes:
>
> "It is a significant historical fact that the poet-saint Kabir is claimed as a co-religionist both by Moslems and Hindus. The politics of those whose goal is beyond time are always pacific; it is the idolaters of past and future, of reactionary memory and Utopian dream, who do the persecuting and make wars."

Amenities for Harijans, U. P.

A new Bill, drafted by the Government of U. P. for removing social disabilities of the Harijans, has been circulated to the Ministers for approval or opinion. It will be introduced in the next session of the Legislative Assembly which meets on January 11.

There are in all nine sections in the proposed Act which includes all conceivable items of social amenities and religious liberties which are at present denied to the Harijans. If anybody contravenes the provisions of the Act, he will be liable to imprisonment up to three months and a fine up to Rs. 200 or both. In case of a continued offence, provision has been made for the imposition of an additional fine up to Rs. 25 per day.

It is proposed in the Bill to allow Harijans free access to all social amenities provided for Hindus generally, such as use and enjoyment of all water and bathing places such as ghats, rivers, streams, tanks, taps, etc., public conveyance including dola-palki, places of public amusement or public entertainment, educational institutions, hospitals, temples, burial grounds, dharma-shalas, etc. Any refusal to render any service to, or receive it from, a Harijan, including refusal to let a house or land to, or to have business dealings with, Harijans, will be unlawful.

Public Trusts and charitable endowments which are created generally for the Hindus have also been brought within the scope of the Bill. Permission will not hencefortb be granted to such trusts and charitable endowments to exclude Harijans from their benefits ; and if any such condition is provided, it shall be regarded as null and void.

It is significant that the dola-palki dispute in Garhwal which has been still persisting and which was recently commented upon by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* is also sought to be settled by the proposed legislation. The Government have for the time being issued instructions to the district authorities to see to it that Harijans in Garhwal are not prevented from using dola-palki.' Mr. Baldeo Singh Arya, Convenor of the Dola-palki Raksha Samiti of Garhwal, said in a statement that Caste Hindus were challenging the shilpkars, a section of Harijans, to show them the law by virtue of which the Harijans claim the right to use dola-palki in their marriages.

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INDUSTRIAL STRIKES

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

INDUSTRIAL strikes are today the topic of the day—wherever people foregather, in clubs and restaurants, drawing-rooms and public meetings, buses and trams. They have become more pressing and disturbing than scarlet-tongued famine.

Industrial disputes are a class on their own, unlike most other aspects of our national life. One cannot avoid them by just sitting still indoors and doing nothing. They get you wherever you may be. There is no escaping these as you can't escape bad weather even by closing down the shutters. The storm may still blow off your roof, the flood run into your basement or the lightning hit your walls and columns. So with strikes. Without your being aware of it, they will dislocate your life and drive it off its normal rails. For today there is no such thing as an individual self-sufficient existence. You are part of a giant mechanism, whose working is a mystery to most. You are caught up in its perpetual revolution, whether you will it or not.

Strikes are therefore all the more bewildering. One simply does not know what to do about them. So hot and bothered everybody ventures to offer some panacea or another. The other day in a railway compartment I heard some holding forth on this topic of the day : "It is all the fault of the Provincial Ministries. If they would only fix a minimum wage scale, all would be well—there would be no more strikes. What is the use of having Popular Governments if they can't do this simple thing and save us all this bother ?" To them it was as simple as that, for the real nature of industrial conflicts is a closed book to many still.

Industrial unrest manifested through labour strikes on almost an unprecedented scale, is today a world phenomenon. It indicates one fact, that the old economic order is fast breaking down and the old processes and procedures which regulated our economic affairs have become ineffective and call for newer and fresher methods. In short, vast forces of a fundamental nature are rising and our social organism heaves and tosses like a rudderless boat caught in a storm.

These strikes unlike strikes of the good old days, tend to dislocate our normal social life in a way they never did before. For geographical units which include the human as well, have grown greatly interdependent. Like an intricate jungle where trees grow into one another, our needs and the means of their satisfaction have become intertwined with the demands and supplies of vast territories and countless peoples. In a way our economic structure has today become like a huge octopus, the whole of which we cannot see. We merely glimpse sections and parts and mistake it for the whole, landing ourselves into no end of confusion.

On the whole, the labour is at the moment in a more advantageous position for it enjoys today considerably more sympathy from the public than at any other time before. To a large extent this is because of the universal disapproval of the profiteering class, industrialists, traders and practically all classes of employers. But beyond that any discerning appraisal of the situation is bewildering, for the average man hardly knows the ropes—and over-simplification such as an over-all faith in wage standardization, is misleading and may be even dangerous at times. One has only to look at other countries where standardization of economy has been attempted to realise that it is an infinitely more complicated problem.

Let us take the United States where standardization of life has reached its peak and where controls covered everything from the ceiling to the floor, from the heavens to the earth. The labour situation and the constant conflicts there highlighted at the moment by the sensational trial of the labour leader, John Lewis, for inciting the coal miners to strike are of immense value to us who think that the cure for all India's manifold ills is a National Government and the execution of some sort of a Bombay Plan. No doubt, the National Government and the National Planning will go a long way towards meeting our deficiencies and inadequacies but they will also lead to the creation of new problems and new responsibilities. A survey of the American scene will both warn and guard us against certain glaring drawbacks inherent in the present set up.

"We are not fighting this war to make Millionaires." President Roosevelt told the nation in 1942, shortly after Pearl Harbour, addressing in particular the millions of young men leaving jobs in private industry to enter the armed forces—fresh flowering youth and more than a quarter million of women were to die in far-off lands to make the world safe for democracy. One small group, however, chose to shut their ears to this cryptic little sentence of their leaders, a group which was even then engaged in preparing for a raid on the war-driven economy which was to net it the highest profits in history.

During the period between World War I and II, monopoly power in the U.S. grew by leaps and bounds, the larger industrial and business concerns steadily and ruthlessly absorbing the smaller. The process speeded up in this war and in 1945, the mergers and acquisitions were higher than at any other time and just during the period when the Federal authorities seemed to be making a determined war on monopolicies and the public was being lulled into a false calm that actually monopoly is on the march.

The monopoly trusts have been active in many fields, above all in a campaign to control labour through concentration of economic powers and restrict its rights. To some extent the American taxation system is also responsible for this, for the burden falls too heavily on those least able to pay. But one wartime device in taxation has actually helped monopoly enhance its economic and political power and incidentally subsidize strikes by compensating them. Under this every Corporation has been given a post-war reserve equal to the total amount of normal taxes and excess-profits taxes, out of which the U.S. Treasury

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compensates Corporations at the rate of 81 cents on every dollar of decreased income and 81 cents on every dollar of loss. The General Motors claimed $31,415,207 for 1945 profit losses and $52,864,000 to cover strike losses. Similarly, General Electric figured the strike-loss compensation at $10 million, the United Electrical Radio fixed its figure at $79 million. During the war period of 1942-45, average annual corporate profits were approximately $23 billion or more than *four* times the average of pre-war years, and even with the deduction of taxes, the annual average was more than 9 billion or two and a half times the pre-war average.

Now let us look up on the other picture, for it is presumed that the American worker in asking for a rise is demanding more money for the same work. The cost of living went up 24 per cent from 1941 and 12 to 15 per cent from October 1942, when wage stabilization came into force. As compared with this, weekly wages have gone up on 6·1 per cent since October, 1942. In fact they have not kept pace with the official cost of living which of course falls short of the actual living costs. As a matter of fact, the weekly cheques have been steadily decreasing in amount, due to the reduction in hourly pay and weekly hours. The average fall by even the beginning of the year was 13·1 per cent. Nor is this the complete picture. For while the workman's basic wage has been frozen on the 1941 basis, actually the output per man hour has steadily risen, and it is estimated that the increase from 1935 to 1945 would be around 50 per cent. What the average public does not realise is that while prices are inter-related to costs of living, the basis that determines prices is not the simple one of demand and supply. For prices when controlled and dictated by monopolicies are always higher, for production is controlled and usually restricted to keep the prices soaring. Higher prices mean constant demand from workers for higher wages, while they mean higher profits for the privileged few and an undue sharpening of the contrast between Labour and Capital, to force the workers out on strike and then fight to cow them down.

During the war Labour was pledged not to strike in spite of long hours of intensive work, often under indifferent working conditions and inadequate housing. At the same time, corporate profits soared as never before. Not so the wages. If the take-home wages rose, it was mainly because of overtime and special duties. Consequently when war production stopped, pay was reduced about 1/3 by cessation of overtime and down-grading, but the living costs continued upward. Four days after V-J Day, President Truman announced the national reconversion wage-price policy ; free collective bargaining to be restored ; wage increases up to the point of price-increase. At the same time, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve system published their brochure on Post-war Economic study, *Jobs Production, and Living Standards,* in which they stated :

> "We shall have an opportunity of living better than we ever have in the past, but only if we so manage our economy as to provide markets for a much larger total product than we have ever had in peace time. Purchases of all classes of goods could and should expand greatly. A rise of 40 or 50 per cent above pre-war levels in consumption goods will be possible and necessary . . . if there is to be a market for the goods and services that will be produced if employment is to be maintained, the nation's income must not be permitted to decline materially."

About the same time, the United Automobile workers filed with the employers a demand for a 30 per cent increase in hourly wage rates to make up for the loss in take-home pay and the demand was in line with the national wage policy—the necessity to maintain the purchasing power of the people, for the alternative would be products piling up as surpluses, a decline in production and a consequent sharp rise in unemployment. The Company's ability to pay seemed irrefutable, what with the huge reserves built out of the fat war-profits, certain market for capacity production due to the lack of cars together with the lower unit costs of a volume 50 per cent above pre-war days. But the workers were eventually able to get only half their demand conceded and that after a three-month strike. Thus it went from industry to industry, workers to workers. This is what happened to the average worker and his family. A steel worker earning $50·85 for working around 48 hours, actually received $45·92 after deducting the taxes. Of this 45 per cent was spent on food, averaging about 30 cents (25 cents is the minimum for the poorest meal) ; 32·50 a month for house-rent, heat, utilities, etc. The Research Committee in Social Economics of the University of California lays down $59·15 (excluding taxes) as the minimum for a family of four. Whereas here was a worker who may be counted among those who may be making good wages whose income fell short of that bare minimum even during the peak days. When V-J day came however, and the industry began to swing back to 40-hour-week the workman made only $39·20, sometimes even less, a week. Between 1935-39 when the industry operated at 59 per cent of capacity, it made a profit after taxes of $115,000,000. During the war when production reached 90 per cent and even above, profits became tremendous. In addition, Government permitted war emergency facilities to be written off in five years or by the end of the war. This meant that the Companies charged an extremely high rate of amortization in high tax years and now face a future of relatively low taxes —from 8·5 per cent to 38 per cent—with income that would normally be spent for amortization freed from profits. Bethlehem Steel, for instance, wrote off $4[illegible] millions in amortization, thus converting a profit of $2[illegible] millions into a loss. And because it showed a loss Bethlehem got a tax refund of $35 millions. Yet Steel drove its workers to strike for a paltry rise of 10½ cents an hour !

The Maritime workers put on a big show, the biggest Maritime strike in U.S. history, tying up 1500 ships and keeping half a million men idle. The Mariners' case was that they now earned $60 a month less than they did in wartime, some as little as $127·50 a month for a 56-hour, seven-day week—the Stewards working 63 hours a week, whereas the War Labour Board laid down in 1945 a normal salary of $145. The Union points to the gigantic fleecing of the public treasury by the ship-owners, which has become such a national scandal as to call for a congressional enquiry to the excessive insurance collected by the operators of "rust buckets" (rotten ships) sunk at sea not to speak of the huge profits made on trade and sales—the average rate of profit was 80 per cent. The workers' demand was a flat increase of 22 cents for the lowest

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rising up to 35 for the skilled, a forty-hour week and overtime wage over 8 hours.

The most sensational was the railway strike, not because it was more disturbing than the telegraph and telephone, but more so because of the sequel it led to in President Truman's dramatic appeal to the Congress to penalise labour when it struck. As a matter of fact, the demands of the Railway workers regarding conditions of work had been approved by the Fact-Finding Government Board, and the workers had also agreed to the recommendation of the Board to refer the other demands to arbitration. It was the employers who had refused but the workers had got the whacking. In the words of the American Journal *Nation* :

"Truman achieved what one would have thought might only be accomplished by war, natural catastrophe, or political genius of an inconceivable order —blandly proposed a scheme that might easily have made this country a corporate state. With a heedlessness and irresponsibility smacking of a panicky hysteria and incredible in one so highly placed in office, he stormed down to the Congress to unceremoniously get a bill through empowering the President to proclaim a national emergency, give both parties 48 hours to end the deadlock, order labour dealers to send the men back to work. Failure to comply would result in seizure of industries by the executive and the fixing of wages and conditions of work by it. Up to $5000 in fines, a year's imprisonment, or both, for workers who failed to go back, loss of jobs immediately together with all the seniority rights, and if they balked as long as 24 hours, they were to be drafted into the army and sent back to serve on $50 a month or face a court martial. As our Senator posed it, the President acquired the right to send a striker to his death before a firing squad."

Labour called it a *Slave Bill*. It brought pouring into the President's lap, on an average 3,000 telegrams of protest a day—a total of 38,000 telegrams. The letters made too big a mountainous pile to be even handled.

Now has come the coal-miners' strike which incidentally but nevertheless fatally slows down numerous other industries dependent on regular coal supply. A few weeks ago on a single day there were as many as 40 strikes on in the city of New York alone. The most serious was that of 1,200 truck drivers with 1,500 drivers from neighbouring states striking in sympathy, blocking the thousands of trucks—average 5,000 a day—that rumble into the city with food and other essential supplies, rendering 70,000 warehouse men idle ; some industries air-braked to a creep, food-shelves in stores grew empty, while warehouses glutted with irremoveable goods. The most vital factor in the cause of strikes is the sense of insecurity which ove[illegible] the labour-world, that the lower, the more uncertain the wages, the worse the conditions of living and working, the greater the susceptibility to fears and the one undermining force is insecurity. Fear of loss of work, of illness, of accident—all make for instability. Economic security through social security laws, proper and adequate housing, national system of health insurance have to go side by side with a living wage if labour is to live in a normal psychological frame of mind and not get desperate. For it must be remembered that workers do not take risks with strikes unless they are in a desperate mood.

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THE GREAT CHALLENGE*

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

This is a book about the politics of the World War II and the coming peace by Mr. Louis Fischer, the distinguished author of *Soviets in World Affairs* (2 Vols.), *Empire*, *Men in Politics*, etc. Mr. Fischer is by far the most outstanding of American publicists who cherish ideals of democracy and world peace with justice and liberty for all without distinction of race, creed and color. He has written a dozen worthwhile books on world affairs and hundreds of serious articles and yet this volume under review—*The Great Challenge*—may be regarded as the most timely book of great value, full of facts—some of them not revealed before—on various and momentous international problems concerning the British Empire, Western Europe, Soviet Russia and her puppet States, the Near East, India, the Far East, the United States of America and problems of world peace and world government. In discussing these problems Mr. Fischer does not hedge around vital issues but goes to the heart of the questions and pronounce his verdicts which are direct, vigorous, conclusive and challenging. He gives more facts than opinions based upon hearsay information and thus for students of world affairs as well as laymen this book is valuable and vital to understanding the present trend of world politics and future development—Peace or War. While recommending the work, the reviewer feels that those who will not agree with Mr. Fischer's points of view on various subjects, will find the work as of absorbing interest. Mr. Fischer's style is simple, direct, vigorous and at times dramatic, breathing strong conviction.

The Great Challenge is this : In view of the recent experience and the existing crisis what should be done to save democracies from the spread of totalitarianism. This question cannot be ignored by any one who has interest in human freedom.

II

Allied historians and those who conducted Nuremberg trial, because the Nazis started the aggressive World War II, have not taken into account the part played by Soviet Russia in bringing about the War. In fact when Von Ribbentrop and others wanted to have the secret agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia examined by the court, Soviet Russia autho-

* *The Great Challenge* by Louis Fischer, New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. Index. Pp. 346. Price $4.

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rities objected to the procedure and thus the issue of Soviet Russia's part in bringing about the war was not discussed. In view of this situation, it may be of interest to note what Mr. Fischer, who cannot be classed as pro-Nazi, has to say on the subject :

"*The second World War flowed from the Soviet-Nazi pact.* (Italics are mine). But it is inaccurate to say that Russia expected a major war. Moscow anticipated that the Soviet-Nazi pact would induce England and France to do a "Munich" on Poland and refrain from fighting. *The Bolsheviks knew that, failing such an Anglo-French surrender of Poland, Hitler would invade Poland, crush Poland, and divide Poland with Russia.* Thereupon, Stalin reasoned, the British and French governments would conclude a reluctant peace with Germany. In the resulting hostility between the West and Germany, Russia would find safety. This is why Stalin concluded the pact with Hitler." (Page 23).

"The Soviet Government saw no sense in a war against Hitler. The Moscow *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, on October 9, 1939, wrote : 'To start a war in order to destroy Hitlerism is to commit a criminal folly in politics.' Foreign Commissar Molotov therefore called France and England 'aggressors.'

"Russia (like Germany) tried to end the war after the conquest of Poland. Stalin charged in the *Pravda* of November 30, 1940, that 'the ruling classes of England and France rudely declined Germany's peace proposals as well as the attempts of the Soviet Union to attain the earliest termination of the war'." (Page 23).

It may be pointed out that Mr. Fischer makes it clear that President Roosevelt felt that a Russo-German Pact would be ultimately disastrous for Russia and the world : As early as July 18, 1939, President Roosevelt warned Stalin through Ambassador Joseph E. Davies and Russian Ambassador Oumansky that "if his (Stalin's) government joined up with Hitler, it was certain as night followed the day that as soon as Hitler conquered France he would turn on Russia, and it would be Soviet's turn next." (Page 22).

Stalin had believed to the end that Hitler would remain loyal to the Soviet-Nazi Pact and try to crush the British Empire. That is why Stalin persisted in appeasing Hitler. Instead, Hitler was loyal to *Mien Kampf* and to the ideas of Hess and tried to crush Russia. (Page 36).

The author has explained two-fold reasons for Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. The first was : When Hitler realised that Great Britain would not make peace and it was found that it would not be easy for Germany to conquer Britain aided by America, he wanted to weaken if not destroy Soviet before the latter became too strong to challenge Nazi Germany, possibly in co-operation with the Western Powers. Furthermore in spite of the partition of Poland between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and in spite of German concessions to Soviet Russia at Baltic States and Rumania, there existed conflicting interests between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Mr. Fischer gives the German version of Hitler-Molotov interviews of January 22, 1941 (page 31) which indicates conclusively the existence of sharp difference between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia regarding Russian expansion in Roumania, Finland, Bulgaria and control of the Dardanelles. In view of what has happened to these regions German version seems to be correct. In this connection it may be said that Molotov made very clear Russian intentions against Turkey :

"Molotov's fourth question : Soviet Russia requires free passage through the Dardanelles under all circumstances, and for her protection also demands occupation of a number of important bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Was Germany in agreement with this or not ?

"My (Hitler's) answer : Germany was prepared at all times to agree to alteration of the Statutes of Montreux in favor of the Black Sea States. Germany was not prepared to agree to Russia taking possession of bases on the straits." (P. 31).

One may easily conceive that the question of Russian demands regarding the Dardanelles known to Hitler was passed along to the Turkish Government which demanded security from Soviet Government and refused to declare war against Germany in spite of the pressure from Russia and it is also conceivable that Turkey was supported in her stand against Soviet Russia during the war by Anglo-French-American Powers as it is today.

III

Regarding American involvement in the World War II, Mr. Fischer has no illusion and he rightly points out that long before the Pearl Harbor tragedy America was in it. He writes :

"The United States was at war before Pearl Harbor, not officially but in fact. On September 1, 1940, the first anniversary of the war in Europe, President Roosevelt announced an agreement with Churchill whereby the United States gave Britain fifty 'over-age' destroyers and Britain gave the United States military and naval bases in the Atlantic. If the destroyers were too old why did the British want them ? They were in fact good warships and performed well throughout the war. On March 11, 1941, the President signed the Lend-Lease Act whereby billions of dollars' worth of arms were given to nations fighting the Axis. The moment Hitler or Mussolini invaded yet another country Lend-Lease were extended to it. On April 5, 1941 the United States took over the protection of Danish Greenland. On July 7, 1941, the United States joined England in the occupation of Iceland and undertook to 'supplement' and 'replace' British troops stationed there. In 1941, the American Navy was convoying ships in the Atlantic and actively co-operating with the British in hunting down Nazi submarines. American diplomacy, too, worked against Germany, Italy and Japan. Repeatedly, for instance, the State Department warned the Petain regime at Vichy against letting Hitler use the French fleet. Steps were taken in Latin America to frustrate the Axis militarily and commercially. In innumerable declarations, Roosevelt, Secretary of State Hull, and lesser officials showed their unneutral anti-Axis sympathies.

"Many months before Pearl Harbor, the United States military authorities had prepared a detailed, practical and far-flung and imaginative plan for American participation in the defeat of the Axis powers . . ." (P. 17).

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The so-called isolationists opposed these moves but the internationalists supported them, because as Mr. Wendell Wilkie in one of his articles wrote : "The problem that faces the United States . . . is the survival of democratic institutions, of a way of life that means more to us than anything else in the world . . . We are helping Britain because the fight she is putting up is greatly to our advantage. Hitler's totalitarian slave system is automatically and irrevocably against freedom." (P. 21).

But how did the Pearl Harbor attack come ? Mr. Fischer gives the following interesting statement of facts :

"The Russo-Japanese treaty (non-aggression pact) of April, 1941, and Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941, ended the danger of any Soviet action in the Far East. This paved the way for Japan's big drive in December, 1941." (Page 82).

"During 1939, 1940, and 1941, diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan had steadily deteriorated. On July 10, 1939, Secretary of State Cordell Hull told the Japanese Ambassador in Washington that America did not want to see all of China and the Pacific islands 'Manchurianized.' Simultaneously, the United States started putting economic pressure on Japan, and the bulk of American Navy was transferred to the Pacific. In August, 1940, the export to Japan of American aviation gasoline and most types of machine tools, and the next month the export of iron and steel scrap, were prohibited. On July 26, 1941, President Roosevelt issued an executive order freezing Japanese assets in the United States. Two days earlier the President had asked Japan to respect the neutrality of French Indo-China ; Nipponese forces nevertheless continued to occupy that wealthy colony. On August 17, 1941, straight from his Atlantic Charter meeting with Churchill, the President handed the Japanese Ambassador a note which declared that if Japan continued her policy of 'military domination by force or threat of neighboring countries,' the United States 'will be compelled to take immediately any and all steps deemed necessary towards safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the United States . . .' This was probably the crucial date . . . President Roosevelt hoped by negotiation to stop aggression. This was laudable. But in view of America's naval and military weakness at the time, Mr. Roosevelt overplayed his diplomatic hand. History must decide, however, whether it was worth the price of Pearl Harbor to get the United States into war a few months earlier . . . Convinced by the negotiations in Washington in the summer of 1941, that our entry into the war was inevitable, Tokyo wished to mark that entry with a major United States disaster. Hence Pearl Harbor." (Pp. 82-84).

IV

Mr. Fischer has devoted nearly 60 pages in discussing various phases of the Indian Problem. In the chapter "Roosevelt, Gandhi and Chiang Kai-shek" he makes a very valuable contribution respecting the attitude of these men on the Indian question. It is a fashion among certain Indian politicians and Indian communists who betrayed Indian nationalists during the war to class nationalist China and specially General Chiang Kai-shek as Fascist and enemy of democracy ; but Mr. Fischer discloses that during the dark days of August 1942, it was Chiang Kai-shek alone who repeatedly urged President Roosevelt to induce Churchill to grant freedom to India. It may be worthwhile to quote a certain part of General Chiang's cables to Roosevelt during July 1942 :

"The Indian situation has reached an extremely intense and critical stage. Its development in fact constitutes the most important factor in determining the outcome of the United Nations war, and especially the war in the East . . . Your country is the leader in this war of right against might and Your Excellency's views have always received serious attention in Britain. Furthermore, for a long time the Indian people have been expecting the United States to come out and take a stand on the side of Justice and Equality. . . . The wisest and most enlightened policy for Britain to pursue would be to restore to India her complete freedom. . . . The War Aims of the United Nations and our common interests make it impossible for me to remain silent. Ancient Chinese proverb says : 'Good medicine, though bitter, cures one's illness ; words of sincere advice, though unpleasant, guide one's conduct.' I sincerely hope that Britain will magnanimously and resolutely accept my words of disinterested advice however unpleasant they may be . . ." (Pp. 161-162).

Mr. Roosevelt sympathised with Chiang's views. But he could not induce "his friend Winston" to agree to the idea. In fact Mr. Churchill, when directly approached by Chiang Kai-shek for Indian freedom, threatened breaking off Anglo-Chinese Alliance. (P. 163). When this news spread among certain diplomats the late President of the Philippines Manuel Quezon in September, 1942, at Hotel Shoreham told Mr. Fischer : "If Amery, British Secretary of State for India, had said that to my envoy, and if mine were a nation of four hundred million instead of fifteen, I would have replied : All right, the alliance has lost all value to me. And I would have negotiated with the Japs." (P. 167).

Those who think of Asian freedom and Asiatic solidarity may well ponder over what happened in Washington in 1942, regarding Indian freedom. Those who talk about Soviet Russia's sympathy for Indian freedom, should also not forget that Churchill received Russian support because Molotov agreed with Churchill that India was Britain's private affair.

It may not be out of place to mention that Mr. Fischer gives the full text of Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Roosevelt and it contains the following passage :

"The policy of the Indian National Congress, largely guided by me, has been one of non-embarrassment to Britain, consistently with the honorable working of the Congress, admittedly the largest political organization of the longest standing in India. The British policy as exposed by the Cripps mission and rejected by almost all parties has opened our eyes and has driven me to the proposal I have made. I hold that the full acceptance of my proposal and that alone can put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis. I venture to think that the Allied declaration that the Allies are fighting to make the world safe for freedom of individual and democracy sounds hollow so long as India, and for that matter Africa, are exploited by Great Britain, and America has the Negro problem in her own home. But in order to avoid all complications in

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my proposal I have confined myself to India. If India becomes free, the rest will follow, if it does not happen simultaneously.

"In order to make my proposal fool-proof I have suggested that if the Allies think it necessary they may keep their troops, at their own expense, in India, not for keeping internal order but for preventing Japanese aggression and defending China. So far as India is concerned, she must become free even as America and Great Britain are. The Allied troops will remain in India during the war under treaty with the free Indian government that may be formed by the people of India without any outside interference, direct or indirect. It is on behalf of this proposal I write this to enlist your active sympathy. . . ." (Pp. 168-69).

Mr. Gandhi could not secure Mr. Roosevelt's active sympathy; but in due course China and the United States are the two nations which have recognised India's sovereign status by establishing respective embassies in New Delhi. This is symbolic and most far-reaching gesture of friendship.

V

In view of the recent developments of Soviet Russian policies in the Far East, it will be of interest to note what Mr. Fischer had to say to Mr. Sumner Welles, the then Under Secretary of State for the United States on February 11, 1941 :

"Russia's objective in the Far East is the weakening of Japan and domination of China . . . Moscow hopes first to control the Chinese Communist provinces near the Soviet Union but that does not preclude Russian influence in other parts of China." (P. 41).

This policy remains effective today.

In 1941 Moscow's purpose in the Far East was to involve Japan in a war with U. S. A. so that Japan would be weakened ; and to encourage Japan to attack U. S. A. Stalin made a Non-aggression Pact with Japan. (P. 45).

VI

Mr. Fischer is an expert on Soviet Russia and his study of Soviet Russia's internal and external policies will be of very great interest to all students of world affairs. In a chapter entitled "Laskiology," Mr. Fischer makes critical examination of the position of men like Professor Harold Laski, who has in one of his books, declared "the Russian idea as the world-saving faith destined to replace Christianity."

Any one believing in democracy cannot defend Soviet Russian totalitarianism. Mr. Fischer, who was one of the ardent supporters of the Russian Revolution, denounces Soviet Russian totalitarianism. He asks the question, "Why did I change my attitude towards the Soviet Union ?" and gives the following answer :

"I changed because Russia changed. There were no personal, private or professional reasons for my dissent. I was reacting against new policies and new conditions in Stalin's Russia. I was reacting against nationalism, the inhuman purges, the mounting inequality, the new aristocracy, the growing cynicism (the Soviet-Nazi pact was only one of its products), and the personal dictatorship with all its concomitant evils. My opposition to the present Soviet Government is a response to its nationalistic imperialistic, undemocratic policies. Especially do I decry the new Russian nationalism . . . Criticism is democracy. Democrats who urge a moratorium on criticism of Soviet government are serving the cause of dictatorship . . . The Soviet regime is civilised in relation to all races and uncivilised in relation to all persons, because there is no personal freedom in Soviet Russia."

What is the exact situation regarding the racial minorities in Soviet Russia ?

"Technically, the republics of national minorities, the Georgians, the Ukranians and other constituent republics of the Soviet Union federation, have the right to secede if they wish. *In fact they would not be permitted to do so. Technically, they have political and economic autonomy ; actually, their orders from Moscow. Since 1941, in fact Moscow has suppressed several national republics and deprived their peoples of autonomy. This was done without official announcement (it only became known when the list of electoral districts appeared). . . . Moscow has tried to repress the growing nationalism of some minorities, notably of the Tartars and other non-Slavs . . . The Armenian race in the Soviet Union has freedom. But no Soviet Armenian has personal freedom. Nor has an Uzbeck, Ukranian or Tadjik. In that they are all equal. . . . The Soviet regime is civilized in relation to all races and uncivilized in relatson to all persons.*" (Pp. 214-215).

Those who have a double standard of international morality regarding totalitarianism—one favoring Soviet Russia and the other condemning Franco etc.,—will be interested in what Mr. Fischer has to say in answer to their flimsy arguments :

"The justification of ruthless dictatorship on the ground that brings jobs for all and the chance of better living conditions for masses transcends Russia ; it has become a world issue, perhaps the biggest issue facing modern man. If dictatorship is the road to plenty and security—Russia's experience has not proved that it is, but propagandists nevertheless assert it—then a billion and a half persons in Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America, who have suffered from poverty for decades may be induced to favor the Russian way of life and Russian expansion. If Russia is the guarantee of peace—Russia's aggressions do not prove it but it is loudly affirmed by the naive, the ignorant, and the sinister—then why not scrap democracy and adopt Stalinism everywhere ? . . ." (P. 222).

VII

The chapters on "Stalin" and "Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin Make Peace" will be of special interest to all students of world politics, because Mr. Fischer has much to say about Soviet Russian nationalism and imperialism. It was the fear of a possible separate peace with Germany by Soviet Russia always haunted Churchill and Roosevelt and thus at Casablanca, Teheran and Yalta they appeased Stalin. According to Mr. Fischer, this policy of appeasement on the part of Anglo-American statesmen was not necessary and a mistake. This appeasement has created tremendous appetite for Soviet Russian expansion and latest difficulties in world politics, threatening a world chaos.

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"The American and British governments were worried about Stalin's loyalty to the Big Three coalition. This carefully-concealed sentiment dominated American and British diplomacy at Teheran in December, 1943. It created a perfect situation for Stalin. Behind each request he had for Polish territory or for other advantages was the unspoken threat that in case of rebuff he had an alternative : an agreement with a Hitler-less Germany." (P. 246).

"As soon as Russia started winning battles in 1943, the possibility of a separate Soviet-German peace loomed ; Stalin could consequently dictate terms to England and America at Teheran. Still later, the Red Army moved into Eastern and Central Europe, and the Kremlin began imposing itself on small countries. That inaugurated a new phase in the relations within the Big Three. To curb unilateralism and more Soviet expansion, the United States and Great Britain again saw themselves compelled to compromise with the Soviet Government by yielding to most of Russia's wishes at Yalta." (P. 247).

"The chances of a separate Russo-German peace were so small, and the Anglo-American cards were so strong (Lend-Lease, growing military powers, etc.) that the least one can say is that Roosevelt and Churchill did not have to surrender as abjectly to Stalin as they did in Teheran and Yalta. There was even less reason for surrender at Potsdam in August, 1945, when Germany had fallen and Japan was about to reel under two American atomic bombs. The American and British negotiators displayed less skill than Stalin." (P. 249).

VIII

The Jewish question is a vital factor in world politics of today and thus Mr. Fischer has also discussed this issue very briefly. Mr. Fischer is an internationalist and thus he thinks Zionism, Jewish nationalism, is not desirable and Arab nationalism and Jewish nationalism in Palestine cannot effectively collaborate which should be the means of solution of the Jewish question. The Jews have been so persecuted and made homeless ; and anti-Semitism of the West has made the Jews conscious of the necessity of having a Jewish homeland. "Persons who were anti-Zionists a few years ago not uncommonly class themselves as non-Zionists, or even as Zionists today. They may still object to political Zionism. They cannot deny the necessity of a new home for homeless, unhappy Jews." (P. 153).

The Jews have, according to the reviewer's judgment, the right to make Palestine their homeland, in spite of Moslem majority at the present time. Palestine is the Jews' homeland in the same sense as the Punjab is the homeland of the Hindus since the days of the Vedas. Moslem conquest of the Punjab and the growth of Moslem population in that region does not justify any claim on the part of anyone to regard the Punjab as the land of the Moslems, similarly the Jews have the eternal right to re-establish themselves in their ancient homeland to save their very existence and at the same time to aid the cause of development of the whole of the Near East.

IX

What of the future of the world and democracies ? Mr. Fischer feels that ultimately, if civilization is to survive there should be a World Government.

"If the second World War was to have any sense it had to become a world civil war, a war against slavery, a war to establish one world indivisible, with liberty and justice to all. A war to give one nation another's territory or oil-field or market is a supreme and senseless crime." (P. 11).

Mr. Fischer, as early as June, 1940, has been advocating for an European Federation, and this idea is a step towards World Federation :

"Europe must be organised into a federation, federation is the negation of economic nationalism and narrow political nationalism. History has demonstrated that the only protection of nations lies in internationalism. There is no individual security for man or country." (Page 16).

Mr. Fischer recognises the fact that Soviet Russian expansionist policy is a serious obstacle to development of World Government :

"When Russia reaches out to China, the Mediterranean, North Africa, Trieste, Greece, and through her Communist parties, into every capitalist country, she is moved not only by imperialistic arrogance but by ideological confidence. The major Soviet offensive is inspired by the defeatism of weak countries and the appeasement psychology of large countries, but above all by the unrest and discontent within countries, including the unrest and discontent within the Soviet Union." (P. 334).

The remedy lies in Anglo-American leadership towards the needed change in world affairs leading to World Federation based on Justice and Liberty for all :

"The British Labor Government's plans for independence of Asiatic colonies worry Moscow much more than Churchill's Anglo-American entente. Let the Western powers shift their support from the feudal landlords or the Near East to the impoverished peasantry, and Moscow will know that something important has happened. Let the Chinese Federal Government introduce a land reform and Stalin will say : 'They are uniting China and driving me out of it.' Let the white race give incontrovertible evidence of a new and honorable attitude towards colored people, and Moscow will realize that it is being robbed of millions of potential political recruits. Let the democracies demonstrate that they combat anti-Semitism, and those who compare and judge will conclude that the democracies are anti-fascist. Let England and America befriend the forces of social change in Europe, and Europe will find new vigor to fight Slav-Communist imperialism . . . These are the kinds of weapons which can stop Russia's offensive against the democracies." (Pp. 334-335).

Mr. Fischer is opposed to "appeasement of Soviet Russia" and at the same time he is opposed to any policy of "fight Russia now." But he advocates : "Block Russia's territorial expansion by an effective international organization and block Russia's ideological expansion by increasing the contentment and cohesion of the countries in her path." (P. 335).

Mr. Fischer's study will not receive approval of Communists and Imperialists ; but it is the conviction of the reviewer that the book should be studied by all who are genuinely interested in world affairs and world peace.

New York University,
November 25, 1946

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THE POLITICAL FUTURE IN INDIA

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By L. JAMES,

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If one turns over the pages of a Historical Atlas, it soon becomes apparent that the general tendency with the passage of centuries has been for larger political units to emerge in place of a mosaic of small units. This is true whether one considers the process of German and Italian unification, the rise of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires, or the gradual building up of large empires like the British and Russian imperial systems. Of course, there has been the reverse process; the great steppe-land empires like that of Jengiz Khan have integrated huge areas and crumbled away in a relatively short time, but nevertheless the general thesis holds true that political units have tended to become larger. Very broadly the emergence of larger political units has corresponded with the improvement in communications and the change in economy from a local to an international basis. The development of China or the integration of India into one major unit exhibit the same tendencies. Unity may be imposed on an area by an outside power (as Britain did in India, and the Soviet is now doing in eastern Europe) or it can arise from internal causes, usually the result of dynastic union or from the work of some outstanding personality.

There has been a considerable measure of inevitability about forming larger units in the modern world; daily the world becomes more closely knit owing to the improvement of transport facilities, and each year sees a greater economic interdependence between the continents. But the centrifugal forces, having their roots in improved transport and closer economic relationships, are challenged in the present century by forces that are centripetal. The main factor in the modern world that makes for political disintegration is nationalism, and although it is undoubtedly a strong unifying force in the area where the members of the national group live, it is a factor that delays the transition to the international stage of world relationships.

The whole process and conflicting tendencies can well be illustrated by a brief review of events in Eastern and Central Europe during the course of the present century. The larger unit versus the carving up process is clearly to be seen in Austria-Hungary. Before 1914 this multinational empire was governed by the Austrians and Hungarians (it was called the 'dual empire'), but economically it formed a single unit. Within the empire, the Austrians and Hungarians supplied the ruling classes, but numerically these two groups were smaller than the numbers of the subject nationalities; these included Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Italians, Rumans, Croats, Poles, etc. In the course of the nineteenth century the new force of nationalism began to make its influence felt, and some elements started to agitate for a greater measure of independence from Austrian and Hungarian rule. Some wanted a federal status within the empire, but towards 1914, considerable elements believed that only complete independence and separate statehood would suffice. The defeat of the Central Powers in the first World War enabled them to achieve this, and the Austro-Hungarian empire was disintegrated on a nationality basis. President Wilson's concept of self-determination was conceived with high intentions and noble motives; its philosophic premise was simple. If millions of people are forced to live under imperial systems that take little or no account of their legitimate wishes and aspirations, then there must one day come a challenge to such a situation that can involve the rest of the world in war. Therefore, the argument ran, if these nationalities in Eastern Europe, instead of being forced to live under German, Austro-Hungarian or Russian imperial control, were given separate political status, and each had its own sovereign state, one of the major causes leading to war would be eliminated. The peace-makers proceeded in 1919 to dismember the Austro-Hungarian empire, and Austria and Hungary were shorn of their territories not occupied by their national groups. The same principle was applied to Germany, and the internal collapse of Russia in 1917 enabled the Baltic nationalities to set up separate states.

As is well known, a review of the history of Central and Eastern Europe in the inter-war years indicates that self-determination did not by any means usher in a period of peaceful economic and cultural development. Within twenty years the rise of a new German imperialism challenged the whole framework of the political pattern of 1919, and the new Soviet imperialism in 1940 joined in a further partition of Poland.

Self-determination was no panacea for the many problems of frontiers in Europe. When it came to be applied, it proved extremely difficult to delimit frontiers in a region where the nationalities are inextricably mixed. The distribution of nationalities in Eastern Europe does not permit any easy formula like self-determination to be applied. Once the claim of the nationalities to form separate states had been conceded, they began to put forward claims to territory not occupied by their nationals, but which they desired on grounds of strategy or to obtain an economic outlet to the sea. In practice the principle of self-determination was applied with less detachment to the defeated powers than to the nationalities seeking either to set up new states or recreate old ones. France tended to exploit the formula of self-determination in the interests of weakening Germany and of creating a system of French satellite powers (the Little Entente) in Eastern Europe. But to represent self-determination as an idealist philosophy employed to cloak sinister designs is to misrepresent the whole character of the peace settlement. The frontiers in Eastern and Central Europe after 1919 did in fact conform more closely to the wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants of this area than did the 1914 frontiers. But the new frontiers immeasurably increased the economic difficulties of the Danubian area, and minority problems were present in all the new units. Some powers like Bulgaria and Hungary quite openly refused to consider the 1919 frontiers as in any way final, and they immediately began to look round for assistance in getting them changed.

We may summarise the conclusions from this review of Eastern Europe as follows: (1) However dispassionately frontiers are drawn in areas of mixed nationality, they must always be unsatisfactory since they leave large minorities on either side of the fron-

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tier ; (2) Self-determination leads to a fragmentation of areas and divides areas that are economically interdependent. Agricultural regions which before 1914 were complementary to the industrial areas found themselves cut off from their former markets owing to the new boundaries. Very soon these political frontiers came to mean serious economic barriers owing to the introduction of tariffs and quotas that increasingly strangled previous flourishing trade relationships. The classic example of economic chaos owing to political disintegration is the Danubian area, where Austria-Hungary was divided between seven powers. The multiplication of frontiers through self-determination is undesirable in a world where economic relationship ought to grow closer. Economic difficulties always have swift political repercussions and lead to a worsening of international relationships. The 1919 frontiers saw the triumph of the principle of nationality over the need for larger units. It was a reversal of previous trends, and because the whole political pattern was not in accord with economic realities it was destined to fail.

The events of Eastern and Central Europe ought to be closely studied by the present generation ; they have a clear lesson for countries trying to work out their political future. India faces roughly the same alternatives, whether to integrate the whole subcontinent as one political unit, or to have disintegration on the basis of the religious cleavage between Hindu and Moslem. Although the latter have areas in the North-West and Bengal where they are in a clear majority, the actual separation is far from being clear-cut. However carefully the frontier between the two is drawn, it will leave both sides with minorities. It is not seriously proposed that the pernicious practice should be restored to of uprooting people from their homes in order to transfer them to some other area in the interests (so-called) of achieving religious uniformity within the respective regions. Modern nations need to recall that cultural progress is dependent upon the fusion and interaction of peoples and cultures of different outlooks and character. Uniformity ought never to become an object of established policy. Although it is possible to demonstrate fairly successfully that Pakistan can develop its areas on separate lines, using its own ports, and having its own industrial areas, the lesson of Eastern Europe is that political division runs counter to economic development. It inevitably makes for disharmony in every sphere of life. If Indians patiently and carefully study the lessons of events in inter-war Europe, they will spare themselves decades of frustration and strife. Separation into two or more political units ought to be avoided except as a very last extremity.

The ordinary people of India, as of many other lands are united in their poverty ; the task of the present period is to raise the standard of life by introducing the necessary improvements in agriculture and developing industrialism under proper safeguards that it does not leave an evil legacy, and so make the common lot both easier and happier. Political separation will only delay this essential work by diverting energy into unprofitable channels ; it can only bring frustration and chaos such as have occurred in Eastern Europe.

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IMPRESSIONS OF MEERUT CONGRESS SESSION

By R. C. BHATIA

The plenary Congress Session was held in Meerut after 6½ years of storm and stress, the previous occasion on which the Congress met was in March 1940 at Ramgarh in Bihar under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a deft and successful steersman of the ship of India through hazards and privations. These years had seen world-shaking international events and many a great convulsions in India. During these years many a struggle—violent and non-violent—within the country itself and outside were launched which had resulted in taking the caravan of freedom much nearer its goal. It can be said now after Meerut deliberations that the day of achieving the objective for which the Congress has stood up till now and waged many incessant struggles against overwhelming odds, is not far off.

Meerut has many historic associations and is consecrated to the memory of the national heroes who fought and fell in our first struggle to throw away the foreign mis-rule *i.e.*, the Mutiny of 1857. The role of Meerut and its people in the various national movements launched by Gandhiji has been considerably important. In U. P., it was here that the Khadi Pracharani scheme found a home and spread to the other parts of the province. In this city, there also exists Gandhi Ashram where the caste distinctions are not observed and now Meerut which for the first time in the long history of Congress had, not only the privilege of holding a Congress Session but also, built up the enviable reputation of having arrived at decisions which are not only important in themselves but are momentous and epoch-making in character.

This session promised to be a unique one in the annals of the Congress, from the point of view of pageantry and the vast multitudes expected to attend it. The Reception Committee had made arrangements for 10 lakhs of visitors. But the unprecedented and horrifying communal disturbances led the authorities to decide upon a purely business-like show, abandoning all the spectacular parts of it. But from this, we need not draw the conclusion that being devoid of glamour, its importance in this history of India is less. In spite of all these unfavourable omens and the wave of disappointment over the inhabitants of Meerut, it is encouraging to note that the session was successfully held to schedule owing to the tireless efforts of the members of the Reception Committee.

The highlights of the session were a stirring oration, moving clarification and thought-provoking speech by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the resolution of communal civil strife, frank disclosures of the working of Interim Government and the efforts of the Muslim League to sabotage it by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a sober but fluent dis-

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course by Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan on the necessity of placing a concrete picture of *Swaraj* before the Indian masses.

The able handling of the proceedings with occasional flashes of sparkling wit which afforded necessary lighter moments reflect great credit on the new President's way of dealing with things. But one thing clearly emanates from the session that it was essentially a big man's show. The big leaders took so much of the time in the proceedings that the President had necessarily to pull up the other speakers not to make lengthy speeches in order to finish the programme in two days. No time was spared for the disposal of non-official business.

Presidential Address

Acharya J. B. Kripalani in his presidential remarks analysed the present political situation in all its aspects. With the freedom's battle almost won, it was a true picture of the advantages and dangers that confront India. He struck an optimistic note of courage, confidence and challenge.

The presidential address, in fact, was an impassioned and well-reasoned appeal to the Indians not to deprive themselves of the benefits that have accrued to them on account of a non-violent Gandhian revolution by leaving the golden principle of non-violence when its adoption can enable the Indians to give a new lead to the Orient and the world. He said :

> "But the darkness of centuries can be removed, the moment the light is brought in. In India, the light has been lit, let us keep it steadily burning and let us follow its lead and all shall yet be well with us."

Essentially, it was a non-violent approach to all the questions including the prevalent communal conflict.

In economic affairs too, he referred to the historic role of the Congress in its bold advocacy of decentralised industry and declared :

> "If political power has a tendency to corrupt the holder of the power, this tendency is doubly increased by the combination of political and economic power in the same hands . . . Therefore, if democracy is to survive, it must discover a means of avoiding the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a ruler or rulers. Even a political democracy can be a dictatorship, if there are no spheres of free activity left to the individual."

Important Decisions

This Congress Session passed six resolutions of great significance in the history of the Congress and the country. These resolutions are a land-mark and have given a new impetus to the Congress organisation. The Congress policy has been defined in a clear-cut way, leaving no room for any misrepresentation or loop-hole on the following problems :

1. *Unity within the Congress ranks.*
2. *Interim Government.*
3. *Communal Disturbances.*
4. *Problem of Indian States.*
5. *New Constitution for India.*
6. *Change in the Congress Constitution.*

Retrospect

In the first resolution,

> "The Congress, meeting after 61 years of upheaval and frightfulness, paid its homage to the memory of those who had given their lives in the cause of Indian freedom, and all those who have suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions."

Thus it discharged its obligations towards the fighters of freedom even though they might have pursued violent methods—diametrically opposed to the Congress method—for achieving freedom.

But the operative clause of this resolution stated

> "The Congress calls upon the people to put an end to the internecine conflict and face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they had fought in the past for India's independence."

Although this resolution appeared to be a non-controversial one, the isterpretation of Mr. S. K. Patil, the seconder, brought to feet Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader. He countered the plea of Mr. Patil that all the parties within the Congress should give up their labels and stand as a united body at this critical hour in the history of the country. He was of the firm opinion that conflicts of ideologies result in healthy development of an organisation instead of retarding the progress and maintained that C.S.P. has given an excellent example of the observance of the Congress discipline. He made a bold offer to withdraw the Socialists from all the Congress elective offices that could help in the achievement of internal unity.

Interim Government

The proposal for the ratification of the past actions of the Working Committee regarding the establishment of the Interim Government came in for a good deal of opposition at the hands of the Socialists and the Forward Blocists. It was their plea that office acceptance by the Congress has led to a process of drying up of the revolutionary character and urge of the Congress. Master Mota Singh in a humorous way declared that their aim was to take the Congress leaders in the forward line.

But the historic pronouncements by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that the Muslim League was functioning as a King's Party and that the team spirit of a Cabinet was conspicuous by its absence and that the relations between the Muslim League and the Congress were far from cordial has dispelled the illusions of the Indian masses. It is now clear that all is not well with the Interim Government and if such complications continue, a grave constitutional crisis is in the offing. It is clear that the Congress is insistent upon two things, first, the Muslim League must accept the State Paper of May 16 in its entirety revising the decision of its rejection. Second, the Cabinet must work with full sense of joint responsibility under the virtual leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If the Muslim League feels shy of working under these conditions, the Congress will not tolerate its presence in the Interim Government.

Communal Disturbances

This Congress session gave an excellent lead on the communal question. It condemned in all seriousness and with all the vigour at its command, "the new development in communal strife crimes apparently for political purposes and ominous to the peace, tranquility and progress of India," but did not fail to give the correct lead that communal differences can be solved only by peaceful means.

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It also reiterated its conviction that the only solution of the communal problem is independence from foreign control and appealed to the people not to allow communal passion to sidetrack the national struggle at the last stage of India's march to freedom. This resolution represents a model approach and can be made the basis of an educative propaganda to counter the evil effects of the poisonous propaganda which is causing grave injury to Indian body politic.

The speeches by top-ranking Indian leaders including besides others Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, delivered in elaboration of this resolution, deserve much commendation. All of them, in fact, made impassioned and earnest appeal to the country to put an end to this communal warfare which was a serious blot on the fair name of India. They also appealed to the workers to carry the message of communal peace and harmony to every village in India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad summed up the situation in an able manner. He thought that Indian Nationalism was on a real trial and the Congress as the repository of the Indian nationalism has to fight for its very existence. In his opinion, if the Congress workers put their heart and soul into the task of achieving communal peace, this problem which now seems to be defying solution can be solved in a very short time. The grave warning administered by the Maulana went home to the audience.

States Problem

On the question of the Indian States, the Congress did not fail to give a correct lead. It declared that it considered the struggle for freedom in the States as an essential part of the larger struggle in India and that it considered it wholly untenable for the British Government to claim through the Viceroy and Crown Representative to have any interest in the States other than or apart from that of the Government of India. It has also declared in clear and unequivocal terms that the representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly should be chosen by their people. Thus the Congress has given the proof of its earnestness in trying to put an end to the double-distilled slavery of States in India. This will cause another headache to the Political Department which is backing the rulers of the States in insisting upon their right to nominate the representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly.

New Constitution for India

In two other resolutions, the Congress position as regards the new constitution for India and the Congress conception of *Swaraj* was defined in unequivocal terms. It is encouraging to note that the Congress declares on the eve of the Constituent Assembly that

> "It stands for an Independent Sovereign Republic, wherein all powers and authority are derived from the people . . . so that the ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and makes full contribution to the promotion of the world peace and progress in welfare of the mankind."

Oratory and superb debating skill were much in evidence in the speech of Acharya Narendra Dev in elaboration of this resolution. His scholarly and masterly survey of the Indian political problem needs great appreciation. He made some very useful suggestions which can be greatly beneficial if they are put into practice. He desired the Congress to work on a programme of direct Muslim mass contact instead of a policy of appeasement of the Muslim League.

In another resolution, the Congress emphatically announced the adoption of the principles in the August resolution, 1942, and the Congress Election Manifesto in regard to the content of Swaraj. It has voted in favour of a society which would ensure individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for development of his personality.

The anxiety of the Congress to place a fully drawn out picture of its conception of *Swaraj* can be gauged from the acceptance of the suggestion of Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan who advocated that a special session of A.-I. C.C. be called for this purpose. It will be the task of this session to chalk out a mandate for the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress Constitution will also be given a new turn, so as to remove from the organisation the sources of weaknesses and corruption and to give it a more well-knit character. For this purpose, the A.-I.C.C. has been authorized to revise the constitution in order to make it as widely representative of the Indian populace as possible and at the same time a more efficient instrument for giving effect to the national will.

Lighter Moments

The proceedings had their amusing patches. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya referred to the way in which authorities of certain States carried out their pledge to appoint popular representatives to the executive councils. A ruler's daughter-in-law was appointed and the people were expected to regard her as their representative.

During proceedings on the resolution of Constituent Assembly, an amendment favoured the words 'United Socialist Sovereign Republic' instead of 'Independent Sovereign Republic'. Acharya Kripalani said that we have in our resolution specified that we want economic and social equality. Socialism itself is a very vague term which can cover a multitude of sins.

Nominal Opposition

The one feature that could not escape the notice of any one was weak opposition. The mainstay of the opposition were the Socialists and to some extent the Forward Blocists, but their voting strength was so feeble that the question of measuring strength with the official block was not at all serious. Further the opposition was handicapped by the repeated warnings of the President that the business of the session must be finished in two days at all costs. And the members of the Interim Government had to be provided with opportunities to make known their policies. But some among the Socialists gave glimpses of their parliamentary skill in debating. Mr. Achyut Patwardhan, the firebrand of the Socialist party, was quite prominent and gave a remarkably good impression of himself. He seems to be capable of achieving more success in the tasks that await him, if he chooses to observe some check on his impatience. Mr. Asoka Mehta also revealed that he has great future in store and with some more experience might succeed in stepping up the ladder of leadership. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's debut as a parliamentarian and as a speaker was the most formidable from the opposition and ranked her equal to the best brains in our parliamentary life.

It is a happy augury for the future of India that the younger elements have among themselves many

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capable persons who would fill the void created by the passing away of the present leadership with distinctive honour and credit.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be safely asserted that the Meerut Session truly represents a big step forward in the progress of India towards freedom. Firstly, the doubts in the mind of an average Indian regarding the Congress position in the Interim Government and its usual policy of League appeasement stand fully dispelled on account of the candid and outspoken utterances of the Congress leaders. It is manifestly clear that the days of surrender on the part of the Congress over national demands are over and the country can be assured of a firm and consistent stand by the Congress. Secondly, the implications of the resolutions of the communal civil strife are immediate as well as ultimate. The Congress has stated in no uncertain terms the way in which it will fa the communal menace. Thirdly, the leanings of t Congress towards Socialism are now in full evide in their resolution on the Constituent Assembly a Congress Manifesto. The Congress can, with cour and honesty, rebut the oft-repeated charges dubbing as a capitalist-dominated organisation. Fourthly, t Congress leaders gave abundant proof of a restrain tone in their utterance so as not to worsen the alre deteriorated communal atmosphere. If all the respo sible organisations and leaders put a check and cu their passions, sentiments and emotions in a simil way, many of our problems and troubles will fade awa without any serious efforts on our parts. Fifthly, t new turn in the Congress constitution by the A.-I.C. will give a set-back to power politics and make it broad-based, well-knit and better organised body.

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SWADESHI DAYS

The Dawn Society and Anti-Circular Agitation

BY PROF. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

WE had formed a *Graduates' Literary Union* inside the Presidency College and a group of M.A. and B.A. students gathered round this—we wrote on literary, philosophic, historical topics by turns, we invited our Professors and learned outsiders also to our meetings and we published some of the best amongst the contributed papers in a magazine we started as our appendage to the Union and called it the *Presidency College Magazine*. Mr. M. Prothero was about this time the Principal : I believe he encouraged our venture. Two of my own compositions were printed in this magazine, when I had the "thrill" (which must have been experienced by many) of seeing myself for the first time in print. Amongst other contributors were Rabindra Narayan Ghosh and Sushil Mookerji, both of whom wrote very interestingly. But the most precious result of this venture—so far as I was concerned—was my acquaintance with the revered Satis Chandra Mukherji, who was a brilliant scholar, a contemporary of Sir Asutosh Mukherji, who remained all his life a bachelor for the sake of training up a body of young men for the service of Mother India and who had, for the purpose, formed a society and named it the *Dawn Society*.

The Dawn Society, as I found after my introduction to the founder-savant, had its own office, its own magazine replete with serious articles on Economics, Literature, History, Archaeology and topics on ancient Indian culture, philosophy and religious and scientific achievement written by first-rate scholars. It had also a group of ardent workers and student-members, who were attracted by the saintly personality of Satis Mukherji and the charm of his dedicated life and became the 'inner group' of his disciples. Of these the most prominent were Radha Kumud Mukherji (well-known now as a researchist in ancient Indian History and Culture, who first attracted the notice of the world of scholars and researchists by his small brochure on *The Fundamental Unity of India*, published as early as 1903 or 1904), my friend and fellow-student Rabindra Narayan Ghosh and Benoy Kumar Sark (also a scholar of big repute, learned in seve European languages, who has travelled widely in t West and the East and is a versatile writer, havi published many treatises on varieties of topics and is 'free-lance' and 'non-conformist' in political a economic theory and practice : two years my junior he is now a Professor in the Post-Graduate Econom Department, and is justly admired for his orig ideas and novel methods of expression and present tion—Benoy Sarkar is an original and an eccentric man of high talent and courage— who never 'plays the gallery' and is full of never-failing admiration the achievement of young Bengal of 1905 and after I was not of the *inner circle* but I attended many the special lectures arranged for the benefit of advanced scholars and learners by the Dawn Soci and Sreejut Satis Mukherji presided over one of meetings of our Graduates' Union when I was read a paper and admired it with the constructive comm that I must concentrate my yearning to serve In (which was the key-note of my discourse) in objective and then only I would achieve someth tangible !

Meanwhile, my desultory readings continued witnessing of performances of patriotic and class plays on the boards of the Star Theatre and Minerva Theatre, occasional visits to Dakshinesw Temple (the scene of Ramakrishna Paramahans religious devotions and sermons) and the Belur M (founded by Swami Vivekananda on the river-b just opposite Dakshineswar), listening to discourses Rev. Kali Churn Banerji, Satyendranath Tagore, Mohan Ghosh, Romesh Chandra Dutt and Rabind nath Tagore and Sir Gurudas Banerji— the idols our student-days, besides Hirendranath Dutt and Besant—all these formed part of the unconscious tr ing that I with many others was passing through in post-graduate years. Only a few months later, in hey-day of the anti-partition and Swadeshi moveme

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we were carried off our feet by the rousing addresses and lectures of Bepin Chandra Pal and confirmed in our patriotic urge by the editorials of the *Sandhya*, started by Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya, a Christian by faith and a saint and a patriot of unequalled integrity and brilliance, a man of the people full of fire and daring who infused thousands with the electric throbs of aggressive country-love that were in his soul and by the vigorous writings of the *Jugantara*. These were the organs of the Revolutionary upsurge of the time. The silent sacrifice and cultured addresses and writings of Aurobindo Ghosh and the sweet and alluring personality of Sister Nivedita, who was another propagandist of the Swadeshi cult—and the songs of Dwijendra Lal Roy sung in chorus as mile-long processions marched through the streets of Calcutta and the enthralling cadences of Rabindranath's patriotic and devotional poetry and song—all combined to flood our souls with "a divine afflatus" and beckon us in to the paths of high endeavour and sacrifice for the country.

The first spark in the Swadeshi-*cum*-boycott movement of 1905 was really lighted by Lord Curzon by his undiplomatic and uncharitable remarks, as I have hinted earlier, in his Convocation address before us, graduates of 1904, in the Calcutta University Senate Hall in the capacity of Chancellor. This must have been sometime in March 1905—I am not sure about the exact dates—when the University Convocation for the conferment of degrees was summoned. Our group in the Presidency College either ordered the prescribed gowns and hoods or hired them from special milliners and attended the function and afterwards we took a group photo. I still remember Dr. P. K. Ray, the then Principal attired in his Doctor's red robes. Jagadis Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray also similarly attired and other educational leaders in picturesque academic dresses forming part of the Chancellor's procession (the Vice-Chancellor was Mr. Pedlar. Director of Public Instruction, formerly Professor of Chemistry in Presidency College)—Father Lafont of St. Xavier's. N. N. Ghosh of the Metropolitan, also Syndics and honoured Judges of the High Court—Rashbehari Ghose and other celebrities—and leading Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India and Chancellor to his exalted seat on the dais : there was a conferring of degrees, the greatest sensation of this part of the ceremony being the exceptional honours in every branch of the medical science attained by a young M.D. (I forget his name : he, also, died a premature death almost in his thirties, and a very promising career was thus cut short) and an additional flutter when a small group of ladies received their degrees (women-graduates were a very limited few in our days). There was a hush of expectancy before Lord Curzon stood on his feet to deliver his written address. It was crisp and brilliant and vigorous, but very acid and pungent. His unnecessary references to the weaknesses of the Bengali temperament and character—specially his uncalled-for and insulting characterisation of Bengal's enthusiasms as 'soda-water bottle effervescence'—produced resentment inside the Convocation Hall and a very unpleasant reaction outside in the press when the address appeared in the newspapers next morning. I still can visualise the cynical curl and twist of Curzon's lips and the mephistophelian 'glint' in his eye as he read out his address in clear, ringing tones. He was a man of great energy and did some really good work for India (the creation of the Archaeological Department and the putting of the "Ancient Monuments Act" on the statute book are instances in point), but with him and his policies began the slow but steady undermining of the British Rule in India.

The natural sequel followed—in the shape of a monster meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta—where amongst others Rashbehari Ghosh, the leader of the High Court Bar and one of the idols of the intelligentsia and a speaker of very literary and refined English, condemned in stinging terms the affront given to the Nation by the highest dignitary in the land, the King Emperor's Vicegerent and the Chancellor of the premier University of India.

Shortly after, the plans of partitioning Bengal secretly conceived and elaborated in the Councils of the Viceroy and the British Cabinet were publicised in the country—it was probably in June 1905—when we had rejoined our Calcutta colleges after the summer recess (by that time our post-graduate lectures extending over one year only had been over and we were in Calcutta only to prepare for the University Examination to be held in December). The popular reaction to this sinister plan could never have been even distantly imagined by our rulers in Calcutta, Simla and Whitehall ! The Nation's indignation rose spontaneously to a fever-height and Surendranath Banerjea and his adherents in the districts—Annada Chandra Roy of Dacca, Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal, Ambica Charan Majumdar of Faridpur, Umes Chandra Gupta of Rangpur, Kishori Mohan Choudhury of Rajshahi, Anathbandhu Guha of Mymensingh, Jatra Mohan Sen of Chittagong—to name only a few outstanding leaders of opinion—besides Krishna Kumar Mitra of the *Sanjibani*, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra—and the most virile and forceful of them who propagandised the Swadeshi cult all over India—Bepin Chandra Pal—the 'hero' No. 1 of youth and the student community of those days for years—were raised to immediate action. Meetings were held all over Bengal—from Calcutta to the remotest nooks and corners—condemning the Partition scheme, challenging speeches were delivered and a call was given to the Nation to unite and resist the plan, of disrupting Bengal and striking at the core of the Nation's strength, by all legitimate means. This is not a historical thesis but a record of impressions and recollections, so I am not overcareful about dates and figures or about sequence of events in an ordered chronology. A country-wide boycott of British goods was proclaimed by the leaders. The students and youths carried it further and extended it to all British institutions. It was really the signal for a Revolution albeit without an army.

We, in the Eden Hindu Hostel, began our *debut* in the political arena, by a burning, with great fanfaronade, of the effigy of Curzon and by a bon-fire of British-made clothing gathered from the Hostel boarders. Immediately after, a students' rally was addressed privately by Sj. Hirendra Nath Dutt and it was decided to call for a boycott of the Calcutta University and its examinations in spite of murmurings of a few not-over-bright students of the Post-graduate stage. I took up the task of drafting a manifesto in Bengali on these lines which was printed and circularised amongst the student community. We had already resolved to boycott our coming M.A. examination and Radha Kumud Mukherji also joined (he was to sit for the P.R.S.). Meanwhile, the agitation had already been launched by students in colleges and schools all over

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the country and the Government reaction was the famous or infamous Carlyle Circular (a Mr. Carlyle was then Secretary to the Bengal Government) interdicting student-agitation and providing rigorous penal measures of discipline.

The result was open defiance of the Circular and the first success of the student-campaign was achieved by Sachindra Prasad Bose, a fourth year student-boycotter, at Rangpur, when in response to his fiery address, the Rangpur Bar rose as one man and declared the opening of the first national school in Bengal at Rangpur after a total boycott of the Government Zilla School had been decided upon. One of the leaders at Rangpur besides Umes Gupta, was the novelist and story-writer, Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, who was then practising as Barrister in the courts of Rangpur (nice, breezy soul), another was Rashbehari Mukherji (one of my near relations on my wife's side—I had married after joining my M.A.), another lawyer, besides Sj. Chakravarti, life-long sufferer and patriot, father of Sri Sures Chakravarti, the famed writer and disciple of Sri Aurobindo. Call came to us in Calcutta for volunteering as teachers of this school and three of us—Brojasundar Roy, M.A., Hiralal Mukherji (a brilliant Physics man of my year) and myself hurried in response and joined at Rangpur.

So sometime early in November, 1905, we practically joined as national volunteers in the educational work started by the people's leaders in a district town. For me, it was paying some of my debts to the District where I had been 'raised' from a boy of five. Brojasundar Roy hailed from Sylhet, was a high M.A. in History, two or three years our senior, Hiralal was from the district of Barisal, which took the lead in the Swadeshi movement under its inspiring and selfless leader of wonderful ability in organisation, Aswini Kumar Dutt. By the time we had joined, the movement was taking shape—for between our bon-fire and effigy-burning demonstrations in the Eden Hindu Hostel (we had also participated in picketing of Manchester cloth shops in the Burrabazar area) and our joining the Rangpur National School—a period of about four months, the entire countryside was in rebellion—Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the new Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal was a man of excitable and impulsive temperament and was easily led to see 'Red' everywhere—and instances of the burning of British merchandise, throwing of Liverpool salt into rivers, sinking of boats laden with this salt were multiplying. In one instance, Sir Bamfylde went beyond the limits of gubernatorial propriety—he personally ordered the Headmaster of the Madaripur High School in Faridpur district, Srijut Kali Prasanna Das Gupta, a very learned man and widely respected, to flog students of the school for having joined in the demonstration. Naturally he had to refuse and resigned: Madaripur also had a national school. Barisal, I remember, was organised into self-sufficient village units and had a large number of national schools not only in the town but also in far-away villages.

At Rangpur, shortly after we arrived and made the acquaintance of the leaders who received us with the utmost courtesy, we found the town was in a ferment—the District Magistrate in retaliation against the 'rebellious' conduct of the leaders of the Bar and other professions enrolled 12 or 14 of them as 'Special Constables.' The ostensible object was to help in keeping the peace but the disguised motive which, however, came to the surface at once was to humiliate them, for, the Superintendent of Police asked them to report to Police Headquarters, receive their batons and uniforms and join in the parade-practice with ordinary constables! He was met with an indignant refusal, the leaders were prosecuted, the case went up to the High Court at Calcutta and ended in total acquittal of the Swadeshi group. I still recollect how we also were taken up into the eddies of excitement that ran through Rangpur town.

Our stay (of Hiralal Mukherji and myself) was to be short-lived: for hardly had a fortnight elapsed when we received an urgent wire from our friend Rabindra Narayan Ghosh recalling both of us to Calcutta for sitting in the M.A. examinations, in obedience to no less a personage's request than that of Sir Gurudas Banerji who had assured the student-boycotters that he and other leaders were starting a Bengal National Council of Education immediately but they wanted to tell Government, it was meant not to *supplant* but to *supplement* Government efforts of the Calcutta University and so the boycott of the University and of the examinations should not be given effect to and we must appear 'in national interest' at the examinations. These were counsels of moderation but we had no other choice than obeying our leaders, men like Gurudas Banerji, Asutosh Choudhury, P. C. Ray, Rabindranath Tagore, Satis Chandra Mukherji, to name a few. A princely sum of one lac of rupees had meanwhile been donated by Sj. Subodh Mullick of Creek Row, Calcutta, and another big amount was being given by Brojendra Nath Choudhury, Zemindar of Gouripore in Mymensingh in aid of the National Council of Education.

So we had to return to our books, the examinations were only 15 days off and for the last 4 months we had laid them aside and thrown ourselves headlong into the movements, reckless of consequences and without any thoughts of tomorrow. I remember I had left all my Shakespeare's annotated editions and commentaries behind at Calcutta and so what could I do but get hold of a volume of Shakespeare's collected works from the Rangpur Public Library and made it do duty instead! We two hastened to Kurigram Subdivisional town in Rangpur District, where my parents were and devoted ourselves to 10 days of intensive study—Hiralal of his Physics and myself of my Literature! Five days before the examination (in our time for the Arts men, it was a six papers' examination covering six days, the Science men had their practical tests in addition)—saw us back in Calcutta. I was in a desperate situation but so were the whole bunch of us—and Rabindra and myself closetted ourselves together (the two best students of the year) and gave each other the benefit of our reciprocal knowledge and studies, and though it was a question of very bad preparation and of 'touch and go,' both of us eventually surprised everybody by securing First Class degrees, Rabin standing first and myself a close second. Hiralal secured a Second Class in Physics, unfortunately—went up as an apprentice on an allowance of Rs. 75 monthly to the Empress Mills at Nagpur for textile training, stuck for five long years there to see his prospects dwindling and joined the Accounts service and rose high and is now dead and gone—one of my best chums and a thorough patriot and gentleman.

After the examination was over in early December I had proceeded home to Vikrampur. And here

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began a new chapter in my life. I was married into a middle class family of Bajrajogini, a village of great historic renown, reputed to be the birth-place of Dipankar Sree Jnan, the Buddhist monk and far-famed scholar of ancient days and a big centre of Buddhist lore and practice and later on of *tantric* and Hindu revivalist programmes in the old days. It was part of Rampal, the capital city of the Pal Dynasty of Bengal (relics of those glorious days being still extant) and was even in 1905 a centre of culture and distinction. I came to visit my wife's people soon after I came to my village home : there I met a friend of my father-in-law, a member of the Guha Zemindars of the village, who told me he could procure for me a certificate of delegation from the Vikrampur Constituency of Congress if I meant to attend the Provincial Conference which had been summoned at Barisal, where all the leading political lights of Bengal would foregather and which would be presided over by the nationalist Muslim Barrister Mr. A. Rasul.

I have forgotten to mention that though Lord Curzon and Sir Bamfylde Fuller could hardly get a single Hindu to support the Partition, the East Bengal Muslims had almost to a man swallowed the bait of prospective Muslim ascendency, of easy jobs and perquisites, of a University to be started at Dacca, of Dacca being restored to its old glory of a capital city. Sir Bamfylde called the Muslim community his 'favourite wife' and his government spared no engines of oppression to let the Hindu nationalists down and to kill the movement. Barisal was to be a 'test case' and Sir Bamfylde and his advisers on the one side and Congress leaders led by Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. J. Choudhury, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bepin Chandra Pal, Kaliprasanna Kavya-Bisharad and Manoranjan Guha Thakurta of Barisal, whose fervid nationalism can never be forgotten by Bengal, Krishna Kumar Mitra, and others on the other hand prepared for the fray. But of this later on.

'There is a divinity that shapes our ends' and without any previous idea of joining the Barisal Congress, I found myself armed with a delegation certificate and with a few silver coins in my pocket, I boarded the steam-vessel that was to carry us from Narayanganj to Barisal (a few hours' journey). To Bepin Chandra Pal I was already known as a student-leader. He introduced me to Aurobindo Ghosh, a short, squat gentleman of very modest and shy temper —the man, to whom shortly before, while he was yet at the Gaekwad's College at Baroda, I had addressed a communication signifying my readiness to work as a Lecturer in English at the Baroda College in preference to accepting any government appointment in Bengal, specially as Baroda was a progressive Indian State. When I was introduced to Aurobindo Ghosh, he smiled gently and asked me if I was the young man who was the writer of that letter addressed to the Principal. Now the Principal was an Englishman and he showed my letter to Sri Aurobindo who was the Vice-Principal with the comment that national and anti-British sentiments were very rife and rampant evidently in Bengal, as the straight tone of the contents of my letter showed ! So I was put at ease and we spent some pleasant time conversing together.

We reached Barisal in the morning and were billetted at the Hostel of the Brojomohan College founded by Aswini Kumar Dutt. The open conference was to meet that very afternoon. After meals, we marched to an open plot of land about a mile from the conference pandal, called Raja Bahadur's Haveli and were formed into lines and asked to proceed in ordered formation to the pandal, along the broad streets. The shouting of our national cry *Bande Mataram* had been interdicted by a Government Circular (the Emerson Circular ?) sometime before and it had been decided that every delegate should cry *Bande Mataram* as he proceeded ; the carrying of *lathis* and other weapons, even short sticks during the procession had been forbidden by our leaders.

What was our surprise when at the first shout of *Bande Mataram* as the procession was just marching out of the open space, before which was a broad street flanked by a tank, policemen set on the first line of delegates and belaboured them with *lathis*, then proceeded to deal with the second and third lines who had by this time gone out to the street, with broken and bleeding heads, and one of Monoranjan Guha Thakurta's sons, Chittaranjan who was profusely bleeding and continued to shout *Bande Mataram* was being mercilessly belaboured by the constabulary and thrown into the tank flanking the street ! The District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent, both Englishmen (Emerson and Kemp were their names, if my memory does not betray me) were in the melee : I was in the fourth line and that line had not yet been attacked by the police. Meanwhile, Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. J. Choudhury were having an altercation with these two English officials and I found Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Choudhury holding the reins of their two ponies and preventing them from proceeding further into our formations. Surendranath and Choudhury were at once put under arrest and summarily fined Rs. 50 each after a mock trial by the Magistrate, held in a small room which was police quarters or had been requisitioned for these purposes.

Meanwhile, the whole body of processionists numbering several hundreds—all the delegation to the Conference, that is,—marched under our leaders' orders to the pandal in slow silence with the severely mauled and bandaged Chittaranjan in front, helped by volunteers and there was wild excitement and tremendous resentment accompanied with steeled enthusiasm in the audience of thousands assembled in the conference, when we marched in. Surendranath and Mr. J. Choudhury joined the conference shortly after and the cheering of the heroes and the indignation against Government were unbounded. Mr. Rasul read his dignified address in an atmosphere of tense silence—he was the pioneer of the nationalist Muslim movement in Bengal and in sweetness of character, dignity of manner, depth of patriotism Rasul has never been surpassed by any Muslim leader.

It was reported that Sir Bamfylde's government launch had arrived with himself on board and was moored off the Barisal river-ghat and that he had issued orders to treat the rebels with utmost severity. Anyway the conference passed resolutions of country-wide boycott of British goods, establishment of national agencies of education and of the nation's determination to carry on the fight till the partition would be reversed and Bengal would again be one, United Bengal as of old. This was my "fire-baptism" in politics and Barisal has thus been to me, even a place of pilgrimage where I was initiated into the Swadeshi *mantram* in an

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atmosphere of brutal governmental repression of the most unashamed variety.

The memory of Barisal stuck and drew me 15 years after into the open highways of political fight under Mahatma Gandhi's lead in 1921, when, 15 years of college teaching and administration and deeper acquaintance with our people and their problems throughout Bengal, and a more instructed mental and moral equipment, had fitted me to don the non-violent soldier's armour and shield and join the India-wide struggle for emancipating Mother India from the shackles of foreign usurpation and tyranny and slow but sure poisoning of the life-blood of the people. Meanwhile, I had become a member of the "Anti-Circular Society" started in Calcutta principally by Rama Kanta Roy (who had been trained in Japan for industrial activity, had come back and joined the movement) and Sachindra Prasad Basu of 'Rangpur fame.' The Society's business besides organising agitation against the repressive Circulars of Sir Fuller's administration was to push on the boycott and crea markets for 'Swadeshi' goods and products by openi sale-bureaus and show-rooms and by propaganda rural areas by itinerant bands.

I returned to Kurigram and opened a branch the and carried on these activities for some time. I had give them up, however, at the request of my respecte father whose position in the service of Government w being jeopardised by his son's activities and who he been served with several warnings already.

It was 1906 : I was a high-class M.A. now at th age of 21 and was ripe for the teaching profession. An here begins a fresh chapter in my life when for 15 yea as a college teacher in Bihar, Sylhet and Bengal prope I could be of some service to the rising generation o students who came after us to be either the torch-bearers of the New Political Dispensation of the Con gress or to be henchmen and parasites of the foreig government, according to the training they received.

———:O:———

A PRE-GUPTA SCULPTURE FROM TALANDA

By BISWESWAR CHAKRABARTI

"Archaeologically Bengal has been a much neglected province." Very few of the ancient ruins have been excavated. There has not been even a proper exploration of the whole area. Thus only an insignificant portion of our ancient art treasures has come to light. The specimens in our museums are mostly chance finds in fields, tanks and ditches and, as such, confined to the upper stratum. Now, the face of the country has changed and is changing much owing to the influence of the mighty rivers and other factors. So these collections from the upper stratum represent the latest stage of development of our pre-Mohammedan art and sculpture. These belong to the Pala or Sena epochs. There are some which belong to the "eastern version" of the Gupta tradition. But there are only three sculptures which may be said to exhibit some affinities with the art of the Kushan period. Very recently a fourth one has been added to the list. It was found by the present writer in a bamboo grove at Talanda in Rajshahi district and is now housed in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

The sculpture under notice is a broken head of Vishnu in buff-coloured sandstone. As the other parts have not been available it is difficult to pass any dogmatic opinion. But it can, perhaps, be safely assigned to a period earlier than the fifth century A.D. The lips are flabby ; the eye-brows are raised and the features are heavy and broad. There is a stern frontality and the accents are on the linear effect. All these are characteristics of the Mathura school of sculpture, which cannot be lightly passed over. Of the three specimens showing Kushan affiliation one is of Vishnu from Hankrail in Maldah district. The next image in point of time is that of Buddha from Biharail in Rajshahi district and assigned to a period not later than the early fifth century A.D. The accompanying photograph will show that the present image is very like the former and quite unlike the latter. The stylistic difference is so well-marked that it can not be assigned to a period later than the fourth century A.D. The stolid dignity of Kushan art is unmistakable. The material used should also be taken into consideration It is not the red sandstone used by the sculptors of Mathura, nor the Chunar sandstone used by those of Sarnath but the buff-coloured sandstone which was used by the local artists of Bengal who were only distantly touched by the Mathura tradition as is the case with the other three specimens showing affinity with Kushan art.

The find-place of the image deserves some special notice. Talanda is a big village, twenty-two miles north (slightly west) of Rampur-Boalia and standing on the District Board road leading to Manda. Some twenty miles up the road is Biharail, the find-place of the earliest Buddha image of the early fifth century. Three miles down the road is Tanore, where Raja Ganesh is said to have encountered the Sultanate army from Gaur. Here the road bifurcates : one leading to Gaur via Mundamala and the other to Talanda, Manda, Biharail and Kusumba—names so familiar to the scholars of the ancient history of Bengal. The road here runs north to south and divides the village into two unequal sectors. The eastern part occupies the alluvial land gradually sloping into a marshy land (Bil Kumari) through which runs an almost dried-up river, the Siva Nadi. A few miles down it empties itself into the Baranai, identified with Bata Nadi of the Gupta inscriptions. Higher up the Siva Nadi is Kusumba identified with Kausambi Astagaccha Khandala of the Velava inscription (c. 1200 A.D.). The western sector about half a mile in radius, occupies the south-eastern tip of the red laterite region, known as Varind. It is at a level some twenty feet higher than the surrounding region. It is full of mounds of varying heights. The area is almost uninhabited, and has been reclaimed from jungles only in recent years. At places the brick-looters have unearthed massive walls of bricks (9 ins. × 9 ins × 1 in.) and they are having a brisk trade. A mosque

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built up of fragments of bricks of the same size and some chlorite pillars lies in ruins under the thorny *babla*. Here the victor victim lies. There are some broken chlorite and sandstone pillars, with sculptural designs, lying in a ditch which the brick-looters could not dig deeper for stones underneath. A serpentine canal round the site can still be traced. There is another about forty yards inside. Broken images are sometimes fished out of the numerous big tanks which are now being reclaimed. The image under review is one of those. Another unique image, procured from the locality and treasured in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, will be reviewed in a later issue. Many more, though not so important, are found in the houses and *thans* (Devasthans) in the western part of the village. An excavation of the site is likely to amply repay the labour. But if it is long left unprotected, the face of the land will be completely changed by these brick-looters and many things of archaeological importance may be lost for ever. May this draw the attention of the scholars to this hitherto unknown site of great antiquity.

Head of Vishnu in buff-coloured sandstone

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TWO ART-CRAFTS OF KARACHI

By S. I. CLERK

The two main art-crafts of Karachi are embroidery work and carpet weaving. Their products are artistic and traditional. In both the artisans are hereditary. At the same time, it may be noted that today merchants do bring workers from Benares for carpet weaving as these are cheaper and more industrious than the local artisans.

A general view of a carpet-weaving establishment having sixteen looms

The embroidery work of Sind is a very interesting folk-craft. Mostly women work in this craft during their spare time. Both simple embroidery and beautiful mirror work (known as *abhala* work) is done. Designs are traditional, but occasionally, merchants give their own ideas so as to make popular combination designs which may find a ready market. Usually, the materials are supplied by the merchants themselves. The cloth is, generally, dark green, vermilion red, black, etc. Both Swadeshi and foreign cloth are used. The embroidery threads and the glass pieces are Indian. The threads are dyed locally.

There are about 350 to 400 workers in Karachi and about 2,000 in the rest of the Province. They are usually paid on piece-work basis. Sometimes, the merchants employ the artisans on a monthly wage basis so as to get a definite quantity of work in a fixed period of time. Payments based on piece-work obviously depend on the intricacy of the design and the beauty of the finished product. Usually, embroidery work is done on articles, such as blouses, sari borders, and pallavs, table centres, belts, purses, curtains, scarves, sandals, champals, table covers, teapoy covers, shopping bags. These are very beautifully embroidered. At the same time, there is a considerable scope for improvement both in the living conditions of the workers and the designs they make.

As regards carpet weaving in Sind, Mr. G. P. Fernandes has written in his *Report on Art-crafts of the Bombay Presidency* (1932): "These carpets could easily compete with the Baluchi carpets, and at times even with the Persian patterns." However, today the local workers are not very efficient and the merchants bring artisans from Benares. Usually, the worker is paid on a piece-work basis. He gets about Rs. 8-15 for a carpet of 6 ft. × 3 ft. for which he takes about five days. This renumeration includes 25 per cent dearness allowance. In this particular case this allowance comes to Re 1-4. Incidentally, the maximum price of locally

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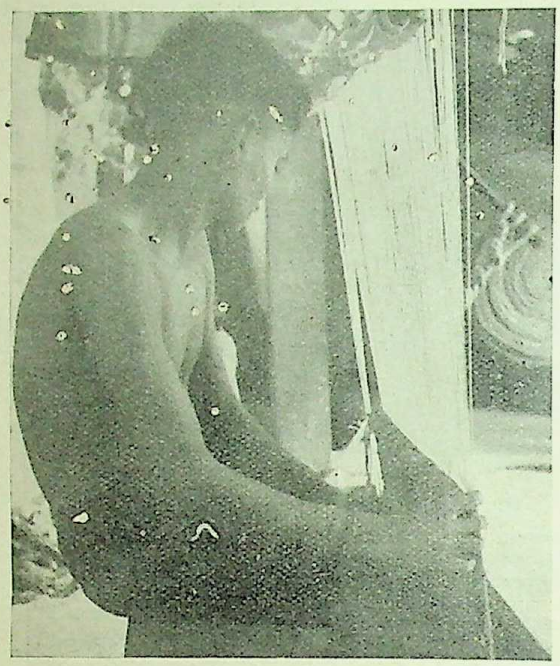
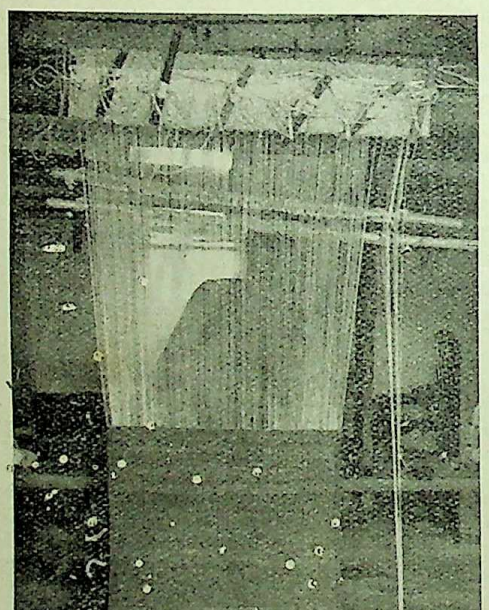
manufactured carpet is about Rs. 3-12 per square foot, the price varying according to the design of the carpet.

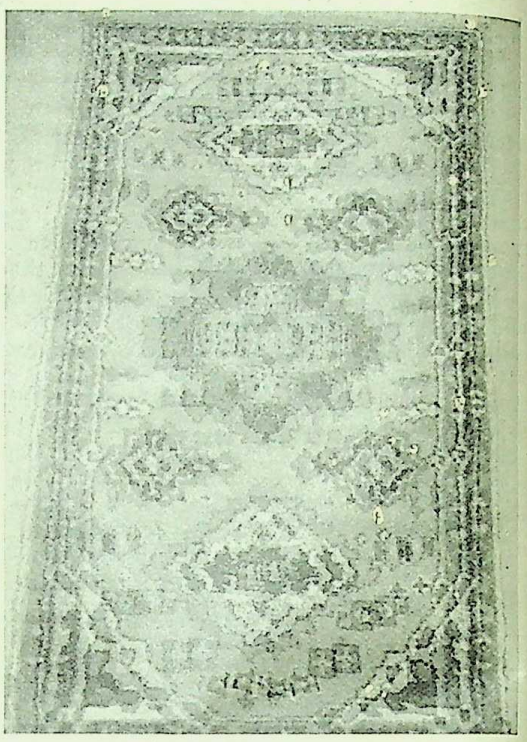


A carpet weaver at work

Most of the materials required in the process of manufacture are obtained locally. To save time and labour costs, extensive use is being made of aniline dyes. The final product is not as good as it would be if vegetable dyes were used. However, use of vegetable dyes is not possible until the consuming public demands quality rather than cheapness of price.

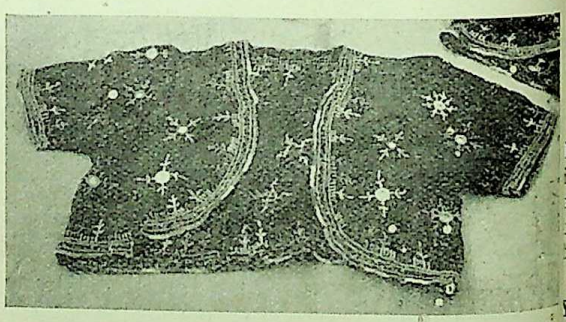


Another view of a carpet weaver at work



A finished carpet ready for sale

Unfortunately, these crafts receive little or no state-aid. They are almost neglected. This is in utter contrast to Surat art-crafts which are fairly well aided by the Provincial Government by way of training classes, loans to the artisans, sales depots, etc. In this connection, mention may be made of Sind Constitution Co., Ltd., (Court Chambers, Wadhumal Udharam Road, Karachi) which is pioneering in systematically organising the craft of embroidery work, albeit from the merchant's point of view. However, the artisans too will benefit from such an organised manner of working, especially, if this private firm is sufficiently broad-minded and does not hanker after quick short-time profits only. Obviously, the lot of the artisans can be much more improved if the Government takes an active interest in the arts and crafts within its jurisdiction. Mr. G. R. Fernandes in his already quoted report also complained of the state-neglect of



A blouse embroidered by a Sindhi woman

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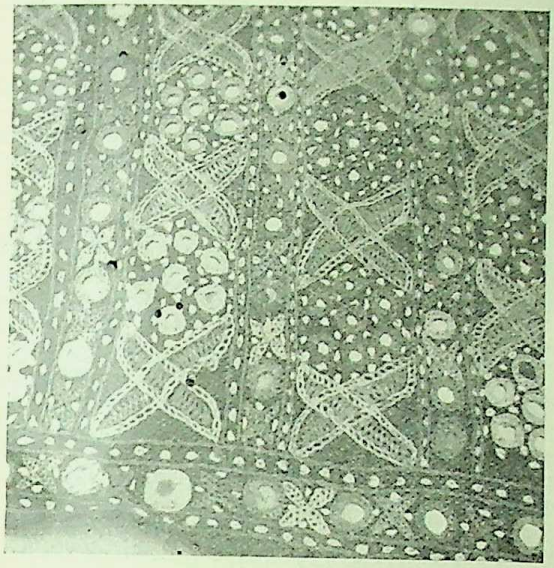
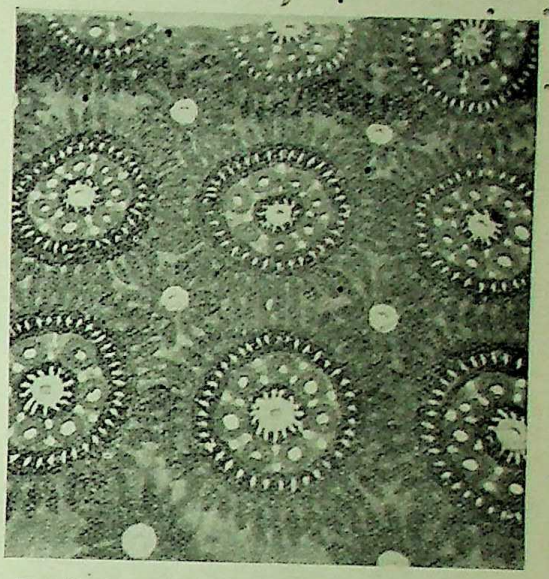
arts and folk-crafts. We too are compelled to make the same observations with a hope that soon the Provincial Government will step in and prevent the artisans from being exploited by the merchants. Sind Government have already opened Sales Depots which sell the products of these and other art crafts of the Province. which can buy the materials directly from the market and sell the finished goods through the Government sales depots. Further, the Government will have to do something to popularize the finished products. Appeal should be made to the aesthetic and patriotic senses of the public. Use of the products of folk-crafts should be



Detail-depicting a motif design commonly used by Sindhi women in their embroidery craft for which Sind is famous



Details from a piece of Sind embroidery work showing circular motifs

Apart from these, there should be organised centres where young artisans should be given opportunities for regular and systematic training in design-making and other technical matters in general. Government should try to organise the artisans into co-operative groups considered fashionable. Unless the State steps in, any folk-craft either withers away (and that is always a great national loss) or the artisans are mercilessly exploited by the merchants who can have only pecuniary motives in their interest in the whole thing.

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COMBINED HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CENTER HELPS SAFEGUARD NEW YORK'S HEALTH

In New York City fourteen years ago, a group of important medical institutions were brought together and housed in eleven modern structures of unique design and advanced conception centered about a towering 27-storey building.

These medical institutions are organized as New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center and occupy several city blocks on East River Drive between 68th and 71st streets on Manhattan Island, in the heart of New York City. The impressive structures contain 8,000,000 cubic feet of space in America's largest institution of its kind.

The three great currents of modern medicine—healing, teaching and research—flow together through all the diversified activities of this unusual Center. The two main institutions of the Center, as indicated by its title, are the New York Hospital and the Cornell Medical College. The hospital was founded in 1771 by a grant from King George III of England. The Cornell Medical College, a unit of Cornell University, a noted educational institution in central New York State, was established in 1898 and soon began training its students at the New York Hospital, with which it made affiliation in 1912.

Other institutions absorbed by the Center include the New York Lying-In Hospital, founded in 1799; the Manhattan Maternity and Dispensary and the New York Nursery and Child's Hospital. The Center's annual number of students, about 300, is selected from a list of 3,000 applicants. Those enrolled in an average year hold degrees from 80 different colleges and universities and represent 39 of the 48 States of the United States.

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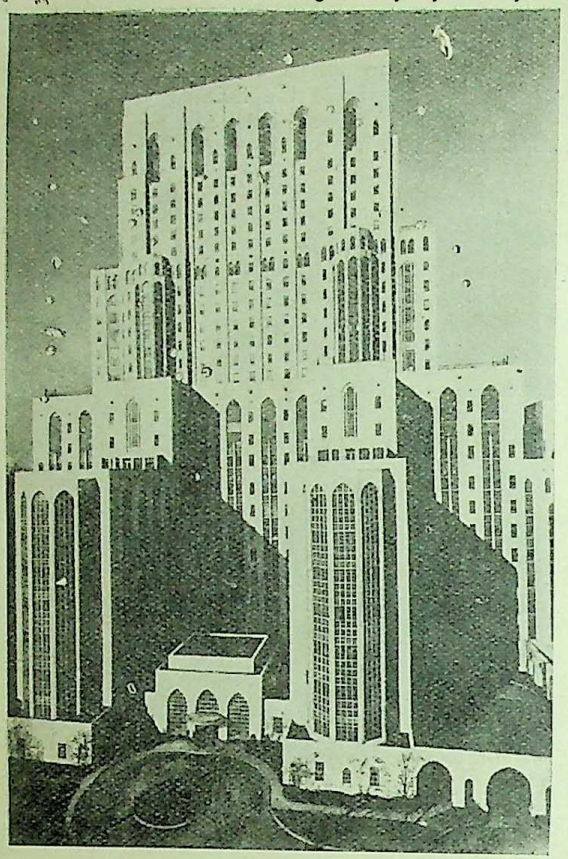
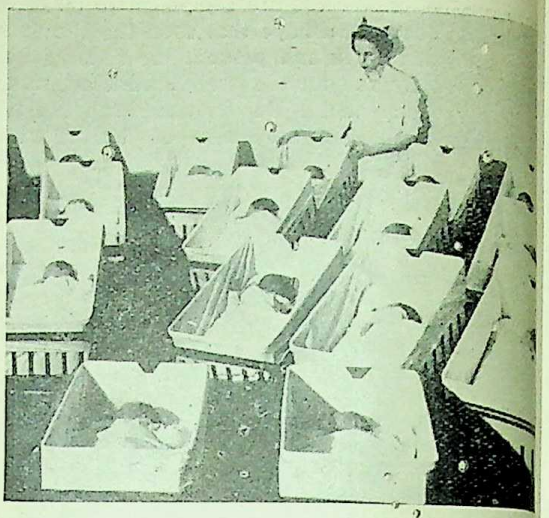


A view of the 27-storeyed New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center, largest institution of its kind in the United States

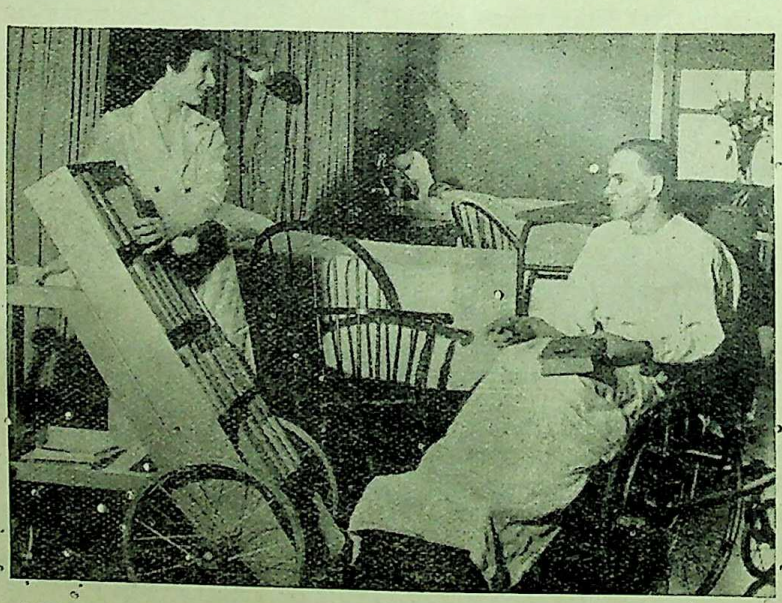


Twenty-two new-born babies lie in their bassinets in one of the many nurseries of the maternity department of the New York Hospital

ened from four to three years with special training military medicine. The School of Nursing instru students, inactive graduates, and volunteer aides, w the New York Hospital taught the principles of aid to hundreds of non-professional men and wom

In a typical year, the Center has 1,420 beds in u 23,321 patients ; 44,661 out-patients ; 312,000 out-pat visits and 3,305 babies born. In the first 10 years of existence, the Center treated more than 600 patients.

In research, the Center has been one of Ameri greatest exponents of the modern conception of me



Mobile book-shelves make reading easily available to patients in the New York Hospital

The New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center maintained a military unit, the Ninth General Hospital, United States Army, during the war. Answering the nation's call for doctors, the college curtailed its course

cine, which is not merely to cure the sick but to serve and promote community health. Through great size and extensive equipment, the Center is to place the latest devices and laboratory discov

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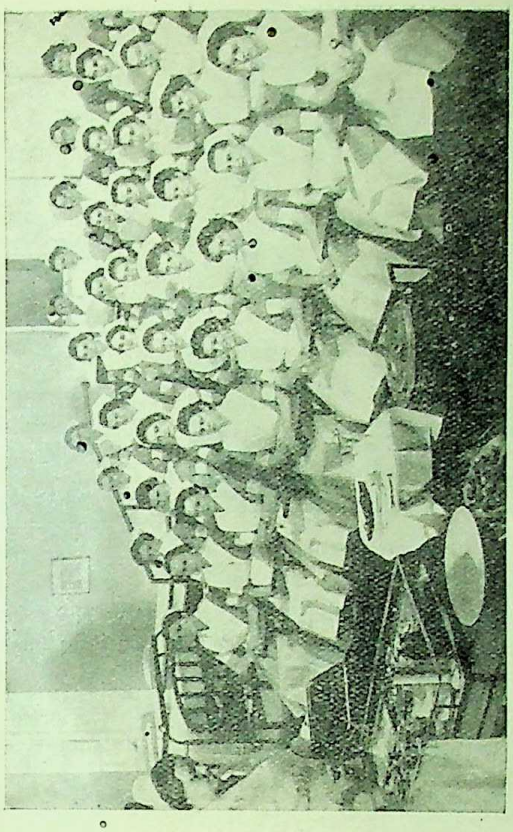
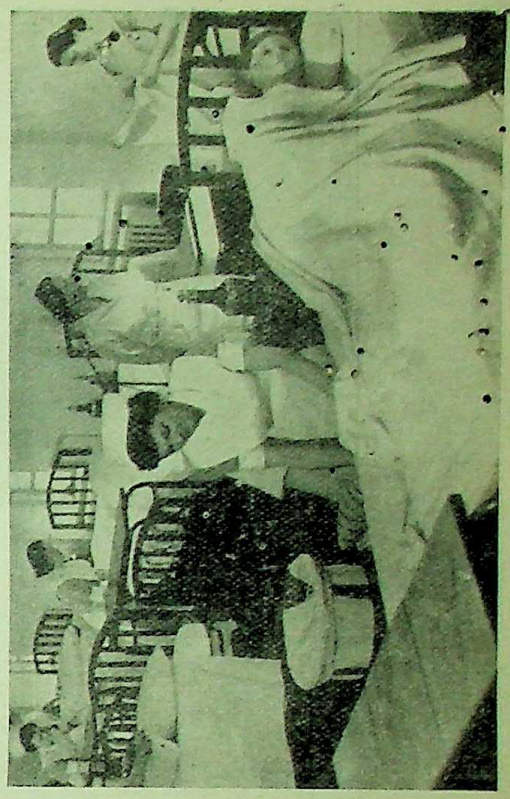
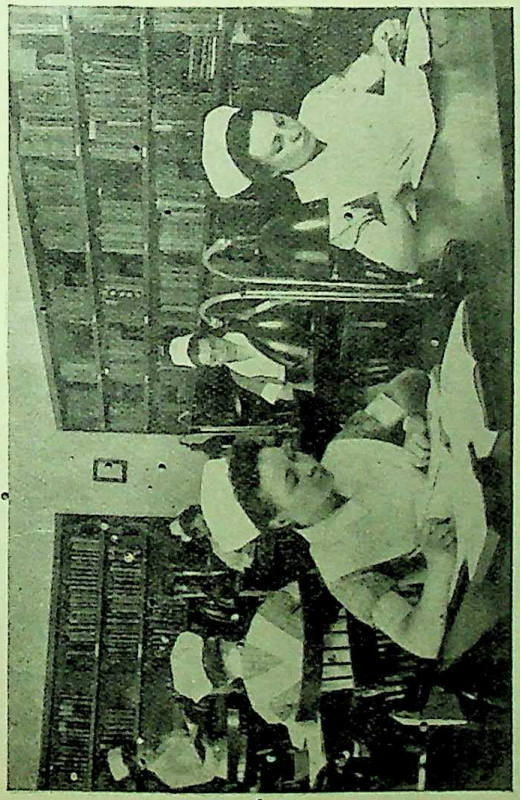


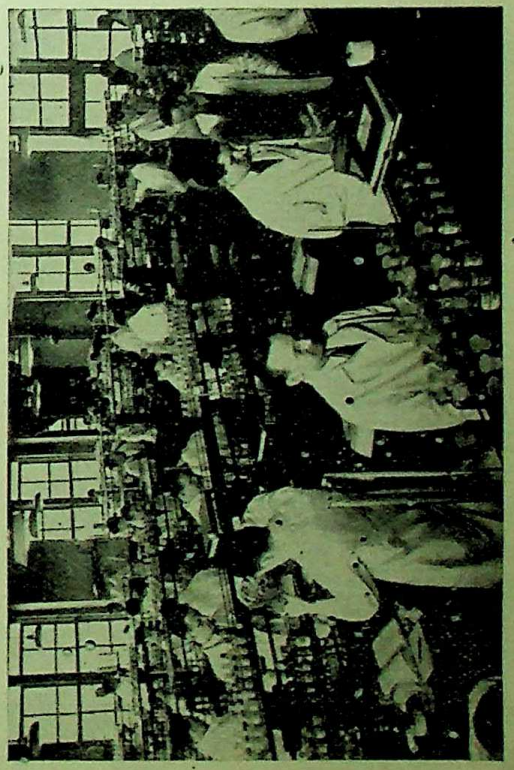
A demonstration of the technique of sterilising instruments is given for a class of student nurses



Student nurses practise bed-side care, working with life-size mannequins, before they are allowed to handle patients



Student nurses study in the reference library of the New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center



Medical students conduct laboratory tests at the Cornell Medical College

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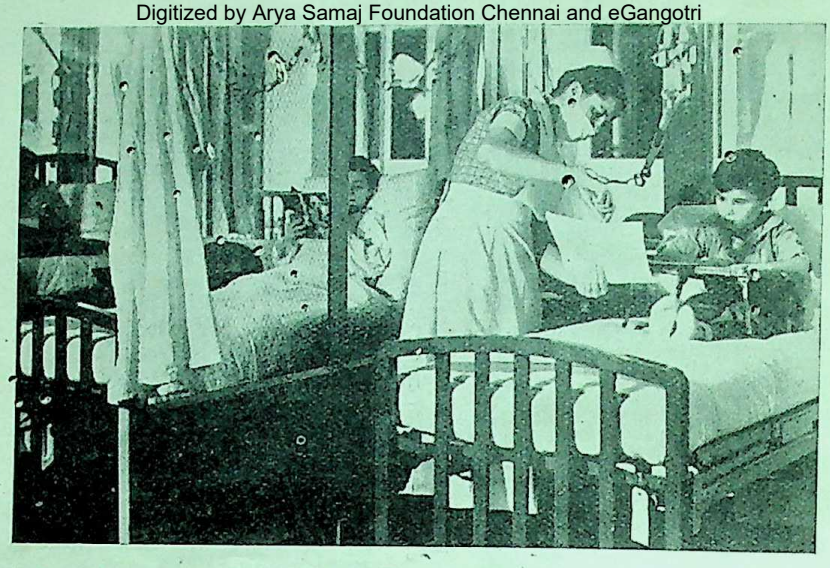

An isolation ward for infectious diseases in the children's department of the New York Hospital

directly in the doctor's hands, and its resources enable laboratory workers to become more intimately aware of the doctor's needs.

The Center has made many important advances in the field of medicine. The Center's maternal mortality rate, for instance, is 1·81 per thousand compared with the national average of 6 per thousand.

Those who organized and built the New York Hospital—Cornell Medical Center designed it to endure "not less than a hundred years." In this regard, the Center already has fulfilled the vision of its founders in demonstrating its capacity to cope with the pressing medical problems of the war and the post-war world. —*USIS.*

——:O:——

WHERE THE GODS DWELL

By E. E. SPEIGHT

Glad am I to have lived to see this all
Transcending scene, this hope for mankind befall,
That out of the East, where women long have sheltered
From scorn ill-founded, dangers men foretold,
Knowing themselves, suddenly this high-souled
Lady of India* went, nor ever faltered,
Among the stern, the stalwart and the shrewd
Legates of alien allegiances,—
A lonely spirit, finding beyond all feud
Pregnant words that, by her heart's command,
Richly persuasive, sighted at the last
An honest world, a world to shame the past
Of man's adventurous autocracy,—
Words to challenge a purpose leading to
The worst of fate, the supreme irony
Of trust in steel and slaughter.

Tell me who
In all our history ever moved among
So strangely harassed victors so sedate,
So calmly confident, uttering thoughts that sting,
In all their quiet candour, the brood of hate
Our deeds have yet to bridle ere we know
That all we fought to rescue are to share
What guerdon we have gained of right to trace
New avenues of Freedom.

Glad am I
Her spirit moves to a noble truth they tell
In a revered scripture of her race :
"In the house where a woman is honoured
There the gods dwell."

* *Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.*

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

A Center of Culture

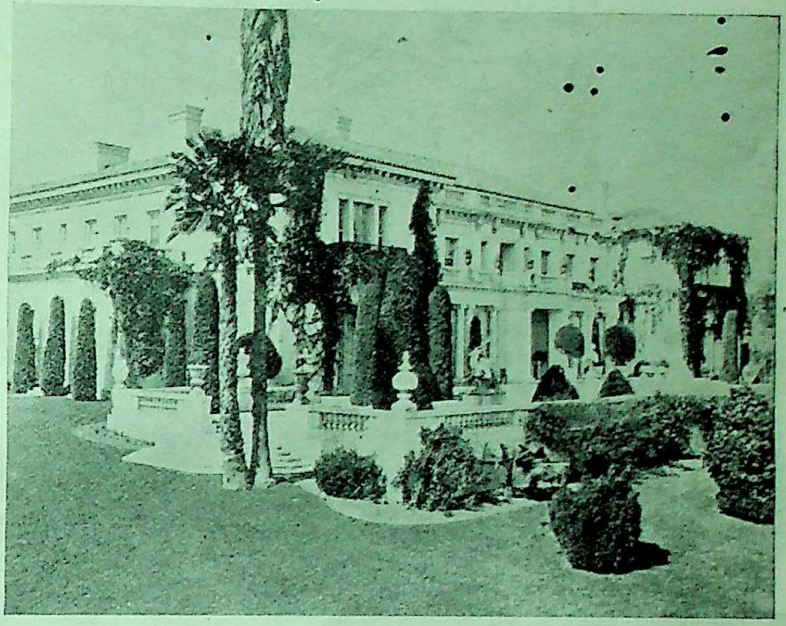
SOUTHERN California, on the Pacific Coast of the United States, has become one of the nation's and the world's important cultural centers. In recent years writers, painters, sculptors and musicians have established a sizable colony in the region and since the beginning of World War II their number has increased.

All agree that the California area is stimulating to creative work. Some of the Europeans who have made their homes in the vicinity of Los Angeles and Hollywood include Thomas Mann, German author; Jean Gabin, French actor; Bruno Walter, Viennese orchestra conductor; Otto Klemperer, German musician; Theodor von Karmen, Hungarian mathematician; and the late Franz Werfel, author of the book *The Song of Bernadette*.

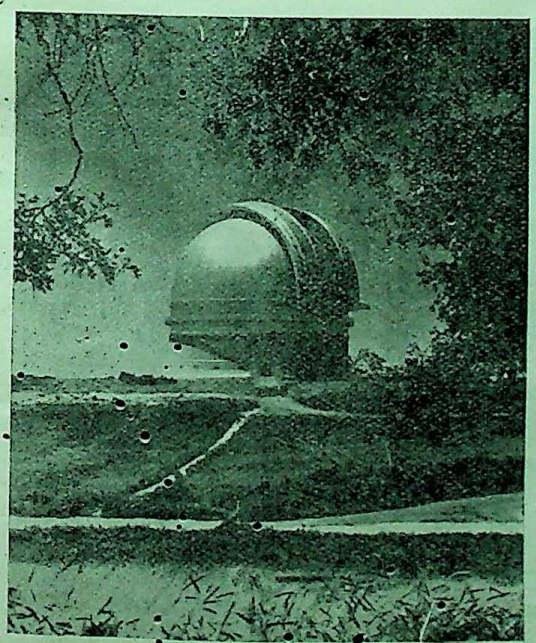
In Los Angeles county alone there are thousands of persons of Russian, German, Scandinavian, Polish, French, Dutch and Turkish origin. The stimulus of these groups living in close social contact has spurred the cultural advance of the entire area.

A number of institutions of research and learning exert their influence on Southern California. Three famous centers are in sight of each other—the Mount Wilson Observatory, which over 75,000 persons visit every year, the California Institute of Technology and the Huntington Library and Art Museum.

Mount Wilson has drawn to Southern California astronomers and geo-physicists from all over the world, and after the war its attractions increased with the completion of the Mount Palomar Observatory, on



The Huntington Library and Art Gallery at Pasadena, California



Dome of Mt. Palomar in San Diego County, California

Mt. Palomar near San Diego. Its new telescope will penetrate the heavens four times farther than the Mount Wilson reflector.

Prehistoric research in America has centered in Southern California for years, because of the location near Los Angeles of the La Brea asphalt pits, which thousands of years ago were deathtraps for now extinct animals. The bones of these prehistoric monsters, besides the richness of the district in fossils and the important research done by the Institute of Technology, increases the attraction of the region to scientists in general and geologists in particular.

As an example of contrast, a ten-minute ride from the La Brea pits takes one to the famous Hollywood Bowl, where the world's great music is interpreted by leading conductors, listened to in open-air concerts by audiences of 20,000 and more.

The Huntington Library, with a collection of 800,000 rare manuscripts, has drawn scholars from many countries. On its grounds is a garden which contains plants from every country. These features have drawn botanists of world importance to Southern California.

In a sense, Southern California is a mirror of the cultural development of the United States. This is true not only in regard to its cosmopolitan population, but to its youthful and thriving cultural life.—*USIS*.

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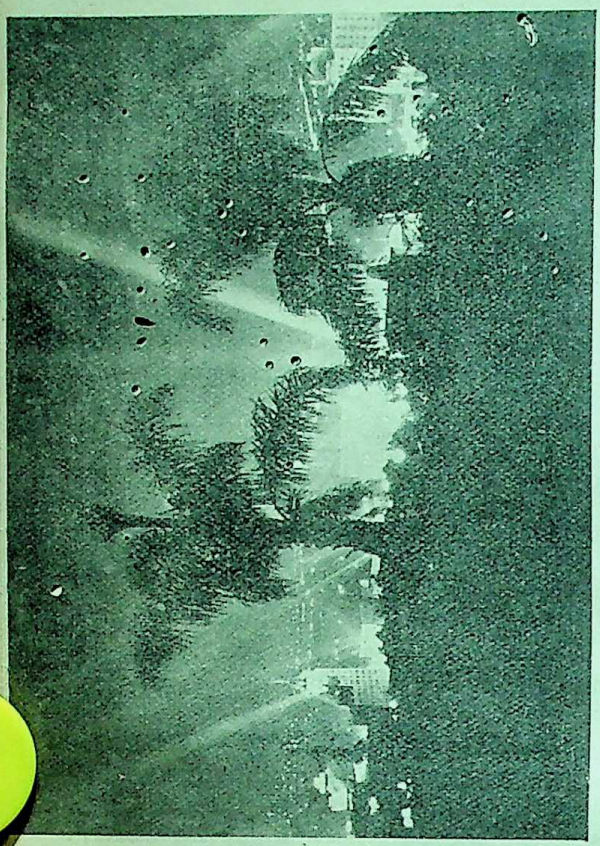
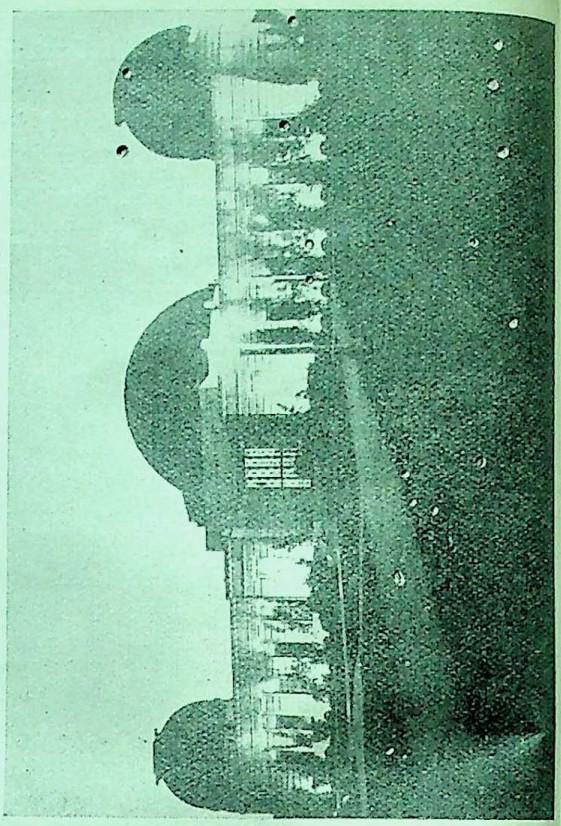
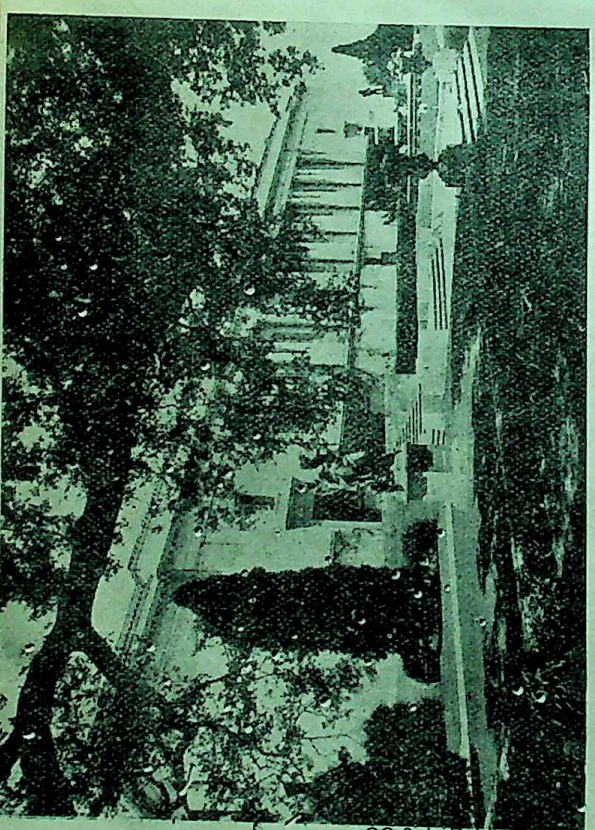
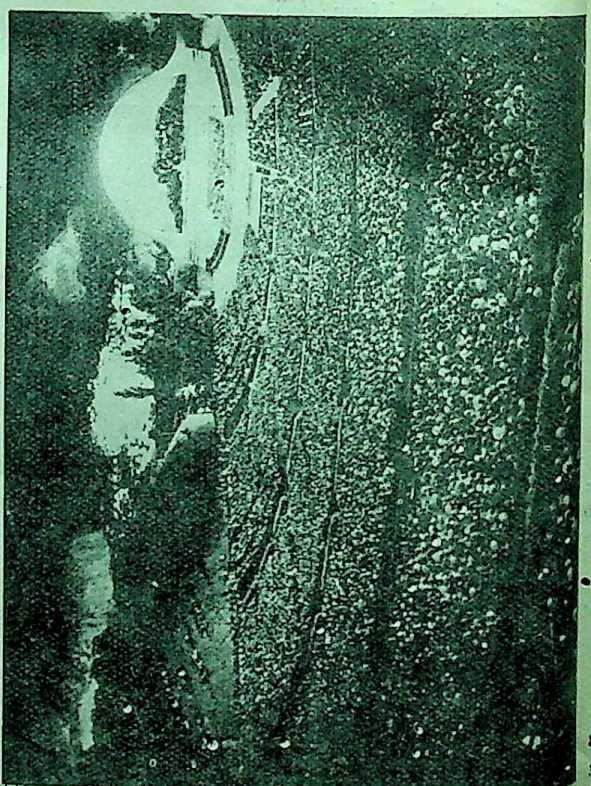


A night scene in Los Angeles, California. The searchlights announce a Hollywood motion-picture premier





The Huntington Library building at Pasadena, California



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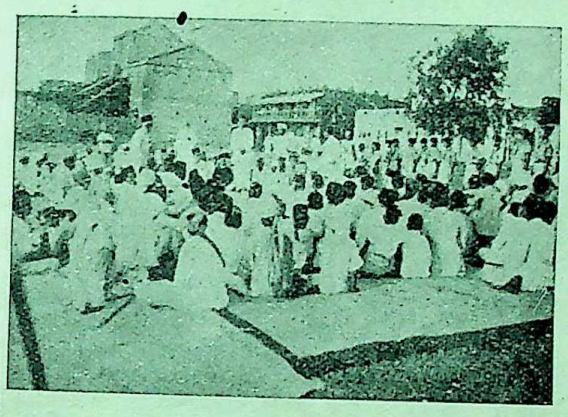
IN ART AND LIFE

By NAGESH YAWALKAR

"Art is not a luxury of the well-to-do. The poor man needs it as much and employs it in his cottage building, his floor decorations, his clay deities as in many other ways."

—Rabindranath Tagore

The fundamental unity of Art and Life is well known. Art cannot live without life and so also life cannot without Art. The life of a country means the life of the masses of the country. If the masses are starving, how can Art flourish in India? It will flourish only among the privileged few of the capitalist class as a form of luxury, but that will be of no use to the masses who are crippled by poverty.



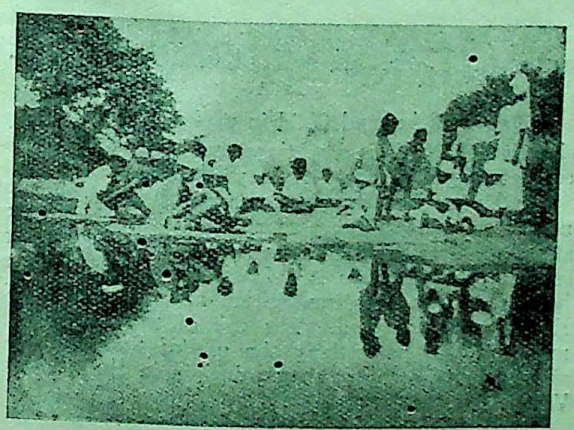
The opening ceremony of the Art Centre in Gwalior, which is under the active guidance of Nagesh Yawalkar.

Therefore, we have to make such a use of Art that it will make life worthwhile. Let us consider the life and living of the masses that belong to the villages and the country. There are many problems facing the villages along the country? Art in big cities and in a few institutions privileged for the upper and middle class people that comprise only a ten per cent of the whole population of the country of four hundred millions, has totally failed in bringing life to the 7,00,000 villages of India. The task *is* stupendous, but actually we have no clear outlook. The solution is found out by a great man, a non-Artist, Mahatma Gandhi, who has given a

Studies under the cottage roof

new vision to our people and, a new outlook of rural India, and who is bringing new life into the villages through his life-giving art.

Art and machinery have never been great friends and the latter has sometimes hindered the progress of the former. Creative and constructive Art has to play



Studies by the village pond

Trimbakrao guides village students in his village of Suwasara in Central India

at present, but the most urgent is one of poverty. How can Art flourish in the villages while poverty is standing

a great role in an agricultural country like ours. Gandhiji has given a new impetus to Cottage Industry

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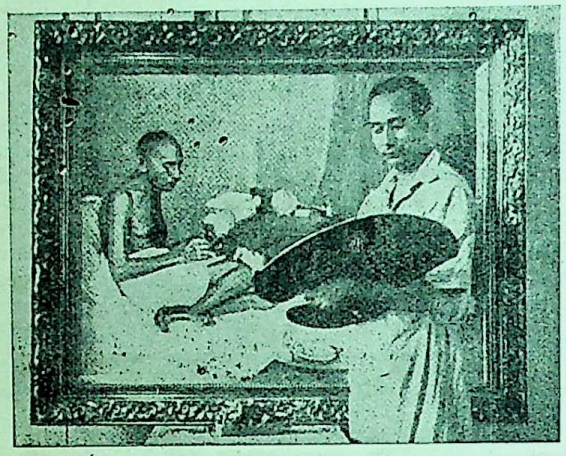
as a means of economic salvation to the masses. He rightly says : "Extinction of Village Industries would complete the ruin of 7,00,000 villages of India." There is no doubt about the result ; the result is before us. The suffering is horrible. Under such circumstances, revival of Village Industries is the only economic solution, and this alone will relieve poverty to a great extent.



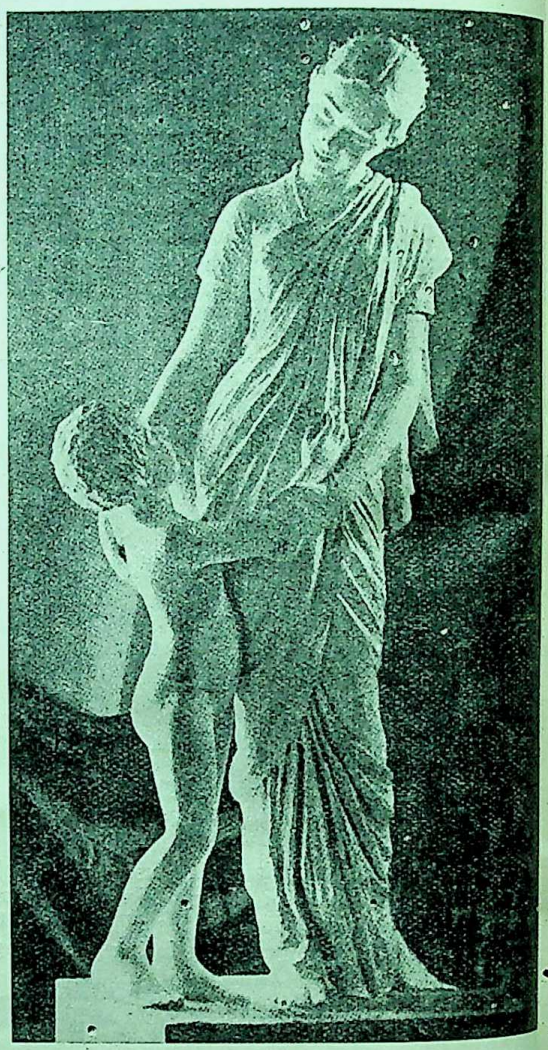
Nagesh Yawalkar in his studio in front of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait

The Western school of economics and their patrons have failed and their measures have proved ineffective inasmuch as they apply these foreign ways of salvation; as a result increasing poverty has become the order of the day in a country of villages which has altogether different geographical conditions and cultural backgrounds. One can realise this when he finds terrible and forced unemployment among the toiling millions who have no work to do for at least four months in the year.

Considering these facts it stands to reason that under the circumstances only through the revival of Cottage Industries we can build up rural India to bring new life into the villages. Handicrafts have that potentiality. Apart from this, Cottage Art Industries have a cultural value of their own since they develop the artistic capacity and skill of the village talent. Cottage Art Industry offers the best employment to the labour force we have in India.

Economics of Cottage Art

Cottage Art cannot survive if it is not economically perfect. Cottage industry has been dislocated and overpowered by cheaper imports and deliberate planning of destruction and that is why village industries decayed. In spite of the struggle for existence and foreign competition, some Cottage Art Industries have been able to retain their vitality when mass production has become the order of the day. This is due to the fact that for such Cottage Art Industries, only a small capital is required. Simple and hard-working habits and skill acquired through generations are the main cause of their maintenance. The proper use of Swadeshi materials has enabled it to survive. Look at the earth pottery made in the villages, coloured and beautifully decorated. In the villages pottery has been economically so perfected that it still exists everywhere. The reason is that the process of making these potteries is simple, cheap raw materials are required and they are available abundantly in nature. These are cheaply made and



Mother and Child in papier mache

cheaply sold. This is why they could stand the fierce competition of machine-made products.

India is very rich in minerals and has got abundant manpower and all other facilities that Nature can afford for flourishing Cottage Art Industries. There are several other Cottage Art Industries which have already been annihilated by competition and such industries should be encouraged. The use of waste and cheap materials and particularly the use of Swadeshi materials should be the guiding principle in the revival of Village Art.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

By V. G. NAIR

Among the different systems of political science that shape the destinies of mankind, the most significant thought representing the ancient wisdom of China, strikingly vehement for its universal appeal against the evil forces of exploitation, slavery and injustice, and for its staunch advocacy of human rights and freedom, is the *San Min Chu I*, the Three Principles of the People, formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic. With the exception of *Capital* written by Karl Marx, which has revolutionised human thought for reconstructing the world entirely on new economic and social foundations, no other political message of the present century has been so ardently read and followed by the nationals of any country more than the *San Min Chu I*, which is adhered to by people numbering one-fourth of the total population of the world.

The first principle of the *San Min Chu I* is Nationalism, which in the early stage of the Chinese revolution stressed for the overthrow of Warlordism and foreign Imperialistic exploitation. In the international sphere, it demanded the freedom of all the nations of the world, freedom from political tyranny and freedom from poverty and economic exploitation.

The second principle is Democracy. In this connection is considered political tutelage for China during the period of transition beginning from the attainment of full national rights, up to the time of introducing a Democratic form of Government. It aims to train the Chinese in the art of self-government. To give China a free democratic government Dr. Sun advocated a Five-Power Constitution, which he distinguished by two sets of powers exercised separately by the people and the government. The first set comprises the four democratic rights of Election, Recall, Initiative and Referendum ; and the second set includes the five functional powers of Executive, Legislative, Judiciary, Examination and Control. These five functional powers constitute the Central Government of China.

The third principle of Livelihood or Economic Democracy aims to provide food, shelter, clothing and the means of travel. Equalisation of landownership and regulation of capital are its cardinal principles. It advocates evolutionary methods rather than revolutionary means of effecting reforms in the social and economic life of China. In other words, the Principle of Livelihood is a planned economy which purposes to control and operate all large-scale industrial enterprises and aims at the national ownership of all lands, all means of production, all communications, all transport and the public sale of food.

In other words, the objective of the *San Min Chu I* is the fulfilment of the three phases of the Chinese revolution, first, political unity of China by uprooting Warlordism and national independence by racial struggle against Imperialist domination, such as extra-territorial rights, leased territories, concessions and unequal treaties ; secondly, Political Tutelage, Provisional Party Rule under the Kuomintang ; and thirdly, the introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government.

The aim of the first principle of Nationalism has been partially realised by China through the brilliant military victories gained by Generalissimo Chiang over Warlords, and through the abrogation of all unequal treaties except that of Hongkong. Chinese leaders are demanding that Britain should restore this Island to China. With the restoration of Manchuria, Korea, and Mongolia, China will regain her lost possessions, and will assure fully her territorial sovereign rights. Besides, the Communist problem is the most vital aspect of China's national life. But with the armistice agreement concluded between the National Government and the Communists in January 1946, followed by the Agreement for military reorganisation and for the Integration of the Communists into the National Army signed in February 1946, through the intervention of General George Marshall, United States' Special Envoy, the eighteen years' civil strife in China is expected to come to an end. The first principle could not be fully realised until the Communist problem is settled in the interest of internal peace.

A rare picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the planner of the *San Min Chu I* State for China and Generalissimo Chiang, the executor of the plan. This picture was taken just after the first revolution in 1911

The second principle is Democracy. Political Tutelage is not yet over in China. Therefore, the present is bureaucracy marching towards the goal of self-

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government. Until Democracy is introduced, the Kuomintang will act as the 'trustee' and 'tutor' of the Chinese people, and it will cease to exist as the ruling party of China as soon as the Democratic Government is introduced by convoking the National Assembly.

The third principle of the People's Livelihood, according to Dr. Sun, is of primary importance to China. But unfortunately, it has created the Communist problem, culminating in ten years' civil war with the consequent loss of millions of lives. The People's Livelihood, Dr. Sun defined, is economic equality, which the Chinese Communists claim as the essence of Russian Bolshevism. Though the essence is one, the fundamental difference lies in the methods of achieving its objectives. No less a person than Dr. Sun Fo in his book *China Looks Forward* says : "The principle of People's Livelihood is not in conflict with Russian Communism and is not opposed to the theory of Communism." Yet, the difference between Communism and Sun Yat-senism lies in the practical application of its principles inasmuch as the former adopts revolutionary means while the latter desires evolutionary methods in effecting economic and social reform in China.

The Chinese Communists worship Marx and Lenin as their national heroes and look to Moscow as their holy of holies. It was only after the truce in 1937 that the Communists began exhibiting the pictures of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek at Yennan along with those of Lenin and Stalin. Since that eventful year, has begun the process of absorption of Russian Communism within the folds of Sun Yat-senism, because the Reds had to give up their policy of forcible land-confiscation and the Soviet emblem on their soldiers' headgear. Their Army was renamed as the Eighteenth Route Army and their Soviet areas were converted as Special areas under the Central Government, though these Special areas were given local autonomy.

Absorption rather than self-conversion has been the past history of China in all her dealings with foreign political and religious institutions. Bertramd Russell in his *Problem of China* says :

> "The Chinese think not in decades, but in centuries. They have been conquered before, first by the Tartars and then by the Manchus ; but in both cases they absorbed the conquerors. Since the days of Confucius, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires have perished ; but China has persisted through a continuous evolution. There have been foreign influences—first Buddhism, and now Western Science. But Buddhism did not turn the Chinese into Indians, and Western Science will not turn them into Europeans."

In further support of Bertrand Russell, China's intellectual giant, witty and wise Dr. Lin Yutang says prophetically in his book, *The Vigil of a Nation*, as follows :

> "There is a bout going now inside China between Master Kung and Karl Marx, and my bet is that Master Kung will win. Time will settle that, not words, and I can imagine that twenty years from now, the ardent Communist advocates will become as pro-Confucian and as desirous of having roots in one's own racial and historical traditions."

Recent events in China undoubtedly foreshadow this end. If the Communist-Kuomintang negotiations succeed, it will be the last phase of Bolshevist Marxism in China.

The Chinese Communists no doubt consider Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a great leader of China. But they respect his person far more than his precepts. In a sense, they are 'democratic', but only in relation to the rights of peasants and labourers. They are vociferous now in their demands to introduce Democracy and the Principle of People's Livelihood in the Chungking administered Provinces. But like the past, they do not desire revolutionary methods in effecting such reforms since they have decided to join hands with the Kuomintang. With the convocation of the National Assembly and the inauguration of the new Constitution, the old revolutionary methods of the Communists for realising the aims of People's Livelihood through forcible land-confiscation, wholesale murder of landlords, insurrections and sabotage, all copied from the Russian model, will become a shadow of the past. These violent methods are diametrically opposed to the methods prescribed by Sun Yat-sen. According to him, China's moral code of loyalty, filial piety, kindness, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony and peace, all these should be revived if China desires national salvation and her former greatness. Marxism cannot provide China with these forces. Only Confucianism and Sun Yat-senism could provide China with them.

Long before Communism was preached by Marx, Universalism in all spheres of life, political, economic, and social, was preached in China by Chinese sages thousands of years ago. It is called 'Ta Tung,' the ideal of universal brotherhood and commonwealth of all free nations. Here is Dr. Sun's favourite quotation from Confucious on 'Ta Tung', which he proclaimed to the world for the first time at a memorable meeting held at Tokyo in 1907 :

> "When the great (*tao*) way prevails, the world is a common State. Although not to be thrown away, wealth is not to be kept as personal property. While not to be idle, labour is not to be used for personal advantage. Under such a scheme of Society, selfish plans cease to exist and banditry and rebellion cannot rise. This is the Age of the great Commonwealth."

The ideal of Confucius, no doubt, is a classless society. He wanted to form this Society without upheavals and revolutions. And therefore, in its political aspect Sun Yat-senism is nothing but Confucianism.

In formulating his Three Principles of the People Dr. Sun Yat-sen was influenced by the political philosophies of the West, particularly Marx's writings on Socialism and Communism, the history of the American Republic and the French revolutionary motto of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"; but it is an admitted fact that he has not copied any one of the European systems, and that his *San Min Chu I* with its Five Power Constitution is remarkably original in its conception. Curiously enough, both Dr. Sun and Marx evolved their theories after several years' study in the British Museum Library in London, but they had never met each other, as the latter died in 1883, while the former commenced his political career in 1896. Apparently, Dr. Sun was not content with Marx's scientific theories of 'value and surplus value', the class struggle, and the overthrow of capitalism with the help of such weapons as sabotage and insurrection. He therefore evolved his own theories suitable to the Chinese temperament, social condition, culture and

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civilization. In comparing Marx with himself Dr. Sun regarded the former as a pathologist and himself as a physiologist. And therefore, Dr. Sun asserted that Marxism would not be suitable to the Chinese soil. Yet, he relied much on Russian help for realising the aims of the Revolution. But in such help being given to China, Dr. Sun never anticipated that Russia would manoeuvre to create a State within a State in China, as seen in the Border Regions, Manchuria, Sinkiang, and Outer Mongolia. Discussing Sino-Soviet relations, Mr. Stanley Powell, the well-known author of *Soviet Attitude Towards China : Facts and Facts* has made the following observations :

"The Chinese Communists are allegedly independent of Moscow, so they say, but they have adopted, in the Chinese internal policy, the methods applied by the Communist parties elsewhere, that means the methods of struggling for 'total democracy' and 'friendship' with the Soviet Union, which allows them to criticize or to oppose or even to fight the Governments of the respective countries, unless the latter recognise the Soviet leadership or accept to be their tools ; while in foreign policy the Chinese Communists take a stand not only for a close collaboration with Russia—which could still be understandable—but also for the adoption, by China, of the principles guiding the Soviet foreign relations, including their tactics and propaganda, the latter at least in its official form."

It is needless to say that in spite of their 'democratic principles' the Chinese Communists have proved the greatest stumbling bloc to the peaceful and gradual introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government in China.

Since 1937, Generalissimo Chiang has been persistently trying to reach a settlement with the Chinese Communists. in spite of the fact that Dr. Sun has clearly laid down in his *General Principles for National Reconstruction* adopted at the First Kuomintang National Congress held in Canton during January 1924, that

"The Government shall use military force to remove all obstacles within the Nation ; and shall preach the principles of the Revolution to the people of the whole Nation."

However, by the word, 'use of military force,' it is generally accepted that Dr. Sun had never visualised the idea of waging war against his own countrymen as the birth of Communist State in China was as remote as the north pole during his days. Grasping this truth, Generalissimo Chiang's tolerance and liberality towards the Chinese Communists need no further mentioning here as they are too well-known.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, no doubt, believed that Russia would stand as his Government's ally, and not as the instigator and creator of a Soviet State in his country. His famous letter to Soviet friends written before his death is clearly vouchsafed in the spirit of looking to Russia as a liberator and friend, for it says :

"Russia is the leader and vanguard of that grand union of free republics which look to the future and the great federation of Nations is truly the priceless heritage bequeathed to all oppressed peoples by the immortal Lenin."

Dr. Sun, therefore, adds :

"He leaves behind him the Kuomintang Party, which shall co-operate with the Soviets for the realisation of his political ideals."

In the early days of his career Dr. Sun had appealed to foreign Powers for economic aid and assistance, but none came forward to help him. At last Soviet Russia in her own interests, declared her policy of co-operation and friendship with the National Government and renounced her extra-territorial rights. Borodin and Blucher were deputed to China for training the Nationalist Armies and the Kuomintaung Party. As a gesture of goodwill Dr. Sun admitted the Communists within the fold of the Kuomintang and encouraged them to work for the National revolution. But the Communist-Kuomintang co-operation did not last long. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, Generalissimo Chiang assumed the supreme military and political power in 1927. He began to realise the peril of China being transformed into a Soviet State within the political orbit of Russia. Borodin, the high-priest of Communism in China, was, therefore, expelled and his adherents were driven out to the Border Region in the North-West. This episode has been well advertised for the Reds by Edgar Snow, in his *Red Star Over China*. But Stanley Powell tells us a different story. He says :

"The defeated Red Army made to Chiang Kai-shek the offer to withdraw from South-Eastern China and to proceed to the thinly populated province of Kansu in Western China, almost at the other end of the country. Chiang Kai-shek accepted the offer to avoid further bloodshed and because of the graver task confronting him in connection with the Japanese invasion then threatening. The famous march of the Chinese Red Army over an immense distance of several thousands of kilometers proceeded along a route agreed upon in advance and without any sanguinary incidents."

Thus was the 'Long March' achieved by Chinese Reds for establishing Soviet Chinese rule against the well-planned national rule of Sun Yat-sen, the acknowledged leader of the Revolution.

Whatever may be the fundamental difference in methods between Marxism and Sun Yat-senism, it is evident that China is turning Communist according to her own conception of Communism, Chinese Communism aims to achieve political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity and social reform without crises, upheavals and revolutions by establishing full confidence among all the communities, thus ensuring internal calm, peace and peaceful developments. These are the fundamentals of Chinese nationalism preached by Sun Yat-sen, who is considered today almost as a demi-god by four hundred and fifty million people of China.

During his life-time Dr. Sun failed many a time, but in death he will surely see the signs of victory in no distant day.

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BREEDING CATTLE FOR HIGH MILK PRODUCTION

By Dr. AMIYA BHUSON KAR,* M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Edin.),

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Genetical research has proved beyond doubt that to obtain high milk production the cow herself must first of all have the inherited capacity for making large amounts of milk and butterfat. A cow minus this ability, no matter how well-fed and well-kept, cannot produce efficiently. She is just as guilty of wasting feed as a useless automobile engine is of wasting petrol.

There are two ways to obtain a herd of cows with high producing ability. 1. Through purchase of such cows ; 2. Through careful breeding and selection. In general, the second method should be followed.

Types of Breeding Programs

In selecting breeding animals for the herd, it is necessary to have an understanding of the various general breeding methods which may be followed. A definite program should then be chosen and strictly adhered to.

1. *Inbreeding* refers to the practice of breeding full brothers and sisters, dams and sons, or sires and daughters to each other. It is the closest form of breeding. It concentrates the characteristics present, both desirable and undesirable. Continuous practice of this form of breeding almost always results in some decrease in size and vigour of the offspring. It is, of course, valuable where the animals concerned are especially outstanding in practically every respect, and if they have no undesirable characteristics in respect to type, productive capacity or health.

2. *Line-breeding* : In this method, animals largely of the same family and blood lines, but not as closely related as those in an inbreeding program, are mated together. It enables a concentration of the characteristics of the particular strain. By rigid selection of individuals and careful planning of matings, any undesirable characteristics or weaknesses can be largely eliminated from the herd. It has been by the careful use of this type of breeding that practically all progress in developing and improving the present breeds of farm animals has been made in the U.S.A.

3. *Cross-breeding* : It is the mating of almost entirely unrelated animals. The crossing of breeds as a method of herd improvement has been subjected to much research and trial. It produces all kinds of variations particularly in the second and succeeding generations. The first generation in some cases may be desirable from the standpoint of size, productivity and health, but the second generation will have all possible variations in characters between the extremes found in original parents used in the cross. Breed and herd improvement is based upon the concentration of blood for the purpose of establishing desirable characteristics and reducing variation. Cross-breeding does just the opposite.

The Value of a Cow in a Breeding Program

A great deal of emphasis is being laid on the value and importance of a good bull to a herd. This emphasis should not in the least be diminished. However, the role a proven brood cow may play through her offspring in both herd and breed improvement should not be under-estimated. There are frequent instances of great proven sires who have come from dams who have proven themselves great. A great cow must meet three fundamental requirements : 1. She must be capable of high milk and butterfat production. 2. She must be excellent in type and conformation, especially because these characters are closely associated with her ability to stand up through many years of high productivity. 3. She must be capable of transmitting the productive capacity to her offspring.

Within each of the great dairy breeds and within majority of individual herds there are cows who have stood up to these requirements and have unfailingly transmitted to following generations.

The Value of a Good Bull in Breeding Program

It has been stated that "The bull is half the herd". This statement is certainly true in so far as the breeding program is concerned. The inherited characteristics of the offspring in the herd come one-half from the bull. All of the dams of the herd together contribute the other half.

I am quoting here two instances which prove beyond doubt the tremendous effects, either good or bad which herd sires may have on a herd. Data of both of which cover a period of approximately seven years were collected at the animal breeding department of Cornell University.

Herd A : Two bulls used—each sired daughters with production markedly *lower* than their dams.

Herd average :

1932—398·6 lbs. of butterfat
1939—243·2 lbs. of butterfat

Decrease 155·4 lbs.

Herd B : Four bulls employed—each increased production of daughters over their dams.

Herd average :

1931—342·1 lbs. of butterfat
1939—486·6 lbs. of butterfat

Increase 144·5 lbs.

In herd A, in spite of heavy culling, the bulls used lowered the production to such an extent as to nearly wreck the herd. In herd B, little culling was necessary the herd doubled in size and still the average produ

* Formerly at the Institute of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh (U.K).

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tion was greatly enhanced. The value of such bulls can hardly be estimated.

Selecting a Proven Bull

When a bull is available whose abillty to sire high production and desirable type has been demonstrated, a large part of the chance element in the selection of a bull is automatically eliminated. The transmitting ability of a bull may be measured in terms of *dam-daughter comparisons.* These are based on the assumption that the production of the daughters of a bull tends to be half-way between the production of their dams and the transmitting ability of the bull. Thus, if ten daughters of a bull average 400 lbs. of butterfat and their dams average 500 lbs., his transmitting ability is not 400 but 300 lbs. of butterfat. In other words, if bred to 300 lbs. cows he would be expected to just maintain that level of production. In selecting a proven bull, dam-daughter comparisons are helpful but possible limitations, like health of the bull and husbandry conditions, must be kept in mind if they are to be used effectively.

Selecting an Unproven Bull

Where the number of desirably proven sires is extremely limited and many of those cannot be purchased, the herds must be headed by unproven bulls. There is, however, a great amount of risk involved in using any untried bull but it can be reduced by selecting a bull from proven parents. The ideal bull is one who is backed for several generations by great proven sires and dams. The immediate sire and dam should receive the greatest consideration but better if the entire family is subjected to careful study. If each sire in the pedigree has proven himself able to sire uniformly desirable daughters, and each dam is a high producer, there is considerable assurance that the bull will prove able to sire high production.

Records are important criteria in selecting a bull but type should not be ignored. Many dairymen make the mistake of purchasing their future herd sire without even seeing the dam or daughters. A dairyman when purchasing a bull should see that it must be better than the best cow he possesses.

The bulls or bull previously used in a herd should influence the next selection. When a bull in a herd has been proven successful it is advisible to follow him with a bull bred along the same blood lines. This, however, does not mean inbreeding. The practice of inbreeding is dangerous and when followed must be accompanied by rigid culling. The mating of half brothers and sisters has sometimes given good results but certainly it is as close breeding as can be practised. Direct out-crossing, as previously mentioned, tends to produce wide variations. Obviously, where no particular blood lines have been established in a herd, selection can be made from any family that possesses the desired characteristics.

The Bull Should Be Proved

So far as my information goes there are very few bulls in Bengal about which there is sufficient information to estimate their value. There are several reasons. First, very few of the dairy cows are tested. The true transmitting ability of a bull cannot be known unless the cows with which he is mated and his daughters are tested. The latter procedure is scientifically known as "Progeny testing." Secondly, the average dairy farm is not equipped to handle a mature bull. I think by co-operative use of bulls by several dairymen these drawbacks can be eliminated. Of course, the co-operative use of bulls can only be successful if dairymen co-operating are able to eliminate disease from their herds.

Ideally, a young bull should be bred to about 25 representative cows and heifers in the herd as soon as possible. His uses should then be limited in preference to a proven bull until his daughters develop. Fairly complete information is not available until the daughters have completed one lactation period, making the bull nearly five years old. However, if his daughters as yearlings are of good body type and show signs of large body capacity and desirable udder development, his moderate use is warranted until actual production records are available.

Artificial Insemination

Rapid progress has been made within recent years in developing the technique of breeding cows artificially. The semen is collected from the bull, usually diluted with a nutrient buffer, and a portion used to breed individual cows by a person trained for that work. If properly diluted and kept at near freezing temperature the male sex cells or spermatozoa will live for many days and be suitable for breeding a number of cows for a period three days or longer.

This practice allows the use of outstanding bulls on many more cows than otherwise possible. Semen also can be sent to distant places and particularly desirable matings can be made which would otherwise be impractical.

Artificial Breeding Units

The development of the technique of artificial insemination has led to the formation of artificial breeding units in the U.S.A. A number of bulls are kept at a central point and semen sent out for use by trained persons in the surrounding herds. For many dairymen this makes available services of better bulls than they be able to keep themselves. The service charge is $5 or $6 per cow which in small herds proves less expensive than keeping a bull. These units have proved to be of immense value especially for owners of small herds interested primarily in improving the general level of milk production in the herd. In my opinion, establishment of similar units by the government in different parts of Bengal and if managed by trained personnel will prove to be of immense value in improving the milk-producing capacity of the cows throughout the province.

Conclusion

It is needless to point out the dietetic value of milk and the immediate necessity of improving its production. In this article I have endeavoured to discuss in non-technical language the different aspects of perhaps the most important method of improving milk production, *i.e.*, through breeding and selection. I hope that this article will be of some use to those who are interested in the improvement of dairy cattle in Bengal.

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THE MYSTERY OF COSMIC RAYS

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Modern Physics has unravelled another mysterious phenomenon of Nature called Cosmic Rays. It is the most remarkable of recent discoveries in Physics and was first noticed in 1906. Unlike Roentgen rays and radio-active rays, Cosmic Rays are of extra-terrestrial origin and reach us from beyond the Milky Way. It is due to the Cosmic Rays that a charged electroscope is discharged more rapidly in a balloon than on the earth. R. A. Millikan, the famous American scientist and indefatigable investigator of this mystery observes that the earth is being continuously bombarded by super-power particles of Cosmic rays, the energy of which rises to at least 20 billion electron volts and a hundred or more such particles shoot each minute through the head of every person living on the earth.

In order to properly understand the true significance and immense possibilities of Cosmic Rays, an idea of X-rays and radio-active Rays is absolutely essential. X-ray was discovered in 1895 by Professor W. K. Roentgen of Munich. While investigating the phenomena of Cathode rays Roentgen observed that the discharge through a vacuum tube completely enveloped in opaque paper caused a luminous glow to appear on a distant florescent screen. The X-rays originate within the vacuum tube on account of radiation and cause invisible luminosity. It means that X-rays are emitted when a stream of high-velocity electrons, that is a Cathode Ray, is suddenly stopped. This invisible ray is not deflected in a magnetic or electric field and can pass through many solids. Flesh is more transparent to these rays than bone. X-ray-therapy and X-ray photography are now widely used for medical purposes. When a pin is accidentally swallowed, an X-ray photograph will reveal the location of the pin in the stomach. If a beam of X-rays is directed through a man's hand to a paper coated with zinc sulphate, an inside view of the hand is obtained when the bones are plainly defined. Stones in the kidneys and tuberculous patches in the lungs are also radiographed by X-rays. For cancer treatment X-rays from 160,000 to 200,000 volts are used.

Radio-active Rays were discovered in 1896 by M. Henry Becqueral who found that the element uranium and its compounds emit rays which are able to penetrate very considerable thicknesses of matter. In 1898 Madame Curie discovered radium and polonium which are two extremely powerful radiating substances. Eve Curie, Mme. Curie's daughter, has given a graphic account of how her mother obtained through the Austrian Government one ton of pitch-blende ore of Uranium and carried out with her father the Herculean labour of extracting in 1902 one-tenth of a gramme of pure radium from this mass of raw material. Uranium, a highly radioactive substance, has made possible the production of Atomic Bomb, the terror of the modern world. More recently a number of other radioactive elements such as thorium, bismuth, etc., have been discovered. Radioactivity is absolutely independent of temperature and pressure and it can be done under all conditions. Sir Earnest Rutherford analysed in 18 the radioactive elements and found that they em three kinds of rays which are termed respectively Alp Rays, Beta Rays and Gamma Rays. Alpha rays are fact positively charged helium atoms, very easi absorbed and depleted in a magnetic field. The Be rays are negatively charged high-velocity electrons an deflected in a magnetic field. The Gamma Rays whi are not affected by a magnetic field are X-rays extremely short wave lengths. The difference of the three kinds of rays consists in their power of penetr tion. Alpha rays are about 1/100 as penetrating as t Beta rays, while the latter are 1/100th as penetratin as the Gamma rays. Radio-active Rays are generate by the spontaneous disintegration of elements and th disintegration results in all original atoms of elemen gradually disappearing.

Radium, an important radioactive element h marvellous curative power which has brought relief untold thousands of suffering humanity like X-ra Deep-seated necrosis which baffles all medicines yiel in many cases to radium treatment. It is not y possible to fully estimate its healing medicinal valu of X-rays and radium as this has yet been by no mea fully realised. T. F. Wall observes in his *Electricit* (Home University Library, pp. 159-160) that Exper ments have been made with X-ray treatment in whic 500,000 to 10,00,000 volts have been used in order obtain the same effect as by radium treatment. It ha been observed that the mean wave length of th radium emanation corresponds to an applied pressure about 9,00,000 volts X-ray tube, and that in so far biological effect is concerned treatment by 2,00,0 volts X-rays is identical with a corresponding dose radium treatment.

Cosmic Rays have more penetrating power tha either the X-rays or radioactive rays. Light darts light bullets emitted by Cosmic Rays and calle photons by Millikan have the highest frequency. Th highest measured velocity of Cosmic Rays is 36,000,0 billion billion (36×10^{24}) per second. Of the visib rays, the red light has the longest wave length and t violet the shortest. One Angstrom unit (A.U.) bei equal to one-hundred-millionth part of a centimetre 10^{-8} cm. Red light waves have 76 millionth part 1 cm. $= 76 \times 10^{-6}$ cm. $=7600$ A.U. As the colour chang through yellow, green, blue and indigo, the wave leng decreases to about 3800 A.U. beyond which the wav cannot affect the retina of the human eye. That is, t waves shorter than 3800 A.U. are invisible to man. may be noted that bees can distinguish 4 colours which the one is in the ultraviolet range and drag flies and some butterflies can distinguish colours in t ultra-violet zone. The wave length of visible lig between infrared and ultra-violet rays are from millionth to 40 millionth of 1 cm. The wave length the shortest visible light is 4×10^{-5} c.m. Above t violet end of the spectrum there are 4 octaves of ult violet rays extending up to 4×10^{-6} c.m. These

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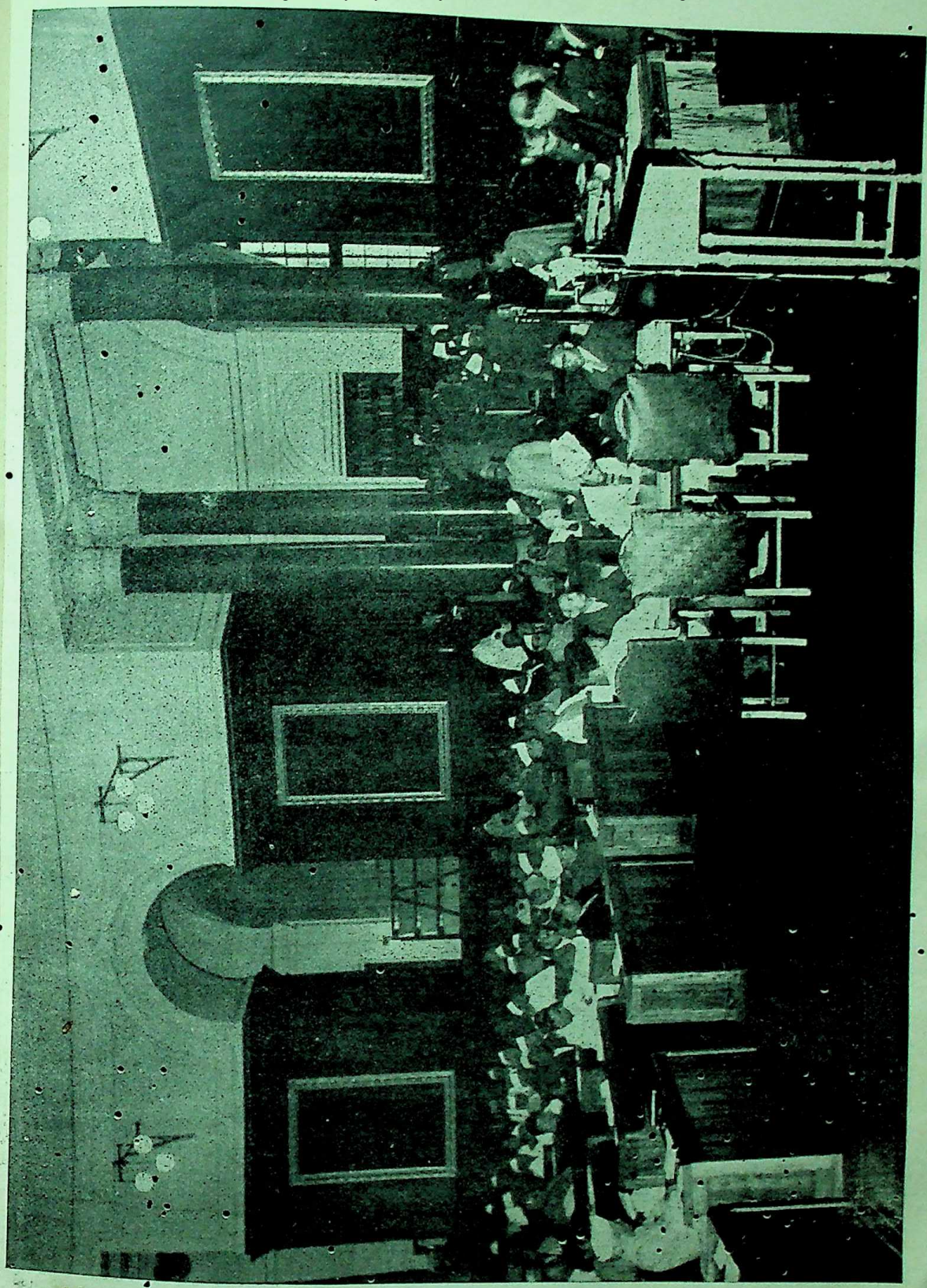

stituent Assembly meets at Delhi for the first time in the history of India. Acharya Kripalani is seen in front of the mike

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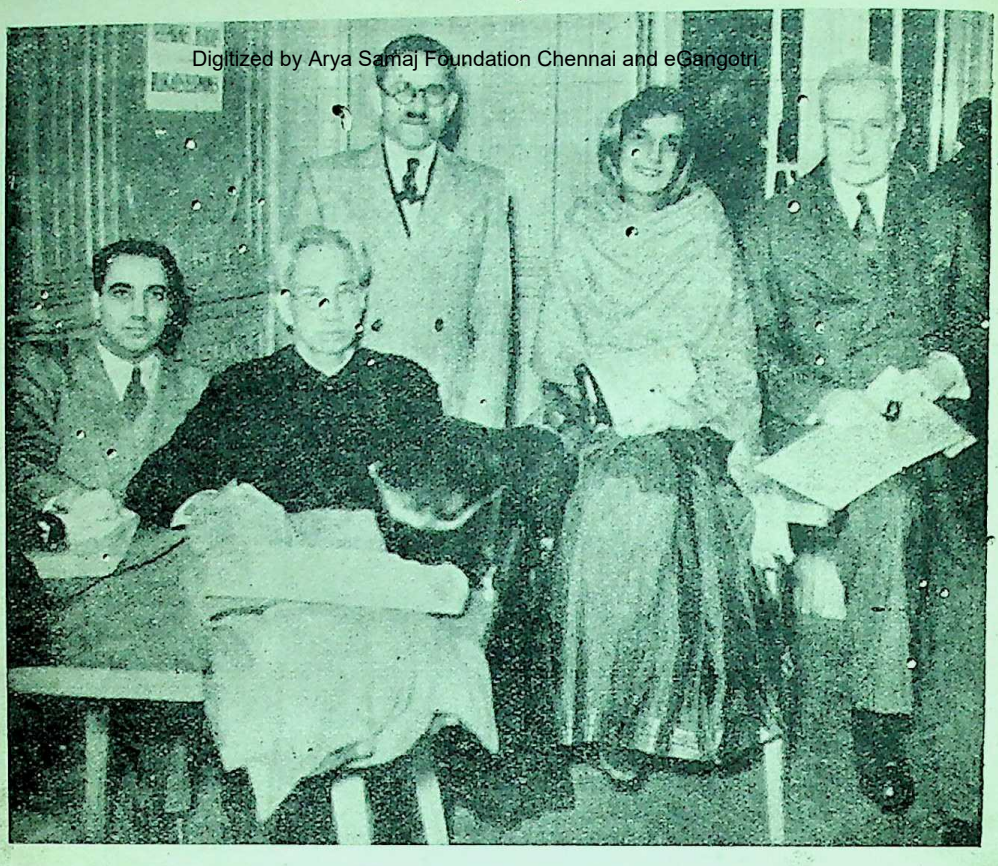
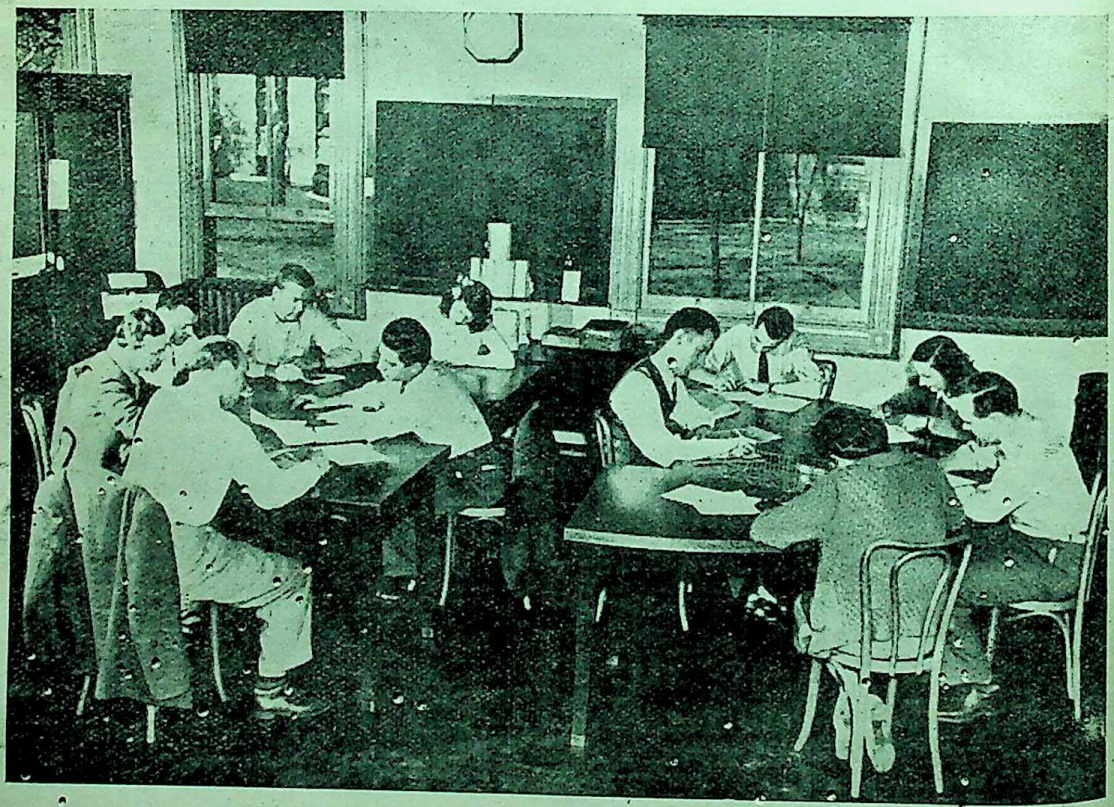


Indian delegation to the UNESCO General Conference which met in Paris
Sitting left to right : Dr. H. J. Bhabha, F.R.S., Sir S. Radhakrishnan (Leader)
Standing left to right : Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Sir John Sarjent



Students are given practical training in editing local, national and foreign domestic news in the news laboratory of the Medill School of Journalism, Illinois

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followed by the octaves of X-rays, the wave lengths varying from 2×10^{-6} c.m. to $1{\cdot}5\times10^{-9}$ c.m. X-rays have the wave length round about $\frac{1}{10{,}000}$ of those of the visible light. X-rays are, therefore, very short wave length light of wave length from a thousandth to a hundred thousandth that of ordinary light. Finally above the X-rays on the gamut there are several octaves of Gamma rays generated by radioactive elements. The short wave length of Gamma rays is about 7×10^{-10} c.m. Cosmic rays are shorter than Gamma rays and are shortest rays so far explored. Shorter is the wave length, greater is the frequency or penetrating power. The highest velocity observed is of 19,200 kilometers per second from radium. The velocity of radium ray is 20,000 times greater than that of a rifle bullet. The frequency of the pendulum of Grand Father's Clock is one per second (electrical wave length of 300,000 kilometers), whereas the highest measured frequency of Cosmic rays is 36,00,000 billion billion (36×10^{24}) per second. The Cosmic rays are five to ten times as penetrating as the most penetrating radioactive rays.

The Cosmic rays were first so termed in 1925 by Millikan in their report on their experiments about these extra-terrestrial rays in snow-fed lakes. In 1909, Gockel in Switzerland took up an electroscope in a balloon two or three times and found it always discharging faster at a height of 4 kilometers than at the earth's surface. In 1910, Hess, the Austrian scientist, advanced the hypothesis that these high-altitude rays originated outside the earth and observed also that discharging effects of these rays are independent of the position of the Sun. In the next two years, the German scientist Kolhorster extended the balloon observations to an altitude of about 29,000 feet and found the discharging effects at those altitudes some eight or ten times greater than those found on earth. In 1922, Millikan and Bowen made experiments with self-registering electroscopes in balloons launched from San Antonio, Texas, (U.S.A.), into the Stratosphere up to 55,000 feet height and made the similar observation that Cosmic rays discharge electroscopes much faster at high altitudes than on earth. In 1925, direct measurements of the penetrating power of the Cosmic rays were made by Kolhorster on the top of the Alpine glacier and then in a crack some distance beneath the surface; as well as by Millikan and Cameron by sinking electroscopes to depths of 70 feet beneath the surface of the radium-free water of the Muir Lake, California. All of them noted that the discharging power of the Cosmic rays diminished from the high altitude to subtarrenean depth and is weakened by both earth's atmosphere and the thickness of the radioactive-free water. In 1926, it was definitely proved by experiments made in South America where the Milky Way is out of sight for hours at a time that the intensity of the Cosmic rays is just the same where the Milky Way is out of sight as when it is in full view, thus showing that these rays come from beyond the Milky Way and is not originated in earth, or Sun or any Star.

In 1929, the penetrating power of Cosmic rays was measured in depths of as much as 300 feet in the waters of snow-fed mountain lakes. Regener later made similar experiments in Lake Constance and found minute traces of Cosmic rays down to depths of 220 metres. Superpower particles of Cosmic-ray bullets were traced by Barnothy, Ferro and Volney C. Wilson at even greater depths of up to one thousand metres of water. Dr. Carl D. Andersan and R. A. Millikan have built in 1930-31 an electromagnet which is exceedingly powerful and can directly measure the energies of Cosmic rays. With this apparatus it was possible to measure electron energies of these rays. With some precision up to 6 billion electron volts and to ascertain that some few electrons have energies as high as 10 billion electron-volts. This was approximately a thousand times higher than the highest particle energies hereto measured. A large number of photographs of Cosmic ray tracks have been taken with this apparatus. When two or more tracks of the Cosmic rays appear to spring from a common centre, they are called 'space-associated' tracks. But a difference of a small fraction of a second in time of formation causes a notable difference in diffuseness of the track. Tracks of the same sharpness are designated 'time-associated' tracks. The majority of the tracks, however, are both associated in time and space. As the energy of a photon is completely transformed into electrons[1], the Cosmic ray photographs reveal that a single photon reaches the very large energy value of 3 or 4 billion (10^9) electron volts. Photographs taken on Pike's peak which is 14,000 feet high show few straight incident Cosmic rays radiate huge energy of 20 billion electron volts as measured by the big Paris Magnet. Andersan and Neddarmeyar found from the photographs taken on the Pike's peak in the summer of 1935, they are notably greater on high altitudes than at sea-level. Rossi, Anger, Clay, Picking and a number of observers have clearly observed that Cosmic radiation is more abundant on mountain tops than at sea-level but the average penetrating power of the Cosmic rays at considerable elevations above sea-level (10,000 to 30,000 feet) is very much less than those at sea-level or below. Millikan and Neher took up electroscopes in 1933 in bombing planes at March field to altitudes of 20,000 feet and found that the Cosmic rays can discharge electroscopes shielded by large thicknesses (up to 16 c.m.) of lead, aluminium and iron.

Carl Andersan, while taking photographs of Cosmic rays in 1932 has made the significant discovery of positive electrons or positrons[2] in the nucleus of the atom. Before this no one had imagined the existence of the positive twin of the negative electron. G. P. Thompson in his *The Atom* (Home University Library, pp. 197) writes :

> "Greater part of the Cosmic rays are positrons or electrically charged particles and their radiation is weaker at the equator than at the higher altitudes. They are deflected by earth's magnetic field and tend to enter the earth's atmosphere in the northern hemisphere from the west rather than from the east."

It has already been said that the rate of ionization of the Cosmic rays decrease from higher altitudes to lower depths. About 70 per cent of the sea-level ionization disappears at a depth of 30 feet of water, *i.e.*, at the equivalent of 1 atmosphere below sea-level.

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1. This is called materialization process, as by this process electromagnetic radiant energy is wholly changed into material entities called electrons.

2. See *Electrons (plus and minus) Protons, Photons, Neutrons and Cosmic Rays*, by Robert Andrews Millikan, (pp. 235 to 424. Published by Chicago University Press.

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No Cosmic ray having energy less than about 5 billion electron volts can throw any ionizing influence at all down to sea-level. It is inferred that about 70 per cent of all the Cosmic rays found at sea-level have energies under 5 billion electron volts. Millikan, Cameron and Regener found by experiments that 90 per cent of the sea-level ionization goes at a depth of 300 feet or 10 atmospheres. It means that not more than 2 per cent of the Cosmic rays at sea-level have energies over 50 billion electron volts. The positive electrons (positrons) and negative electrons (negatrons) appear to be present in the superpower particles of Cosmic rays. The French scientists have also noticed that positrons and negatrons are secondaries produced in our atmosphere. The high-energy negatrons are more easily absorbed in lead than are high-energy positrons. The observations of Le Prince, Ringent and Jean Crussard show that more than half of the Cosmic rays found at sea-level of energy from 1 billion to 10 billion electron volts seem to be able to pass through 14 c.m. of lead and that superpower particles of very high energy and of very high penetrating power exist in the Cosmic rays in the neighbourhood of sea-level and below. But there are serious difficulties in identifying the superpower particles of the Cosmic rays at sea-level with either electrons or protons. In 1934, Andersan and Neddermeyer have reported the existence of particles of a new type called X-particles provisionally. Andersan has suggested the appropriate name of Mesotron to them. A Mesotron meaning an intermediate particle or something more fundamental than electron or porton is a dying Cosmic ray and has been beautifully photographed.

All observers have agreed that there is a small equatorial dip in the intensities of the Cosmic rays, no matter from what point in the north temperate zone one starts south across the equator. From airplane survey it is noticed that there are latitude and longitude effects in the Cosmic rays. Dr. Nehar came to Madras and with the co-operation of the Indian Meteorological Department repeated experiments for latitude survey of the Cosmic rays. The experiments of Millikan and Cameron have proved beyond question that Cosmic rays do penetrate not merely through 1 atmosphere (or 10 metres of water) but through not less than 10 atmosphere (or 300 feet = 100 metres of water) and also 15 or 20 c.m. of lead. Though the earth's atmosphere extends up only a few hundred miles at most, its magnetic field reaches out into the space for a distance of two or three earth's diameters, *i.e.*, ten thousand miles and more. The effect of earth's magnetic field upon the Cosmic rays is maximum in the equatorial belt. The Cosmic rays are rapidly absorbed as a whole in the outer layer of the atmosphere and at equator they produce their maximum ionization before they have penetrated the first tenth of the atmosphere. Millikan and Cameron reported[3] at the Leeds meeting of the British Association on their voyage in 1926 made from Los Angeles to Peru to look for the effect of earth's magnetic field on Cosmic rays that 10 billion volts positrons of the Cosmic rays are absorbed in the outer atmosphere. Mesotrons different from electrons and pestrons are heavy particles of some kind and are transformed into photons. Carmichael concludes that a single high-energy Cosmic ray produces thousands of separate ionizing superpower particles. Millikan has calculated that one 10-billion-volt electron enters every square centimetre of the surface of the upper atmosphere every eleven seconds. One Uranium atom when bombarded is transformed into 10 billion electron volts which can penetrate some feet into the earth when one Cosmic ray can burst into 10 billion billion electron volts and can penetrate several hundred feet into the earth. Millikan who has almost devoted his life to experiments and observation on Cosmic rays draws the conclusion that the Cosmic rays do not originate within the stars or in any portions of the Universe where matter is present in appreciable abundance, but do not pass through an appreciable amount of matter on their way from their point of origin to the earth and form a bended structure before they enter the sun's magnetic field. There are many speculations as to the possible modes of origin of the Cosmic rays. That they are not produced in celestial electrostatic fields is proved by the uniformity of their distribution over the celestial dome. Hannes Alfven's speculation that the Cosmic rays originate in the accelerating effect of the electric charges of a pair of rotating double stars, each possessing a magnetic field is still unconfirmed. It was suggested years ago that the Cosmic rays might be due to partial or complete transformation, according to Einstein equation, of the whole rest mass of the stars into Cosmic radiation—Cosmic rays are said to be produced by the annihilation of atoms of elements like boron, carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, aluminium and silicon which are most abundant in the nebulae.[5] This speculation is regarded by Millikan as most plausible one in sight as the electrons of the incoming rays are certainly predominantly positives, quite possibly exclusively so.

Scientists of different countries have been making for the last several years serious investigations into the mystery of the Cosmic rays. But unfortunately for us, no Indian scientist has made so far any mention of research in this line. The Soviet Government which has been investigating since 1936 in the Caucasus, how the Cosmic rays can be harnessed, has recently sent for the same purpose an expedition of scientists under the leadership of Dr. Vecksuller, the famous Russian physicist to the Pamir plateau, the Roof of the World. It is rumoured that they have made notable advance in their mission. When the Cosmic rays are harnessed the marvel of atomic power that has led to the creation of the atomic bomb will be left far behind and revolutionary results will be achieved. The two branches of modern physics—astrophysics and nuclear physics, have been revealing one marvel after another of Mother Nature and making man more wise and powerful.

3. See *Report of the International Conference on Physics*, Vol. I, section on Cosmic Rays, p. 182.

4. See his John Jolly lectures delivered at Trinity College, in 1937, and published by Cambridge University Press as a book on *Cosmic Rays*.

5. Bowen and Wise have determined by means of electroscopes these elements are abundantly present in the nebulae.

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TOLSTOY AND HIS THEORY OF ART

By SARBESHWAR DASH

In 1898, in his seventieth year, Tolstoy gave the world from his retreat in Yasnaya Polyana, his famous essay, "What is Art?" For fifteen long years he had been working on it. Almost at once it was recognised as the most unorthodox thesis hitherto published on art. Bernard Shaw, the arch-heretic against conventional values, said of the book, "This book is a most effective booby trap . . . Whoever is really conversant with art recognises in it the voice of the master." Tolstoy in this essay had broken the idols of European culture. The man who had earlier said, "Shakespeare cannot be recognised either as a great genius or even as an average author," went on to condemn Goethe, Mallarme, Flaubert, Balzac, Wagner and Beethoven, Kipling, Hyusmans, Manet, Burne-Jones, and almost all the great European artists and litterateurs of the post-Renaissance period. Writing at a time when decadence was supreme in the field of European art and culture, he roundly condemned it as "an accidental and transitory phenomenon . . . a logical outgrowth of the moral emptiness of the modern society, which lends its applause to the inscrutable, the incredible in the name of developed artistic sense." It was a shocking surprise to find the writer of the remarkable novels, *War and Peace*, and *Anna Karenina*, saying that he considered none of his works worth being called good art except the two short stories, "God Sees the Truth but Waits," and "A Prisoner of the Caucasus."

Before considering his theory of art, it is necessary to bear in mind that Tolstoy, the art-critic of 1898, was a radically different person from Tolstoy, the young intellectual aristocrat who had accepted the triumph of life over questioning reason, and had submitted to the gay philosophy that "one should live so as to have the best for oneself and one's family." Tolstoy's life, like the life of John Christopher, was the journey of a soul. His passionate craving for a religious justification of his life had led him to searching self-analysis. At last, in 1884, the conflict of his soul resolved itself—the soul in its journey found a haven of rest in the acceptance of the tenets of Christianity as presented in the Holy Bible in contradistinction to the rituals and dogma of the Church. It is this later Tolstoy, this pacifist, anarchist, and heretic Tolstoy, who took upon himself the task of presenting a theory of art in accordance with Christian principles; and as a consequence, the heretic in religion proved a heretic in art.

Hitherto the conception of art had been based chiefly on the conception of beauty, and its inherent capacity to delight men. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Cousin, Jeffrey Ravisson and many other aestheticians had declared that beauty was something having an independent existence, that it was one of the manifestations of the Absolutely Perfect, of the Idea, of the Spirit, of Will, or of God. Tolstoy considered this objective-mystical definition merging the conception of beauty in that of the highest perfection, or God, as a fantastic definition, "founded on nothing." This mystical conception, he felt, was very indefinite, and consequently embraced philosophy, religion, and even life itself. He did not agree with Kant and his followers in their definition of beauty as a certain kind of disinterested pleasure received by us, as it widened out to include pleasure derived from drink, from food, etc. He described beauty as "that which pleases us without evoking in us desire." He was of opinion that the acknowledgement of beauty, *i.e.*, pleasure, as being the aim of art transfers the question to a region quite foreign to art, and leads to metaphysical, psychological, physiological, and even historical discussions as to why a given production pleases one and does not please another. Therefore, the conception of art, he maintained, should not be based on the conception of beauty. He traced the mystical conception of beauty to the unwarranted identification of beauty with goodness which according to him, "has no foundation other than the fact that among the Greeks, in consequence of the low level of their moral ideal as compared with the Christian, the conception of what is good was not sharply divided from the conception of the beautiful." On this obsolete Greek view, he argued, the science of aesthetics was erected under the leadership of Baumergarten. Tolstoy believed that "beauty is nothing but which pleases us," and that "the notion of beauty not only does not coincide with goodness but rather is contrary to it; for the good most often coincides with victory over the passions, while beauty is at the root of our passions." As to truth, "it is a means of arriving at the good" and is not equal to goodness itself which is more fundamental than either beauty or truth. "With beauty truth has not even anything in common, but for the most part is in contradiction with it, for truth generally expresses the deception and destroys the illusion which is a chief condition of beauty."

Thus Tolstoy dislodged beauty from the citadel. Art, according to him, is not a means of pleasure; it is one of the conditions of human life. It is a means of communicating one's feelings. "Art is not, as the metaphysicians say, the manifestation of some mystical idea of Beauty, or of God; it is not, as the aesthetic physiologists say, a game in which man lets off his excess of stored-up energy; it is not the production of pleasing objects, and, above all, it is not pleasure; but it is a means of union among men joining them together in the same feelings, and is indispensable for the life and progress towards the well-being of individuals and humanity." "Art is a human activity consisting in this that one man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others' feelings he had been through, and that others are infected by these feelings and also experience them." The feeling with which the artist infects others may be of various degrees and qualities.

But from this larger conception of art, Tolstoy soon passes on to a narrow definition when he says. ". . . by art in the limited sense of the term, we mean only that part which we for some reason select from it, and to which we attach a special importance—usually the part of artistic activity which transmits feeling flowing from the religious perception." This insistence on religious perception as the basis of art is the distinctive characteristic of Tolstoy's theory.

Tolstoy believed that the criterion of good art should not be the "judgement of the finest nurtured,"

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but the highest religious perception of the time. The aesthetic experience or feeling that is expressed in a work of art does not belong to a separate aesthetic world, nor can its valuation be an absolute aesthetic valuation independent of the moral or other standards of the ordinary world.

He traced the perversion of the artistic conception to the period of the Renaissance, even as Trotsky traced the origin of the perverted bourgeois art to the same age. Owing to the impact of the Renaissance and the study of the classics, the aristocracy lost faith in Church-Christianity and the Reformation did not really substitute any new faith in the place of the old. As a result of this moral bankruptcy, the aristocracy soon accepted the pagan Greek cult of beauty as the basis of art. On the other hand, the common people remained faithful to Christianity and continued to think in terms of medieval art, or art of the early centuries of Christianity, both of which had their basis in religion. As a result, two forms of art developed, the genteel art, and the art of the people. Through the social superiority of the wealthier classes, this genteel art has come to stay as the standard form of art. Tolstoy condemned the post-Renaissance art of Europe as the art of a class, and wrote in disgust, "Fine Art can arise only on the slavery of the masses of the people, and can continue so long as the slavery lasts . . . Free the slaves of capital, and it will be impossible to produce such art." But for the insistence on religious perception as the basis of art, his attitude towards the art of his day is an anticipation of the Marxist attitude towards bourgeois art.

Modern art, he felt, was confined to three elements only—the feeling of pride, the feeling of sexual desire, and the feeling of weariness of life, and thus was not worth being called good art. He refused to accept the contention of Mallarme and Jules Huret that there should be an enigma in poetry. He condemned Nietzsche and Wagner for their contempt for the taste of the vulgar crowd and their theory of superman. The conception of life of Baudelaire, the leader of the French decadents, seemed to him to consist in elevating gross egotism into a theory and replacing morality by a cloudy conception of beauty, and specially artificial beauty. "He had no sympathy for the Symbolists, the Impressionists and the Neo-Impressionists who were considered original, and yet, if anything, they are original in the field of art only for their obscurity." The new drama headed by Ibsen appeared to him equally perverted as a form of art. He failed to appreciate the famous "Ninth Symphony" of Beethoven, and attacked Wagner for having tried to mingle the two distinct arts of music and drama. Their music, he felt, was devoted to the feelings accessible "only to people who have developed in themselves an unhealthy nervous irritation evoked by the exclusive, artificial, and complex music." Goethe's famous drama *Faust*, according to him, lacked the chief characteristics of a work of art—"completeness, oneness, the inseparable unity of form and content expressing what the artist has experienced." If the whole range of contemporary literature he could appreciate only these few works—*The Robbers*, by Schiller; Victor Hugo's *Les Pauvres Gens* and *Les Miserables*: the novels and stories of Charles Dickens—*The Tale of Two Cities, The Christmas Carol, The Chimes*, and others: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Dostoevski's works, especially his *Memoirs from the House of Death*, and *Adam Bede* of George Eliot.

But Tolstoy was no pessimist. He believed that religious perception, though blurred, was still the "The religion of our time, in its widest and practical application is the consciousness that our being, both material and spiritual, individual collective, temporal and eternal, lies in the growth brotherhood among all men in their loving harmo with one another." And this should be the basis of "And the greatest work of art is no longer a cathed of victory with statues of conquerors, but the rep sentation of a human soul so transformed by love t a man, who is tormented and murdered, yet, pities loves his persecutors." The end of professionalism ring the death-knell of exclusive art. A new form art will arise—a form of art appealing to the humani as a whole, and based on the religious sense universal brotherhood and the sonship of humanity relation to God. "Until the dealers are driven out, temple of art will not be a temple. But the art of t future will drive them out." The artist of the fut will not be a social parasite as he is now. He will e his living by some kind of labour. He will create o when he is impelled by an inner need for creation.

It was probably bearing Tolstoy's thesis on art mind that Rabindranath Tagore, in one of his lectu on art, said :

> "It is a sign of the recurrence of the asce ideal of the puritanic age, when enjoyment as end in itself was held to be sinful. But all puritan is a reaction. It does not represent truth in its norm aspect. When enjoyment loses its direct touch w life, growing fastidious and fantastic in its world elaborate conventions, then comes the call renunciation which rejects happiness as a snare. Yet I can assert as a general truth, that when a m tries to thwart himself in his desire for delig converting it merely into his desire to know, to do good, then the cause must be that his pow of feeling delight has lost its natural bloom a healthiness."

No better criticism can be made of Tolstoy's proach to the problem of art. If the decadents er in considering the aesthetic world as a world indep dent of the world of reality, Tolstoy erred in attach an unwarranted measure of importance to the ulte worth of the aesthetic experience or the feeling beh a work of art. Great artists and aestheticians of vari ages beginning from Plato, Aristotle and Hor through Dante, Tasso, Spenser and Milton, to Arn and Pater have subscribed more or less to the moralis theory of art. Tolstoy's mistake lay in confining conception of morality to a single narrow channel, sense of universal brotherhood under the parenth of God, and making that the standard of valua His failure to appreciate the objective mystical conception of beauty was due to the short-sighted peculiar to a rank rationalist. His attack on the G ideal as "the ideal that was held by a small, s savage, slave-holding people who lived two thous years ago, imitated the nude human body extrem well, and erected buildings pleasant to look at," is shocking as the famous diatribe of Shelley aga chastity—"Chastity is a monkish and evangel superstition, a greater foe to natural temperance than unintellectual sensuality."

Tolstoy's thesis is a pointer to modern thou Few will refuse to admit that there is much truth

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his criticism of the art and literature of his time. Even such a sane person as Arthur Symons regrets "the spiritual and moral perversity" of the art of his time and refers to contemporary literature as "really a new and beautiful and interesting disease." Written about half a century ago, Tolstoy's criticism still holds good to a great extent. If the decadence has ended, it has not really given place to a healthy and vital art or culture. Much of what we call art today is exclusively intellectual and hedonistic. Extreme individualism in the field of art has inevitably led to a chaos. Young courageous artists have chosen to break away from conventions to strike out new paths. But the new paths are too narrow to admit others. A Romain Rolland or a Bojer is an exception. The battle for the universal art was only partly won in the October Revolution. In the place of a bourgeois art we have a proletarian art, but not a universal art.

After a devastating war, in the dawn of a new age rich with enormous possibilities, we re-read Tolstoy, and wonder, if it is not time now to retrace our steps to make a final attempt at creating a universal art on the basis of a comprehensive sense of morality, to utilise its tremendous influence on the human minds for building up a better and wiser world.

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BRITAIN AND SOCIALISM

By S. M. TAQI HASHMI, M.A.

Modern ideology, whether political, economic or social, owes its origin to the French Revolution which was not a mere revolt against the political order prevailing at that time but a strong assertion of human rights. The Revolution started iconoclasm of all those beliefs and conceptions which were firmly inculcated in the human mind by abuse of religion by those who wanted to perpetuate their sway, political and economic, over a great part of humanity. Human society, being reinforced by intellectual progress and rational thinking, started its march along the path of freedom which was full of hindrances and obstructions. It had to fight against two enemies—political tyranny and economic exploitation. These were largely overcome by the inauguration of the present type of democracy but were not stamped out of existence, because the capitalist system, with its 'exploitive' aspect, was allowed to remain, rather reinforced by the policy of *laissez-faire* which resulted in the political and economic domination of the exploiting class. The necessity for purging the democracy of exploitation was, therefore, keenly felt generally and, in consequence, the powerful movement of socialism came into being.

The object of socialism is the total abolition of the capitalist system which emerged from the Industrial Revolution in Europe and deprived the factory labourers of the just reward for their toil and industry and reduced them to the position of serfs working for the comfort of their masters; complete elimination of vested interests and economic groups; State regulation of economic life and nationalisation of the means of production; equitable distribution of wealth brought about by the recognition of the dignity of and a true assessment of the value of labour as a factor of production.

The socialist movement in its extreme form was led by Karl Marx during the last century and with the growth of industrialism it gained momentum and culminated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the significance of which is revealed by the fact that socialism is now being actively pursued by at least one country and trade unionism is firmly entrenched in almost all countries. Now the importance and power of labour has been recognised by all nations who have set up a separate international body, the International Labour Organisation to deal with the problems of labour which are now recognised as the problems of the common man according to the *Philadelphia Charter*.

Britain, more than many other countries of the world, has been truly democratic in the sense that it has given unfettered liberty of thought and expression to its people. Any movement initiated in any quarter of the globe is freely studied and discussed and in case of its acceptance by a sufficient number of people, finds its expression in an association in this country. So far as socialism is concerned, there are now four main bodies allied to it—the Fabian Society, which is an academic body, the Labour and the Communist parties having political aims and the British Trade Union Congress devoted to labour welfare work.

Now that the Labour Party has formed its Government and the dawn of Socialism has appeared on the British horizon with the Government starting nationalisation of economic life, the question whether the Government will go completely socialist, is being mooted all over the world. This question can be adequately answered only after examining the measures of nationalisation so far adopted by the Government and knowing the general reactions of the public to these measures.

The Labour Party in their election manifesto "Let's Face the Future" which, more or less, embodies a plan of the socialism of the Fabian type for Britain, had declared that if returned to power, it would first take steps to nationalise the Bank of England, fuel and power, steel and transport. The Party, has, after taking up the reins of Government in its hand, addressed itself, in conformity with its election pledges, to the task of nationalising the Bank of England, the basic industries and the public utility services as the first and essential part of their programme for the socialisation of economic life. Except the Bank of England, which has already passed into public ownership, bills have been submitted to the Parliament for the nationalisation of coal industry, tele-communications and civil aviation which will become law with the conclusion of the present session.

The nationalisation of the Bank of England was comparatively easier for it did not involve any radical changes in the organisation of the Bank. The Bank now retains many features of its former self. The Act

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provides £400 of 3 per cent Government Stock for £100 of Bank Stock (on which 12 per cent dividends have been paid); a reduced number of directors to be chosen by the Crown but not enjoying the status of civil servants and slight alterations in the composition of the Court of Directors. It must be noted, in this connection, that the Government is against nationalising ordinary banks.

The Bill pertaining to the nationalisation of coal industry provides for some 850 collieries to be taken over, the establishment of a National Coal Board and the setting up of a Compensation Tribunal to assess the value of coal assets to be taken over which will have to be paid for by the issue of "frozen" Government Stock.

The Bill relating to tele-communications provides for the transference of the services of the Cables and Wireless Ltd., to public ownership and the Bill for the nationalisation of civil aviation, including radio, meteorological and air traffic control services, provides for the setting up of three public corporations to be financed wholly by Government.

The Labour Government now proposes to socialise all the sectors of the iron and steel industry except cast iron foundries which will be left in private ownership. It has under preparation a bill to nationalise the electricity industry while the gas industry and transport services will be brought under public ownership at a later date.

The Government has not yet decided to nationalise land and such large concerns as Imperial Chemical Industries which will, it may be assumed, be taken up during their next tenure of office. They have, for the present, concentrated their attention on the socialisation of industries, particularly basic industries and public utility services, which predominate British economy. But the process of this nationalisation is such as to bring all the industries under public ownership in due course. This process has been revealed by the Coal Nationalisation Bill which lays down the principle that an ancillary can be taken over with the primary industry. It is obvious that the acquisition of ancillary industries is a process which can be stopped and will ultimately lead to the nationalisation of all industries.

Now we have to consider the reactions of the British public to nationalisation. The class which is directly affected by this policy consists of capitalists and industrialists. The latter are naturally very loud in their clamour against nationalisation, although some of their arguments are very reasonable and like to modify the policy of the Government in future. They hold that only such concerns should be nationalised as are inefficient and not those like the Cable & Wireless Ltd., which have always worked efficiently to the benefit of the general public. Besides, they argue, nationalisation will damage the goodwill of British industries like that of Stewarts and Lloyds, the world-known steel tube-makers, in the export market. The British export trade, it is feared, may also suffer greatly by virtue of the fact that British manufacturers will, on account of the nationalisation at home, establish their factories overseas, in the Dominions and Colonies.

Some of the industrial concerns like the Cable & Wireless Ltd., the electrical supply firms and the railway companies have started a vigorous campaign against nationalisation which is likely to have considerable effect on their investors. Besides, the Conservatives have joined the fight by declaring that if returned to power at the next general election, they will denationalise the economy by turning State concerns into limited companies with "care-taker" directors, inviting shareholders to nominate their own directors and returning to normal trading with Government control.

In short, an opposition to nationalisation is growing gradually mainly from the industrialists, investors in the companies paying good dividends and the followers of the Conservative Party, which is likely to modify the nationalisation programme of the Labour Government. Besides, the Labour Party came to power at a time when the War has completely disjointed the British economy and the nation is yearning for the return to the normal life of the pre-war period. The reconstruction will involve a colossal amount of expenditure and is likely to retard the progress of nationalisation by virtue of the fact that the latter is also a highly expensive programme. On the other hand, normal life in Britain can be restored only when the war-torn and over-worked industries are re-equipped immediately and made to turn out goods for the home and foreign markets without delay. Britain must also launch an export drive vigorously (as its prosperity hinges upon the export trade) in order to at least maintain its hold on overseas markets in which the U.S.A., with its superior industrial organisation, is most likely to appear as a formidable rival. These pressing needs of the British nation, *i.e.*, the restoration of normal life and the revival of export trade, have to be immediately fulfilled by the Government not through the nationalisation of industries which by virtue of its being an experimental measure, is likely to cause considerable delay but by just restoring the industries to their pre-war position which is comparatively an easier task.

On the other hand, the Labour M.P's are not only solidly behind the Government in the latter's nationalisation drive but also urging upon them the necessity for speeding up the programme. The labour strikes may also be taken as a factor in favour of the Government's policy.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it must be admitted that the Labour Government are functioning against heavy odds. But whatever they have achieved during the first year of their tenure of office is more than what could be expected in the circumstances. They will be in a better position after the transition to put their socialisation plan into operation more effectively.

It is worthy of note that the Government is going ahead with their programme cautiously and discriminately. They do not intend for the present to nationalise those industries which are important from the point of view of export trade, although they are bringing them under their general control. Besides they are not showing a complete disregard for the British sentiment for private enterprise and economic freedom.

The Labour Government have pledged to secure full employment and social security for the British nation. Full employment is now a fact in Britain which is suffering from the shortage of man-power. It is certain that the policy of the Government, with regard to full employment and social security will be in conformity with the recommendations of the International Labour Conferences held at Philadelphia and Paris in 1944 and 1945 respectively.

It may be concluded that the socialism which

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Britain is going to pursue will be neither of the Russian nor of any other type but of an entirely British type. Private enterprise will not be eliminated from the economic field but will be confined to such spheres of economic activity where it is likely to be more useful. It will, however, not remain in the basic industries, public utility services and the industries of national importance. The policy of colonial exploitation will be substituted by that of co-operation with other countries in economic matters. There will be a basic wage for all workers sufficient to maintain them at a minimum standard of living but there will be inequalities in incomes, though not so glaring as they exist at the present time. Efficiency will be duly rewarded and a healthy economic competition, which is a lever of progress, be promoted. There will be equal opportunities of self-improvement for men and women of all classes and creeds. The 'right to work' will be recognised and every citizen will be provided with useful employment. Social assistance will be given to the disabled, the children, the aged, the sick, the unemployed and the expected mothers. Every citizen will enjoy civil liberties and will be perfectly free to use his leisure as he likes.

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NEHRU BIRTHDAY DINNER IN NEW YORK

By HILDA WIERUM BOULTER

On November 14th, the National Committee for India's Freedom gave a dinner in New York City to celebrate the birthday of Pandit Nehru. There have been Nehru Birthday dinners before. There have been Gandhi Birthday dinners, and Independence Day dinners. There have been mass meetings of the India Community and its friends on these and other occasions in New York, Washington and elsewhere. But there has never been any function of any sort given by the India Community in this city or elsewhere in America which drew so distinguished a crowd as the 1946 Nehru Birthday Dinner.

It was held in the Grand Ball-room of the Hotel Pierre, New York's most elegant and exclusive hotel. Ordinarily, India functions are held at more modest establishments, and whenever possible, at one of the two Indian restaurants in New York. But this time it was inevitable that there would be a larger crowd than either of the Indian restaurants could accommodate, and as it would be a crowd composed largely of officials it was thought wise to let the restaurant fit the crowd—to paraphrase Gilbert and Sullivan. Incidentally, the presence of the U. N. in New York and the many dinners given on that account has so filled up the city's hotels and restaurants that one has very little choice.

Scattered through the room that night were members of the Chinese, French, Belgian, Ukrainian, Yugoslav, Syrian, Ethiopian and Haitian delegations to the U. N. There were also representatives of some of the big Trade Unions of this country. There were distinguished writers, lawyers, and scientists of various nationalities—not to mention the many "socialites." There were also present plenty of the "little people" to whom attending that dinner represented a real sacrifice. Special arrangements were made for the Indian students, and for other students—and there were many students present.

The list of people who attended that dinner was in itself a testimonial to the respect in which Pandit Nehru is held here by all kinds. The great number of official representatives was a testimonial to the change of status of India herself—and to the expectation the rest of the world has of India. It was also a testimonial to the esteem in which Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit is held here.

On the dais were the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo; the Philippine Ambassador, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo; the Minister from Afghanistan, Mr. Azziz; Mr. Arthur Bottomley of the British Delegation to the U.N.; Mr. Kyril Novikoff of the Russian Delegation; Mr. Camille Chamoun, Lebanese Minister to London and head of Lebanon's Delegation to the U. N.; Mr. Henry S. Villard of the American State Department and the American Delegation to the U.N.; Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Congresswoman from California and member of the American Delegation; Mr. Emanuel Celler, Congressman from New York, and sponsor of the bill for Indian Citizenship; Mr. William Shirer, the noted author and foreign correspondent; Mrs. Frances Gunther, India's good friend of many years; Mrs. Celler, Mrs. Shirer, Mme. Chamoun, Mme. Koo—and in the centre sat Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the guest of honor, and Dr. Anup Singh, Secretary of the National Committee for India's Freedom, who presided.

Part of the proceedings were broadcast, so that many who could not be there in person were able to hear many of the speeches. But the *atmosphere* could not be broadcast, nor could the lovely picture presented by the many Indian ladies in their graceful and colorful *saris*. Mme. Koo, in Chinese dress, was both exotic and elegant. Mrs. Pandit, though dressed far more simply than many others there, was radiantly beautiful, with a beauty of spirit as well as of feature.

Sir Maharaj Singh of the Indian delegation in *achkan* and Gandhi cap, Mr. Nairoji, also in *achkan*, several Sikh students with their beards and turbans, and one young Muslim wearing a handsome gold turban, all added to the picturesqueness—from the American point of view.

There was a gayer spirit than at so many other Indian functions. (The last Nehru Birthday dinner that the present writer attended was held while Pandit Nehru was in jail!). This was, as one of the speakers said, not only the birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru, but almost the natal day of India's *own* government. We—American friends of India—who have been joining our Indian friends year after year in the celebration of India's Independence Day—we now felt that at last that Day was dawning. It was no longer merely a hope that we were celebrating, not a declaration of an intention, but the beginning of a *fact*.

Dr. Koo indeed referred to India as having attained complete independence. A slight over-state-

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ment, as Mrs. Pandit pointed out later. But, although every one knew it was an over-statement—that was how we felt.

When Mrs. Pandit rose to make her very brief but eloquent speech of thanks for the tributes paid to Pandit Nehru and to herself—as she rose the entire audience rose and greeted her with a genuine ovation of tumultuous applause.

We knew that India is torn with a horrible struggle between the two major communities, we knew that Pandit Nehru is a harassed man, dealing with a task of such magnitude that it is appalling to consider—we knew all that, and yet there was an electric charge of success, of achievement, in the very air. Never mind the difficulties. A step forward has been taken, such a step that there *can be no going back.* That was the key-note of the evening. It was in the air—that sense of *real achievement.* Moral victories are wonderful. They are, of course, the realest of all victories, and the hardest to win. But it is hard to *celebrate a moral victory,* if there is no *concrete* evidence of victory. This was a celebration of the *concrete evidence of the moral victory.*

Pandit Nehru was eulogized for his many qualities, for his statesmanship, and for his literary achievements. Mrs. Pandit received tributes for her work—both at San Francisco from outside, and now at the U. N. Assembly.

But the inspiring feature of the evening was so much the eulogies to Pandit Nehru, not the brilliant speeches and certainly Dr. Koo, Gen. Rom Mr. Krishna Menon and others *were* brilliant. No inspiring thing was to look around at the really ha faces of the Indians there, and to realize that all was to honor the man who has been largely res sible for making the dream of freedom become actuality. To realize that this year Pandit Nehru's wh talents are being used *constructively* for his countr

It was a triumphant evening. All felt it. Fr highest to lowest—foreign ambassador, delegate to U. N., Excellency—or just plain Mr., Mrs. and M American friend—Indian student and Indian busine man. We were all of us rejoicing over the triumph a just cause, and that a great man had come into own—at last.

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MODERN IRANIAN MUSE

Patriotic Poetry

By RATTAN LAL KHANNA, M.A., M.O.L., J.D.

"It is glorious to serve one's country by deeds : even to serve her by words is a thing not to be despised."—SALLUST : CATILINE.

One of the most characteristic notes in the gamut of modern poetry of Iran is the note of patriotism. While her classical poetry was pre-eminently the poetry of refuge, modern poetry of Iran is essentially the poetry of interpretation. It is no more an anodyne: it has become a powerful intellectual irritant. It has done much to bring about the social, political and economic transformation of modern Iran. It has roused her from age-long torpor. Among other things modern Iranian poetry has fired renascent Iran with fervent patriotism. It has thus created hope where despair reigned supreme, for as Lloyd George has it : Hope is the mainspring of patriotism.

Patriotism expressed in the modern poetry of Iran is the patriotism of a suppressed and exploited people. It is not the patriotism of super-patriots who swear by Jingo and proclaim arrogantly :

We don't want to fight
But by Jingo, if we do
We've got the ships
We've got the men
We've got the money too.

It is not inspired by Chauvinism. Its main impulse is a love for one's own country and is protection from the greed of Jingos : Iranian patriotism is not of the Kipling brand, which takes an absurd and extravagant pride in England and shows a corresponding contempt, explicit or implicit, for foreign nations. Iranian patriotism is the patriotism of the Indian or till recently Irish or Chinese brand—unsullied patriotism inspired by no ulterior motive.

Modern poets of Iran have written patriotic po on a variety of motifs and in a variety of tones. T are themselves great and ardent patriots and h endeavoured to serve their beloved country—by wor the winged and moving words of poesy. The m distinguished of these poets are :

Arif : One of the most eloquent nationa poets of Iran.

Adib-i-Pesawari : The pioneer of the nationa movement in modern Iranian poetry.

Akhagar : A soldier poet of lofty idealism, muse has the pulse of fire.

Ishqi : His muse has the tongue of silver.

Nimtaj Khanum : An ardent poetess wh muse is inspired by the ideal of sacrifice in service of one's motherland.

The Poet-Laureate Bahar: Whose poetry reac ecstatic heights.

Besides these stars of the first magnitude there innumerable stars each shining with its own glimme of light.

The most prominent motifs in the patriotic po of Iran are illustrated below :

Patriotism has its roots deep in the instincts affections of man. Torn from one's motherland fades like an exotic in an uncongenial country. Says Iranian poet :

Likening herself to a flower-vase : *"I am afflicted wi an old sorrow ;*

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My heart is withered and I am smitten with grief
Although I live in a crystal house,
Away from my native-land my heart is bleeding."

Plato said, "Man was not born for himself but for his country. It has always been considered glorious to die for one's country." Compare :

And how can men die better than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods !

—Macaulay : Horatio

Sacrifice for the native-land is an important motif in the patriotic poetry of modern Iran :

"Strive," saith God both in the Bible and the Quran,
"Arise and like a striver lay down thy life for thy country's sake."

Again :

Freedom is tied to the handle of the sword.
Heroes always depend upon it.
It is a law of Nature that a nation indulging in luxury and pleasure degenerates.

Says the soldier-poet Asghar :

The hair protects the head and the army protects the country,
I keep my heart clinging to the army of the country.
In the protection of the country night and day, I keep my sword drawn in the face of the enemy.

Traitors, who betray their country for a handful of silver, have always provoked the indignation of the patriots. Denunciation of traitors is a principal motif in this poetry. Sometimes traitors are subjected to withering irony and sometimes to smashing ridicule. Often lava-hot satire is poured on them. In the following lines we have a picture throbbingly alive of an Iranian reactionary who was prepared to sell his country's freedom to the highest bidder :

Hajji ! the market is brisk, the bidding high.
Here comes the auctioneer : Who will buy ? Who will buy ?
I sell the whole land of Iran and the pride and honour of Muslims,
Rashat and Qazwin, Qum, Kushan Yazad and Khawausar, all are up for auction.
Buy this cheap land.
Here comes the auctioneer—Where is the bidder ? Where is the bidder ?

Akhagar condemns the traitor most vehemently in poem "Watan Faroshi":

To take poison like Socrates instead of honey,
In the ocean to try to drink the milk of crocodile,
* * * *
To roll naked on a bed of bristling thorns,
To fall in a well full of snakes and scorpions
Is a thousand times better than to betray one's country.

The poets look back wistfully through the corridors history and celebrate the glory that was Iran. They compare the picture of the past with the present picture to indicate the extent of degradation :

O thou soil of Iran, long before this thou wert accomplished like this green dome of sky !
Thou wert a fortunate cradle, thou nursed Bahram and Barjis ;
Thou hadst given birth to Frank and Rudabah too ; thou hadst nourished Foridun and Rustom.

—Adib Peshawari

Here is a pathetic dirge on the distress of Iran :
From the blood of the youths of the land the tulip is in bloom.
From mourning for their cypress-like stature the cypress bends its head
Beneath the rose the nightingale has slunk smitten with grief,
The rose too rends its cloak like me in grief.

—Arif

Exploitation of Iran by foreign countries is a very important theme in this poetry :

O watchman, how long this lethargy and heavy slumber !
Sleep is not seemly for the watchman or shepherd.
Behold thy flock without a watchman or shepherd.
On one side is raging wolf, on the other side the roaring lion,
That one snatches the morsel from the claws of this one and this one from that one.
Each one having dyed his claws and fangs with the blood of this flock.
The watchman is intoxicated, the flock is pre-occupied, the enemy vigilant,
The matter rests with God for it has passed out of our hands.

—Bahar

The same poet warns his countrymen against the machinations of exploiters :

I sing a patriotic song with tearful eyes
Altho' it creates no impression.
Till my valuable life endures I will continue singing.
I have said once and I say again
That our country is in danger,
O patriots beware ! the country is in danger.

Epilogue :

Iranian patriotic poetry does not like hatred or bitterness towards any one except of course the traitor or the patriot. It is not merely a sentimentality of flag-cheering, for, it inculcates constructive duties. It evokes noble aspirations. It stands for the honour of the motherland ; it seeks to redeem her from the slough of despair and to restore her to her rightful place in the comity of nations.

When G. B. S. said that you cannot have a quiet world till you have knocked patriotism out of the human race, he was referring to the Kipling-brand of patriotism and not to unalloyed love for one's country which is inborn. It is the second sort of patriotism that inspired the Iranian muse.

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SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE SUCCESSION OF MONARCHS IN THE NIZAMSHAHI DYNASTY

By B. G. TAMASKAR, M.A., Dip. Geog.

It is a matter of great surprise that misconceptions about the succession of Nizamshahi monarchs after 1600 A.D. have persisted till now. Learned savants like Y. K. Rajwade, Dr. Balkrishna, Professor J. N. Sarkar and others have passed over them silently. The persistence of these gross errors may be attributed to the fact that the history of the Nizamshahi dynasty has not yet been subjected to thorough-going investigation, critical examination and systematic study. The Nizamshahi Kingdom in the 17th Century attracted little attention of chroniclers as it was in its dacadent state during this period.

As regards the succession of Nizamshahi monarchs before 1600 A.D. there is no difficulty since all main and important facts of history have been recorded systematically by competent chroniclers of those days. In 1595 the Nizamshahi dominion was torn by civil war into four rival factions after the death of Burhan Nizam Shah II on the 18th April.[1] The Moghul army seized this opportunity to invade the declining kingdom. The disturbed conditions in the kingdom continued till the fall of Ahmadnagar which occurred on the 18th August, 1600 A.D.[2]

The first Nizamshahi monarch, named Ahmad Nizamshah reigned till 1508 A.D. The reign of his successor, Burhan Nizamshah I, came to a close in 1553 on his death. Burhan Nizamshah I had six sons : Qasim, Abdul Qadir, Mohammad Khudawand, Muhammad Bagir, and Hussain. The last-named ascended the throne after his father's death and his brothers fled from the kingdom to escape imprisonment or execution at his hands.[3] The eldest of them, Mohmmad Khudawand, sought shelter in the Moghul empire under Akbar's protection at Agra. Shah Ali, who came to the throne immediately after the fall of Ahmadnagar, was the third son of the late king.[4] He was a prisoner in the fort of Bijapur before his accession to the throne.[5] The succession fell to the Mad Murtaza Nizamshah or more popularly known as Murtaza Nizamshah Diwana after the death of his father, Hussain in 1565 A.D. His immediate successor was his son, Miran Hussain who was deposed on the 30th April 1589 in favour of his cousin, Ismail Nizamshah. The latter was dethroned by his father on the 20th May 1591 who became famous in history as Burhan Nizam Shah II and continued on his throne till he was removed by death on 18th April, 1595. He was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Nizamshah. His reign was shortlived. After his death in September 1595, there ensued a civil war among rival aspirants to royalty.[6]

The brave Chand-Bibi, sister of Burhan Nizam Shah II, elevated his minor son, Bahadur to the throne in the fort of Ahmadnagar after his release from the fort of Chandwad and kept up a gallant resistance against the invasions of the Moghuls as well as the Nizamshahi factions.[7] Besides the government station there, there were at this time three parties of Nizamshahis.[8]

1. That of Miya Raju who, with his protege Ahmad, was hanging about the Bijapur frontier.
2. That of Abhang Khan Habshi who had gone to Bijapur territory and induced Shah Ali, a son of Burhan I to come out of his retirement and become king of Ahmednagar. At this time his age was 70 years.[9]
3. The party whose leader was Ikhlas Khan. He was at Daulatabad and had with him a child named Moti.

It is not pertinent here to give a detailed account of the civil war. It may be said that warring factions after a brief struggle among themselves threw their combined power against the Moghul army. The war against the Moghuls continued with varying success till at length the Fort of Ahmadnagar was captured on the 18th August, 1600 A.D.[10]

The sequence of succession in the Nizamshahi dynasty has been an unsolved mystery after 1600 A.D. The names and dates of each successor have not been noticed by present-day historians. As a result, truth has been sacrificed to myths and fables, chronology has been distorted and history has been mutilated, at times to suit the views of the historian concerned.

After the capture of Bahadur (Nizamshah), Shah Ali was raised to the throne probably in September 1600 A.D. by Malik Ambar at Parenda. This fact is mentioned in the *Futuhat-i-Adilshahi*.[11] But it appears that he did not survive long to enjoy his kingship owing to his old age. At the time of his enthronement, he was 75 years old.[12] He must have met his death towards the end of 1600 or early in 1602. His reign was of very short duration.

On the death of his father, Ali, son of Shah Ali must have proclaimed himself king.[13] It is needless to remark that Ali must have been sufficiently advanced in age since his father died at the age of 75 years. Ferishta and other contemporary historians state that son of Shah Ali, Mustafa Nizam Shah II was enthroned. It is evident that Ali can be no person other than Murtaza Nizam Shah II.[14] This view is further confir

1. Count Noer : *Akbar*, Vol. II, p. 320 (based on *Brigg's Ferishta*).
2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 1158.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1028
4. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 148.
5. Futuhat-i-Adilshahi (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 5) in *Shiva Charitra Vartta-Sangrah*.
6. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 1025-1156.
7. Count Noer, *Akbar*, Vol. II, p. 327.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
9. *Ahmednagar District Gazetteer*, p. 352.
10. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 1158-9.
11. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (in *Shiva Charitra Vrtta-Sangrah*, Part III, p. 53).
12. See *supra*, according to Count Noer, his age was 70 in 1595 A.D.

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by a document where his name is referred to as 'Murataza Ali'.[15]

It has already been mentioned above that Murtaza Nizam Shah II was sufficiently advanced in age. The following evidence may be cited to establish the truth of the statement beyond possibility of doubt :

(*i*) A revolt broke out against Malik Ambar in which Murtaza Nizam Shah participated. Malik Ambar successfully curbed the rebellious spirits without loss of time about the year 1603-4[16].

(*ii*) The year 1604 or 1605 again witnessed the recrudescence of troubles against Malik Ambar. The jealous Nizamshah's Sardars effected a contact with Murtaza Nizamshah II to throw out Malik Ambar.[17]

(*iii*) In 1610, relations became strained between Murtaza Nizam Shah II and Malik Ambar. The latter wanted to dethrone his royal master for which he begged the support and co-operation of Ibrahim Adilshah. The Adilshah refused to countenance such a measure.[18]

(*iv*) In 1607, Murtaza Nizamshah II accompanied Malik Ambar and proceeded against Mirja Raju to Junnar. Minya Raju was defeated and made captive.[19]

Had he been a minor, Murtaza Nizamshah II could not be able to make any effort to shake off the surveillance of his able and self-willed Minister. It may be noted Malik Ambar dared not design against the life of the sovereign as it would have jeopardised his his position. However a temporary reconciliation was patched up between the master and the servant by the good offices of Ibrahim Adilshah. Finally, the providence came to his rescue in 1614 when Murtaza Nizamshah passed away. This may be gleaned from the following excerpt culled in from the *91 Qalami Bakhar* :

"When Shahji Raje reached his twentieth year Jijawa bestowed on him a son, who was called Sambhaji Raja. *That same year Nizamshah Bahsi died.* He left two sons, seven years old, born of different mothers who were both alive.[20]

According to the Chitnis Bakhar, Shahji was born in Shake 1516, that is, in 1594 A.D. From the above extract it can be inferred that Sambhaji, the eldest son of Shahji was born in 1614 A.D. The year of Sambhaji's birth synchronised with that of the death of Murtaza Nizamshah II.

From a contemporary letter of 1614, it can be shown that the regime of a new Nizamshah set in in that year. In the letter, the words **'हजरती बुरहान निजाम'** (Regime of Burhan Nizam) which denote that Burhan Nizamshah came to the throne and the words **'मासाहेब'** (Queen-mother) and **'माहाल'** (Harem) occurring in the same letter, point definitely to the conclusion that the new Nizamshah was a minor.[21]

This fact is further corroborated by foreign travellers of those days. A Dutch traveller named Van Ravesteyn in the entry of 5th June 1615 in the account of his travel observes :

"King Baijro (Burhan) Nisama (Nizamshah) was with the army. He was little more than a child of 9 years ; everything was governed by Melick Ambar.[22]

The Italian travellers, Pietro Della Valla wrote in 1623 that the reigning Nizamshah was a child of twelve years of age. All these are unimpeachable evidence of the minority of the resigning Nizamshah.

The Dutch records are more reliable in respect of the age of the minor Nizamshah. The *91 Qalami Bakhar* says that the two surviving children of the late Nizamshah were 7 years of age in 1614 A.D. The Dutch records are very nearly in agreement with the 91-Qalami Bakhar in regard to the age of the Nizamshah. Ravesteyn says that "the Nizamshah was a little more than a child of 9 years." The version of the Italian traveller appears to be not very authentic as it is based on hearsay.

It is manifest from the foregoing discussion that the year 1614 A.D. was the beginning of Malik Ambar's regency. The protege of Malik Ambar may be called Burhan Nizamshah III to distinguish him from the previous two Burhan Nizamshahs. Burhan Nizamshah III was alive during the famous and decisive battle of Batwadi. He set Randulah Khan and Farhad Khan from their incarceration and entertained them into his service.[23] Malik Ambar died in May 1626. He was succeeded by his son, Fatehkhan as a Premier. However, he displayed no exceptional abilities possessed by his father. Smarting under the shackles of his regency, Murtaza Nizamshah III was seized with an earnest desire to assert his right to rule his dominion on attaining majority. Fatehkhan fell into evil odour with his royal master as he was unwilling to relax his authority in any way. Evidently, there could be no love lost between Murtaza Nizamshah III and Fatehkhan. With the help of Hamid Khan, Fateh Khan was thrown into prison in 1630. Fatekhan was released from his imprisonment on the 18th January 1631, and restored to his former dignity.[24] Fatehkhan revenged the insult done to him by murdering the king in February 1632. Fatekhan raised Hussain Shah III, at the age of 7 years. Hussain Shah was the son of the late king.[25] Shahji had crowned Hussain Shah III at Pemgiri in order to revive the Nizamshahi kingdom. However, in 1636, the boy-king was taken prisoner by the Moghuls.[26]

Probably, the contemporary Portuguese Records may embody direct references to the names and dates of all successors in the Nizamshahi dynasty. The Portuguese Records are likely to be valuable in throwing light on one of the dark corners of the Nizamshahi history. They will prove helpful in confirming the conclusions of this brief discussion.

V. K. Rajwade has taken it for granted that Murtaza Nizamshah and Burham Nizam were one and the same person.[27] He advocates that the letter of 1614

13. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 1177.
14. *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 314.
15. *Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya*, Part VII, p. 109.
16. *Brigg's Ferishta*, p. 316.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 318.
18. *Busatine-Salatin*, p. 403 (Hindi Edition).
19. *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 320.
20. *The Forest Edition*, edited by V. S. Wakaskar, p. 22.
21. *Iti-Vrotta* (B. I. S. M. Shake 1840).
22. Malik Ambar from Dutch Records (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. XI. No. 1, p. 9).
23. *Busa-tine-Salatin*, p. 444 (Hindi Edition).
24. *Jedhe Chronology* (Shivaji Souvenir) p. 5.
25. *Busatine-Salatin*, p. 455 (Hindi Edition).
26. *Jedhe Chronology* (Shivaji Souvenir) p. 5.
27. Introduction to *Radhamadhav-vilas Champu*, p. 55.

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referred to this discussion is incorrect. There appears nothing unauthentic. Foreign travellers had noticed that the reigning Nizamshah in 1614 A.D. onwards was an infant. It has already been established that Murtaza Nizamshah was sufficiently grown up to look after the affairs of his government. It is apparent that Murtaza Nizamshah was a different person than Burhan Nizamshah. His view can hardly be tenable in the light of the high and impartial testimony of foreign travellers. What sounds stranger is that Professor J. N. Sarkar has also identified Murtaza Nizamshah II with Burhan Nizamshah III.[28] He says that one of the Nizamshahi nobles "set up Burhan Nizamshah (called Murtaza II by *Firishtah*, II. 165) a son of Shah Ali as king . . ." Perhaps, by finding the name of Burhan Nizamshah mentioned in connection with the battle of Bhatwadi in the *Busatane Salatin*. Prof. Sarkar has been misled to think he could be no other person than Murtaza III mentioned by *Firishta*. No effort has been made by the learned scholar to establish the abovementioned identity.

Wasudeo Shastri Khare is perfectly right in pointing out the mistake committed by Grant Duff in the following statement :

> "Sultan Murtaza Nizamshah II on attaining man's estate was naturally desirous of circumscribing the power of the regent, and violent and inconsistent conduct of Fatehkhan rendered this object a matter of easy accomplishment.[29]

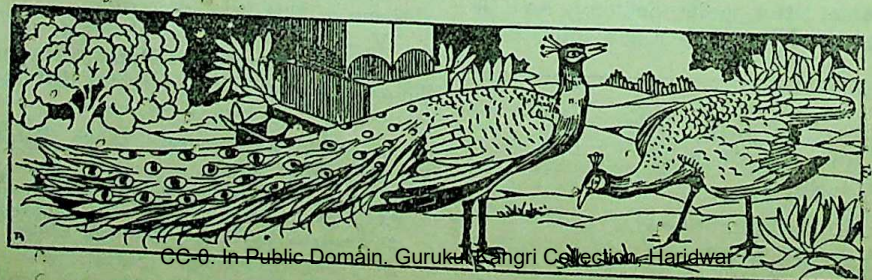
One must agree with his view that Murtaza Nizamshah II could not be in the prime of his youth in 1629 A.D. According to him, he must have been a middle-aged man of not less than 34 years of age in 1629 A.D.[30] He further points out that in the *Ahmednagar Gazetteer*[31] and in Kincaid's *History of the Maratha People*[32], the error committed by Grand Duff has been repeated.[33] However, Wasudeo Shastry Khare has failed to explain the cause of this misleading error and to notice and point out the fact that there has been a Nizamshah in between the reigns of Murtaza Nizamshah II. The statement of Grant Duff can be corrected by substituting "Burhan Nizamshah III" for "Sultan Murtaza Nizamshah II." The conclusions of the discussion may be summarised in the following table :

Ahmad Nizam Shah (d. 1508)
||
Bahadur Nizam Shah I (d. 1553)
||

1	2	3	4	5	6
Mohmmad Khudabaud	Abdul Kadir	III. Hussain (d. 1565)	Qasim	XI Shah Ali (1600-1)	Mohmmad Baqur
||		||		||	
VIII Ahmad s/o Shah Tahir apparently. (6th Aug., 1595) deposed soon after.	1 IV Murtaza Nizam Shah I (Diwana) (d. 6th July, 1588)	2 Chand Bibi	3 VII Burhan Nizam Shah II (d. April 18, 1595)	XII Ali (Murtaza Nizamshah II) (After 1601-1614).	
	||		||	||	
	V Miran Hussain Nizamshah (deposed Apl. 30, 1589)			XIII Burhan Nizam Shah III (1614-1631)	
		1 IX Ibrahim Nizam Shah (d. Sept. 1595)	2 X Bahadur (about Nov. 1595 to 18th Aug., 1600)	3 VI Ismail Nizam Shah (deposed May 26, 1591)	XIV Hussain Nizam Shah II (imprisoned 1633)
			Raised by Chand Bibi (taken prisoner).		

[The last Nizam Shah was set up by Shahji at Pemgiri. His name was Murtaza Nizam Shah III, who was taken prisoner by the Moghuls after May, 1636]

28. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 34.
29. *The History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 45.
30. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.
31. *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer*, p. 396.
32. *History of the Maratha People*, Vol. I, pp. 111-112.
33. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.



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THE LONGEST AND EARLIEST BRAHMI INSCRIPTION IN CHHATTISGARH

By L. P. PANDEYA

It is little known to the educated gentry of C. P. and E. S. A., that in the forest region of the so-called backward and land-locked Feudatory areas in Chhattisgarh, are hidden the inscriptional sources of ancient history of India and its great and glorious past.

Gunji rock-inscription of about 200 B.C., in the Sakti State, is one of such outstanding importance. It contains a document of India's agricultural prosperity and religious spirit blended together. It records the gifts of 1,000 cows to Brahmans.

This interesting inscription was first brought to light by Rai Bahadur Dr. (then Mr.) Hiralal, B.A., in 1902, when he was an E.A.C. in Bilaspur, C. P., to which district the State of Sakti geographically belongs. Although H. Conson's *Progress Report*[1] 1904, refers to it, and the inscription was examined by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India on 17-2-1904[2], the notices as published in Departmental Reports and in *C.P. Inscription*, betray complete lack of proper and reliable study and interpretation of the record. Who is responsible for such an imaginary description of the epigraph—far removed from the main theme and purpose for which it owned its very existence?

For the last 40 years, the publication of the full text of this long, long inscription has remained un-done. Nothing has been done in the interval to edit the epigraph on scientific lines.

So far as the inscription has been deciphered, it is beyond doubt that it records the gifts of 1,000 cows to Brahmans. As we find गोसहस्र in three places in the record, we can take that three different gifts, each of 1,000 cows were made by two *Amatyas* or Ministers for Agriculture, once in the 5th regnal year of a mighty ruler named Sri Kumara-vara-datta-sri and twice in the 8th regnal year of the same king. The huge rock, containing the record, is by the side of a spring forming a pool of water called *Damau-Dahra*, within the area of Gunji village, from which the inscription derives its name. This pool of water was in all probability the ऋषभतीर्थ (उसभतिर्थ) of the inscription where the gifts seem to have been made. The महाभारत mentions one sacred place of pilgrimage in Kosala (South Kosala) by this name and it can safely be identified with Gunji and its pool of water, close to which, the inscription is incised on a rock at the foot of a hill. I have referred to this in my note published in the *Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II (1937), Appendix Page 11.

Some portions from the text are given below:

Line 1st

सिध नमो भगवतो राज्ञो कुमार वर दत सिरिस (वरदत्तश्री वीरदत्तश्री ?) संवछरे पचमे ५ हेमंत पखे चउठे ४ दिवसे पचदसम १०+५, भगवतो उसभ तिथे (ऋषभ तीर्थे) अमावस उठवे (अमावस्या-उत्सवे ?).

Line 2nd

गोडछ मन गुणेन (गणेन ?) अमातस मते जानपालित × × × अमातेन, दण्डनायकेन, बलधिकरणेन वसीठी-पुतेनत बोधदातेन दत्तं वर्षसहश्रायुबधनिकेन × ×

Line 3rd

बह्मणान गोसहस्रं

(Here begins the 2nd gift of 1,000 cows).
3rd line continues

वीरदत संवछरे अठे ८ गिम्ह पखे छठे ६ दिवसे २ वितोये गोसहस्रं दत्तं अमातेन (उसुभवने ?) अमातेन दण्डनायकेन

Here is the 3rd gift

Line 4th

इन्द्रदत्तेन दत्त बह्मणान गोसहस्रं पुण ।

There is no clue to find out who this कुमारवर or वीरदत्त was and when he reigned in this part of Mahakosala. Scholars, who have studied the letters and alphabet (characters) of the record, opine that it cannot be earlier than 200 B.C. and later than 100 A.D.

About 1905, some scholars had read the name of this king as Kumar Vasant[3], but this name *Kumar Vasant*, too, is equally unknown to scholars.

Now a word about the gift of 1,000 cows (*go-sahasram*). In the Mahabharata and other Puranas, gifts of 1,000 cows are referred to and the Brahmans, to whom such gifts were made, utilised them in 'nation-building' work of various kinds. These Brahmans were then seats and centres of learning and cultures and in miniature served the purposes of residential universities of the present-day civilised world. They were responsible for the bodily growth, mental development and sound health of the band of students under every *Kulapati* or Vice-Chancellor and in every *Gurukula* or University. As selfless and cultured leaders of the people and as messengers of peace and good-will, these Brahmans used to be the guiding forces in the country and in its proper and lawful administration. Such pious and liberal gifts to them were a State concern in the interest of the public and prosperous government. Bestowal of such gifts added to the prosperity and enlightenment of the public and was something like a bounden duty of the Department of Health, Education and Agriculture of any progressive government in the land.

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1 Conson's *Progress Report* 1904, page 54.
2 Conson's *Diary of Tour*, during 1903-1904.

3 *Vide C.P.'s Gazetters*: "Chhattisgarh Feudatory States" by E. A. D., Brit. I. C. S., p vi. Contents M 1909 and *Inscriptions in the C.P.'s and Berar* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B.A., 1932, Second edition, p. 180.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM: *By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. Second edition. New Book Society, Lahore. 1945. Pp. 395. Price Rs. 6-4.*

This is the second edition of a book which was originally published in 1912. The author has added, in this new edition, a short life-sketch of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and a brief account of the later and more recent activities of the Sikh community.

The book has no claim to be regarded as a scholarly work based on original research, and this is frankly acknowledged by the author. His general views are also marred by a very imperfect acquaintance with the history of India (outside the Punjab). Most of his theories and assumptions at the beginning of Chapter I would be hardly accepted by any. In order to explain the later transformation of Sikhism he starts with the dictum that "inspiration for all great movements comes from religion." As an illustration of this he points out that "even the mild and tender religion of Buddha led to the establishment" of the most glorious Maurya Empire. Even an amateur student of Indian history should have known that Buddhism was the cause, not of the establishment, but probably of the downfall of that mighty empire. It is absolutely untrue to say that "nowhere in the world has the relation of political movement to religion been so close as in India." Sivaji did not found his empire, as the author believes, "by rousing the religious spirit of the people and by proclaiming himself the champion of Hinduism."

It would be difficult to agree with the author that after centuries of political subjection Guru Nanak was the first to raise his voice against tyranny and oppression and that he chose religious revival as the only way of saving Hindu community, as neither "constitutional agitation nor active resistance" against the ruling authority was feasible. Guru Nanak was one of the illustrious band of medieval saints and preachers who sought to purify decadent Hinduism by means of rationality, devotion and genuine spiritual fervour, and it would be unhistorical to construe their endeavour as a means of political uplift of the Hindu nation or any community in India. Some other assertions of the author are also very questionable: for example, the statement, repeated several times, that "Hinduism had adopted the doctrine of incarnation from Jainism." Nor could we agree with his view that the evils of Hinduism were due to "accretions it had received from Buddhism and Jainism."

But these wrong generalisations and unhistorical statements apart, the book gives a lucid and interesting account of the origin and growth of the Sikhs. The transformation of this community from a peaceful religious sect into a fighting class which struck terror into the hearts of the Mughals and the British alike is one of the great romances of Indian history. The author has traced this great change in a continuous narrative, which, though a thrice told tale, never ceases to be fascinating to an Indian reader. The story has not only an academic interest, but also a practical value, and the author has delineated it in simple and graceful style. We see, as it were through a kaleidoscope, the horrors of religious persecution, calling forth in return a spirit of revenge which evokes martial ardour and organisation. It leads, during the thirty years following the death of Aurangzeb, to periodical outbursts of frenzy on both sides causing massacre, rapine, and arson on scale which reminds us of the Thirty Years' War in Europe. The collapse of the Mughal Empire before the onslaught of Nadir Shah gave an opportunity to the Sikhs to free themselves from the hated yoke of the Mughals. But they formed a congeries of *misls* (groups), not a united community, far less a stable nation. Their military skill and prowess, great as it was, found its scope only in fighting among themselves and conquering neighbouring principalities. After more than half a century of such inglorious warfare Ranjit Singh, leader of one of the *misls*, combined them all into a powerful state. For a peroid of about forty years the Sikhs enjoyed the blessings of a united state under his strong personality. But his death revived the old feud and jealousy among the chiefs which paved the way for the British conquest. But for a brief interlude the Sikhs have been disunited bands of martial communities whose deeds of prowess and heroism were not matched by sound statesmanship and nation-building capacity.

Such is the story that Sir Gokul Chand has unfolded to us in easy flowing style and with sustained interest. The Sikhs of today are more united than in recent past, but Sir Gokul Chand points out that it is too late, and they can never again hope to dominate the Punjab. In his opinion "the best days of the Khalsa are altogether behind them". In these democratic days the number counts and "the chances of the sword carving once more the Khalsa's way to glory are extremely remote." This brings us dangerously near to modern politics, and we may conclude this review by drawing attention to the somewhat curious 'Foreword' of the book by Sir Jogendra Singh in which he finds fault with the author for his "divided loyalties" (between Hinduism and Sikhism), and wonders that Sir Gokul Chand "has not himself become the apostle of Sikhism and followed the road which would lead India to the pinnacle of power."

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: ITS MEANING AND PLACE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Second edition. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

This is an enlarged edition of the book which Gandhiji first placed before the country in 1941. In a few more items have been added, so that the total now reaches eighteen. The items at present are: Communal Unity, Removal of Untouchability, Prohibition, Khadi

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Other Village Industries, Village Sanitation, New or Basic Education, Adult Education, Women, Education in Health and Hygiene, Provincial Languages, National Language, Economic Equality, Kisans, Labour, Adivasis, Lepers and Students. At the end comes a short discussion on the relation between Civil Disobedience and Constructive Work.

It has to be borne in mind that the above list does not exhaust all that people can do for the sake of national reconstruction; they are illustrative of what can be taken up all over India. Workers have therefore to add to the list according to the particular problems and opportunities offered by local circumstances.

TO WOMEN : *By Amrit Kaur. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM: *By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. Second edition. New Book Society, Lahore. 1945. Pp. 395. Price Rs. 6-4.*

This is the second edition of a book which was originally published in 1912. The author has added, in this new edition, a short life-sketch of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and a brief account of the later and more recent activities of the Sikh community.

The book has no claim to be regarded as a scholarly work based on original research, and this is frankly acknowledged by the author. His general views are also marred by a very imperfect acquaintance with the history of India (outside the Punjab). Most of his theories and assumptions at the beginning of Chapter I would be hardly accepted by any. In order to explain the later transformation of Sikhism he starts with the dictum that "inspiration for all great movements comes from religion." As an illustration of this he points out that "even the mild and tender religion of Buddha led to the establishment" of the most glorious Maurya Empire. Even an amateur student of Indian history should have known that Buddhism was the cause, not of the establishment, but probably of the downfall of that mighty empire. It is absolutely untrue to say that "nowhere in the world has the relation of political movement to religion been so close as in India." Sivaji did not found his empire, as the author believes, "by rousing the religious spirit of the people and by proclaiming himself the champion of Hinduism."

It would be difficult to agree with the author that after centuries of political subjection Guru Nanak was the first to raise his voice against tyranny and oppression and that he chose religious revival as the only way of saving Hindu community, as neither "constitutional agitation nor active resistance" against the ruling authority was feasible. Guru Nanak was one of the illustrious band of medieval saints and preachers who sought to purify decadent Hinduism by means of rationality, devotion and genuine spiritual fervour, and it would be unhistorical to construe their endeavour as a means of political uplift of the Hindu nation or any community in India. Some other assertions of the author are also very questionable: for example, the statement, repeated several times, that "Hinduism had adopted the doctrine of incarnation from Jainism." Nor could we agree with his view that the evils of Hinduism were due to "accretions it had received from Buddhism and Jainism."

But these wrong generalisations and unhistorical statements apart, the book gives a lucid and interesting account of the origin and growth of the Sikhs. The transformation of this community from a peaceful religious sect into a fighting class which struck terror into the hearts of the Mughals and the British alike is one of the great romances of Indian history. The author has traced this great change in a continuous narrative, which, though a thrice told tale, never ceases to be fascinating to an Indian reader. The story has not only an academic interest, but also a practical value, and the author has delineated it in simple and graceful style. We see, as through a kaleidoscope, the horrors of religious persecution, calling forth in return a spirit of revenge which evokes martial ardour and organisation. It leads, during the thirty years following the death of Aurangzeb, to periodical outbursts of frenzy on both sides causing massacre, rapine, and arson on scale which reminds us of the Thirty Years' War in Europe. The collapse of the Mughal Empire before the onslaught of Nadir Shah gave an opportunity to the Sikhs to free themselves from the hated yoke of the Mughals. But they formed a congeries of *misls* (groups), not a united community, far less a stable nation. Their military skill and prowess, great as it was, found its scope only in fighting among themselves and conquering neighbouring principalities. After more than half a century of such inglorious warfare Ranjit Singh, leader of one of the *misls*, combined them all into a powerful state. For a peroid of about forty years the Sikhs enjoyed the blessings of a united state under his strong personality. But his death revived the old feud and jealousy among the chiefs which paved the way for the British conquest. But for a brief interlude the Sikhs have been disunited bands of martial communities whose deeds of prowess and heroism were unmatched by sound statesmanship and nation-building capacity.

Such is the story that Sir Gokul Chand has unfolded to us in easy flowing style and with sustained interest. The Sikhs of today are more united than in recent past but Sir Gokul Chand points out that it is too late, and they can never again hope to dominate the Punjab. In his opinion "the best days of the Khalsa are altogether behind them". In these democratic days the number counts and "the chances of the sword carving once more the Khalsa's way to glory are extremely remote." This brings us dangerously near to modern politics, and we may conclude this review by drawing attention to the somewhat curious 'Foreword' of the book by Sir Jogendra Singh in which he finds fault with the author for his "divided loyalties" (between Hinduism and Sikhism), and wonders that Sir Gokul Chand "has not himself become the apostle of Sikhism and followed the road which would lead India to the pinnacle of power."

R. C. MAJUMDAR

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: ITS MEANING AND PLACE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Second edition. 1945. Pp. 32. Price six annas.*

This is an enlarged edition of the book which Gandhiji first placed before the country in 1941. In a few more items have been added, so that the total now reaches eighteen. The items at present are: Communal Unity, Removal of Untouchability, Prohibition, Khadi

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Other Village Industries, Village Sanitation, New or Basic Education, Adult Education, Women, Education in Health and Hygiene, Provincial Languages, National Language, Economic Equality, Kisans, Labour, Adivasis, Lepers and Students. At the end comes a short discussion on the relation between Civil Disobedience and Constructive Work.

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HINDI

VICHAR AUR ANUBHUTI : *By Prof. Nagendra, M.A. Pradipa Karyalaya, Moradabad. Pp. 156. Price Rs. 3.*

The author is one of the front-rank critics in the present-day Hindi literature. In eighteen short chapters which comprise his present work, he has held up a mirror to the minds of some of our leading playwrights, poets, novelists, short-story writers and critics of today like Prasad, Guleriji, Mahadevi and Agneya, and also to the ideologies and adventures in literary forms of the younger and progressive artists of the pen. Prof. Nagendra's dramatic touch in the treatment of this otherwise abstruse subject has considerably helped the latter in becoming easily and enjoyably illuminating. *Vichar Aur Anubhuti* is an intriguing study in the soul as well as in the synthesis of Thought and Experience as these touch the consciousness of a creative literary artist.

G. M.

AHMEDABAD KI SHAHADAT : *Compiled and published by Seva Sangh, Mandvis' Pole, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1.*

This beautifully printed and illustrated brochure containing pictures and brief life-sketches of the brave sons and daughters of India who laid down their lives for the cause of the country during the mass upheaval of August, 1942, in and near Ahmedabad, is a commendable publication to keep the memory of our martyrs alive. The reproduction of Hindustani couplets on some pages is far from satisfactory, perhaps for want of time.

M. S. SENGAR.

GUJARATI

(1) ACHARYA ANAND SHANKAR DHRUVA SMARAK GRANTH : *Paper cover. Pp. 445 + 4. Price Rs. 8.*

(2) GRANTH ANE GRANTHAKAR, Vol. IX, 1937-1941 : *Paper cover. Pp. 123 + 104 + 148. Price Rs. 3.*

(3) GUJARATNA PANCH MAHAL ZILLANA BHILO : *By Pandurang Govind Vanikar. Paper cover. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 2.*

(4) GUJARATNO SANSKRITIC ITIHAS, ISLAM YUGA, Vol. I (parts 1 and 2) : *By Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote B.A. Paper cover. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 4.*

(5) MADHYA KALIN GUJARATINI SAMAJIK STHITI : *By Ramlal Chunilal Modi. Paper cover. 1943. Pp. 94. Price Re. 1-4.*

(6) ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY : *By Dr. Hiranand Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 3.*

(7) ABHIDHARMA : *By Dharmanand Kosambi. Paper cover. Pp. 86. Price Rs. 2.*

(8) HANSAULI : *By K. K. Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-8.*

The late Dr. H. B. Dhruva was a scholar of all-India reputation and tributes have been paid to his work from all over India from Panditji Madan Mohan Malaviya and Kshiti Mohan Sen to his humblest pupil in this memorial volume. Malaviyaji wanted a scholar and an administrator as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University and Gandhiji gave him Dr. Dhruva. The choice was amply justified and the University rapidly assumed an importance in the academic field which has gone on increasing under the able administration found by him. His name is revered in Gujarat as an Acharya. The memorial volume contains contributions in several languages of India though the section is called Gujarati section. It is a scholarly production perpetuating Dr. Dhruva's achievements.

The publication of that excellent series, *Books and Authors*, was interrupted by the death of its projector, the late Mr. Hiralal Parekh. It was brought up to the eighth volume. The present one is the ninth and besides continuing short biographical notices of about 150 dead and living Guarati writers, contains an extended review of the state of Gujarati literature between 1937 and 1941 and an article on the spelling of Gujarati words. The three editors, all well-known writers, Chunilal Shah, Bachubhai Ravat, and K. K. Shastri, deserve sincere praise for their arduous labours.

The Bhils of Panch Mahal are aborigines and forest-dwellers. A. V. Thakkar Bapa has started a Bhil Seva-Mandal for improving the life of these primitive inhabitants of Gujarat and the Mandal is twenty-one years old. Mr. Vanikar, the compiler of this volume, is a life member of the Mandal and lives with the Bhils. This interesting book gives in short and in simple language each and every aspect of their social, domestic and agricultural life and should rank with the works of Verrier Elwin on the life of the Gonds and the Baigas. There was no such detailed work on the subject in Gujarati till now. The fourth publication is the cultural history of Gujarat during the rule of the Muslims over the province. Mr. Ratnamanirao is a practised writer so far as the history of Gujarat is concerned and in compiling the present work, he has exhausted every available source, for documents for his conclusions, in old Gujarati, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Ardha-Magadhi, etc. Beginning with the pre-historic age, he has summarised history right up to the beginning and middle of the Muslim rule. It is a valuable historical work.

Hemchandra, who flourished in the thirteenth century of the Vikram Era (V.I. 1145-1229) was a gigantic historical and literary figure in medieval Gujarat. One out of his many literary productions is the Dwayashraya, (Prakrit and Sanskrit). It is a mine of information in many aspects and Mr. Ramlal Modi with his keen sense of research, has delved out of this mine, very interesting pieces of information about the state of society existing then. Building of cities, food grains and other articles of consumption, dress, holidays, superstition and a lot of other things are described, and chapter and verse quoted in support. For the student of comparative history of the structure of society, this work should prove a great deal.

Dr. Hiranand Shastri lectured to the students of the Research and Post-Graduate Department of the Society on his pet subject Archaeology and Ancient Indian History. They were delivered in English and have therefore been printed in English. They furnish a land-mark in the path of this somewhat difficult subject.

Dr. Dharmanand Kosambi delivered a series of few lectures on Abhidharma to the Post-Graduate Students of the Society and they have been reprinted in book form. They are greatly enlightening and provide very important information on the part of Buddhistic religion. The Society was very fortunate in securing the help of the well-known author of international repute on all that relates to Buddha and Buddhism.

Hansauli is a poem, written in old Gujarati by Asait Naik (Vikrama Samvat 1417). Asait was a non-Jain. Another poem on the same subject written by a Jain Sadhu Marisundar at Idar in V.S. 1621, also called *Hansauli Purba Katha* is printed along with the poem, for purposes of comparison. The present publication contains the base-text of the poem, with variants from other editions. Mr. Shastri's work is both scholarly and valuable.

K. M. J.

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RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

India's Role in Refashioning of World

The following address delivered by Pandit Nehru at the Convocation of the Calcutta University is reproduced from *The Hindustan Review*:

We stand all over the world—in Asia, in India—facing extraordinary crisis in human affairs. We read about critical situation arising in political, economic and other domains, we read about wars and disasters and also the possibility of coming wars. Nevertheless if you have the same feeling about all these as I have, it seems to me that there has been hardly any time in the course of history when humanity has faced such an enormous possibility of changes and conditions as we face to-day. Possibly the whole structure of human life will be changed, maybe also the structure of human mind to some extent. I want you to consider our problems with this background that there are bound to be enormous political and economic changes all over the world. If one thing is certain it is this that the political and economic structure of the world which has led to so many disasters during the last quarter of a century has failed. If it does not change completely it will fail again and again. There must be a refashioning of the whole structure if we are to prevent war and have peace. But if that refashioning is still based on the old structure—political or economic—inevitably it is bound to fail.

The history of the period between the two big wars is a record of these failures. True, people tried and tried honestly and earnestly to solve the problems of the age, but always on the basis of the political and economic structure which had continued and which they wished to continue. The strange thing is that in spite of this tremendous disaster there is not sufficient realisation of the fact that these disasters are due to a political and economic structure which has failed.

Spiritual Crisis

While I speak to you about political and economic matters, I do feel that the crisis of to-day is something deeper than that—call it psychological, call it spiritual if you like, something in the spirit of man himself. It seems to me that the world is going through a deep spiritual crisis, not in the narrow religious meaning of the word—I am not a man of religion, you know—but in a larger sense. All of us whether as individuals or as groups or as nations, or taking humanity as a whole, have to face that crisis. What the outcome of that crisis will be I do not know. Out of this crisis is coming that great transformation of the human race which seems to me to be overdue. That is a big question about which I have little competence to speak to you. It is for you to realise, especially the young among you, that we stand on the verge of great happenings which may lead either to disaster or to a new and brighter phase of human existence.

If we look back to our history we find that some hundreds of years ago a change came when Europe, which is a little outgrowth of Asia, began to play an increasing part in its affairs. Then it began to play an aggressive part in the history of Asia. The scene of world events shifted to Europe during the last two hundreds years or so. In the last 200 years, Europe played a prominent part in world history not merely by force of arms but by virtue of its thought, its science and many other factors. Undoubtedly Asia went down or ceased to play any effective part in the world history because of the lack of those qualities in Asia. Asia became utterly static, unmoving, unchanging or at any rate ceased thinking in terms of changes.

Asia On Ascendancy

What do we find happening to-day? The centre of world events is now shifting from Europe to other parts of the world, to America certainly, and partly to Asia, though the process in this respect is slower. In future both the seats of trouble as well as progress are going to be more and more in Asia. Europe to-day is a shattered continent with many valiant peoples in it. Most of the countries in Europe from the point of view of fall in birth rate alone are likely to be hardly aggressive in future. On the other hand, Asia is gradually and fairly rapidly coming back to what it was some hundreds of years ago. Exactly what shape it will take I do not know. I am not thinking in terms of military power. Because we have arrived at a stage when if countries continue to think in terms of military power they are likely to destroy themselves completely. Some solution other than that of military might has got to be found. So I am thinking in terms of vital energy that takes possession of people and pushes them on and then the people begin to develop in all the various departments of life and human activities. I feel in India and in a large part of Asia we lost that vitality which we possessed long ago in an abundant measure. I believe we are regaining that vitality. Asia is going to play a big part in the future of world affairs and I believe certainly India will play a very big part.

India Isolated by British

One of the principal results of the coming of the British in Isdia was the cutting off of India almost completely from our neighbours in Asia. We were isolated. India for thousands of years had numerous contacts with all those countries. We went away from Asian countries nearer to Britain. That was an extraordinary thing. That produced all manner of other results, especially in the way of our thinking.

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Again we see now a big transformation and change happening, and that is we are developing our old contacts with the Asian countries. That shows how the new situation is gradually developing. India, by virtue of her geographical position, is intimately connected with the whole Indian Ocean region, with South-East Asia, with Australia, New Zealand and right up to the Persian Gulf and the countries on the western side.

From the point of view of strategy and defence, no defence system for this area can be built up unless India is the centre. Without India you cannot properly defend South-East Asia, or without the co-operation of India you cannot defend the western part of the Indian Ocean region. India is so strategically situated that every system of defence must be based in India.

Nature of Our Freedom

All manner of arguments arises about the nature of our freedom, about Dominion Status, Independence and the rest. They are words which may have a lot of meaning or none at all. The point is that India has been looked upon as a mother country by her neighbours, influencing very greatly nearly the whole of Asia. Even now many of these countries look up to India culturally as their mother country. So the position of India can never be that of an appendage to any other country. Now it is a subject country. But as soon as it moves out of the orbit of subjection immediately it jumps into a new orbit not only of independence but, in a sense, to the former intimate relationship with all the countries round about it. You cannot compel India to choose her friends. It is for India to choose her friends. It is for India finally to decide what her future world outlook or foreign policy should be, and of course internal policy.

Peace as India Sees It

India, fortunately for the world, is a country which has stood more than most other countries for peace. Therefore, when we think in this term it is not with a view to having alliance with this group or that country as opposed to any group or country, because every intelligent person realises that if there is going to be any real progress and peace in the world, it must be on the basis, not of military alliance of big groups or races facing each other, but on some kind of world common-wealth growing up, of which all the countries will be free members. So I want you to think in terms of this renascent Asia and a new India playing a very important role, inevitably situated, so as to form a connecting link between the various parts of Asia, Middle East, South East. That does not mean we shall not be bound to other countries, because India is bound to stand for peace.

Building New India

The change to which I am referring was not so much a change which upset a Government suddenly, but a change in the fundamental structure of the society which I think is going to happen. I ask the Universities to train up men capable of building a new India, not of the distant future but of to-morrow. They talked of Indian freedom, but did they have a picture of the kind of India they wanted? Unless they had a certain picture, certain philosophy of life, how could the Universities train the young men and women? It was necessary to be clear as to what kind of social structure India was going to have, what kind of society they were aiming at, to train the people.

Bengal Famine a Reminder

The Bengal famine of two years ago was a ghastly reminder of the fact that the present social and and economic structure had broken and it could not last. That structure had been shattered to pieces and they would have to build something new. So I ask Universities to think in terms of this new India we may see, sooner than many of us imagine. We not be able to have an exact picture of that, for no knows how things will shape when the 400 million pe will have the sensation of freedom—they can do they like. no one knows. I have no idea. But we k the direction in which one has to go and one can pre for that. Obviously we will have to face the immed problems of feeding, housing and clothing these million people. We will have to face that pro otherwise our own Government will be swept away. A for Government can continue for a while and not for a time after the Bengal famine, but no Indian Governm can continue for a day after the Bengal famine.

How to Solve Problems

How do you solve these problems? Not by put half a dozen Ministers somewhere, but you have to s them by well-thought-out process of production distribution. Maybe your plan is not perfect. But must have the issues clear in your mind. I cons myself a socialist and agree with the fundamental out of socialism. I want you to consider the problems more practically in terms of feeding, clothing, hou the 400 million, giving them medical aid, education all other necessities of life, leaving aside your 'isms' the moment. It is a vast problem. Personally I bel these problems can be solved and will be solved, tho not without difficulties.

If you have got to solve all these problems you require human materials and train the human mate in that context. To some extent you are doing it your approach obviously must be fundamentally approach through science. Science is the godmothe

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the modern world which is largely the outcome of the application of Science. The University should produce trained men and women to build up the structure of a free India of to-morrow in which 400 million can live.

Contact with Nations

Also, remember, we have to think in terms of that new reviving relationship with the other countries. Free India will want contacts with other nations of the world, more especially with other countries of Asia. What are we doing in producing men who can be sent as our Ambassadors of goodwill to the other countries? They will have to be specially trained for that. They will have to know languages other than English, other than our own languages. They will have to have some diplomatic training and many other kinds of training What are we doing about that? If we have a sufficiently trained nucleus of men and women for this various work, we can expand that nucleus rapidly when change comes. If we have not any nucleus it will take many years and we will have to start afresh. I want you to consider this wider problem even when you are lost in the controversies of the moment.

It is obvious that the period of history that we have gone through during the last 150 years of British rule is coming to an end. It is obvious that the British Empire in India is fading away, more or less had faded away. India will have to function according to its own ability and strength. Prepare for the future keeping this vision of a new India, a new Asia and a new world before you.

Vision of Free India

I do not know how many of us will see the full realisation of this vision. But certainly all of us will have the realisation of a politically free India. That I take for granted. My vision of a free India is something bigger, more magnificient than just political freedom. It is a freedom in which 400 million people can live the life which man should live, in which every individual in India should have the door of opportunity open to him, in which every person gets his necessaries of life, and those who have leisure can explore the other regions of science and the mind and start again on the great field of adventure of man which started in this country so many thousand years ago. We will leave behind the past, and with hope, march in that adventure again which has no end. The process of travel will give us the satisfaction that we have functioned in our brief life as we should function.

A Striking Debut

The New Review observes:

India made her debut in international society when, in her own right, she joined the General Assembly of the U.N.O. She broke away from her own traditions and from diplomatic usage by sending a woman as head of her delegation. Hers was to be the message of a reborn nation resolved to bring forth a new world. With her glamourous *saree* and her best Nehru fire, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit enuntiated India's official policy before the attentive gathering of fifty one nations: 'Self-government wherever possible, international trusteeship of "immature" people, freedom and peace all over the world, no bullying veto by any state, and a suitable place for India in the world's organisations'. After this serene *expose*, she worked herself into a pugnacious denuntiation of South-Africa's policy of racial discrimination: "India is on a footing of equality with all other sovereign nations; Indians shall everywhere receive an equitable treatment." The Assembly applauded heartily and Field-Marshal Smuts was struck dumb.

He took up the case before the Trusteeship Committee. He proposed that South-west Africa be annexed to the Union of South-Africa: India had objected that the Union was unfit to annex anythisg, as was clear from her racial policy. The Field-Marshal, who thought that an attack would be the better tactics, questioned India's qualification to speak of discrimination, and launched into a violent recital of all the inequalities to be found in Indian society. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the knightly second of Mrs. Pandit, foiled the manoeuvre: "What is debated at present is not a national situation, but an international proposal. The Union presses for an annexation, India wants nothing of the kind. Annexation is against India's general policy. What qualifies or disqualifies for annexation is not differentiation in societies but the policy of Government. Compare the policies of India and of South-Africa. The Union Government has no African delegate here. delegation represents three creeds, several racial groups and many castes. The policy of our Government is to extend the franchise to all, even to favour the weaker and uneducated classes, and to secure effective equality of civic and political rights. Look at our composite Cabinet, at the posts reserved for the Scheduled castes, at our schools and scholarships for the depressed classes. What of the Union of South-Africa? The Africans are 75 per cent. of the population, and at the Central Legislature they are represented by seven members out of two hundred. and those seven are Europeans. Is there a single post of importance occupied

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by an African? Is there a single Government school for Africans? If communal riots are brought against us, has the noble Field-Marshal forgotten the Jameson raid, the Boer war, the ousting of African settlers under official sanction? In any case what matters to-day is not the conduct of individuals, but the policy of the Government. And what is your Government's policy?"

And the Raja went on, reciting facts, quoting figures, marshalling arguments to the utter dismay of the redoubtable Field-Marshal. He surpassed himself later when he broadened the issue and proposed a far-reaching amendment to be included in all mandate-charters. "Let the people inhabiting the territory to be mandated be declared the sovereign owners of the territory." Such an amendment is well in keeping with the preamble of the United Nations Charter which sets out as one of the objects of the Organisation "to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". The amendment looks the more apposite that these words of the preamble were inspired by Field-Marshal Smuts himself.

Sir Maharaj pursued his advantage and proposed that mandates should, as a rule, be entrusted to the U.N.O. with the mandatory power acting as the U.N.O.'s agent; if there were to be any tutelage it would be best if it rested with an international body. The proposal, if accepted, would mark a great advance towards world-organisation.

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Pacifism, Politics and America

The clear formulation of the ideal of peace is half the battle, but victory against the forces of destruction calls, indeed, for the translation of the abstract ideal into a workable political formula. Hervey Wescott writes in *The Aryan Path*:

A majority of the citizens of every "democracy" professedly feel that war is a deplorable return to barbarism. That same majority has now engaged in or supported the bloodiest and most far-reaching of all wars, having discovered that peace cannot be long maintained simply by disapproving of militarism and slaughter. But sincere humanitarian opposition to war as a method of settling international disagreements must in fact be a constructive factor in the unsolved problem of peace. Will it take definite and progressive shape in the post-war world?

Following World War I, large numbers of men and women in Germany, as well as in America and England enthusiastically adopted pacifist sentiments and promised themselves and their acquaintances that they would never sanction the type of egocentric nationalism which justified war in defence of "national honour," or to maintain a balance of power. In Germany alone 250,000 people signed a statement completely repudiating their obligation to participate in or support this type of war. But, at almost the same time, both Germany and Japan were being impregnated with the first post-war seeds of a belief in military preparation as the rightful means of redistributing the economic plenty which the prosperous democracies had cornered—and secured by establishment of the League of Nations. Militant leaders pointed out that the democracies refused to arbitrate fairly on economic needs. Subsequently, the German and Japanese Governments began openly to propagandize the philosophy of imperialistic aggrandizement at the expense of any other values—a philosophy which, when couched in softer terms, had often been largely responsible for England's commercial prominence and the territorial acquisitions of the United States. That England and the United States, having achieved economic fortune, should express growing repugnance towards war in no way meant that Germany and Japan, whose conception of success had not yet been attained, would be long dominated by a similar sentiment. While the need for redistribution of natural resources remained after Versailles, the success of the League of Nations depended upon continued acceptance of a peace based on a power preponderance of the victor coalition.

It became increasingly obvious to competent observers of the international situation during the 1920's that one or both of these growing have-not nations, Germany and Japan, would seek to destroy the prevailing balance of power as soon as circumstances might permit.

Treaties were going to be broken and the acquisition of "democratic" territory sought through invasion, and this partially because the League failed to provide for the needs of increased population in Central Europe and Asia. The new war, then, was going to be a war presented to the democracies as a flagrant violation of League terms through open conquest. The American and English public were not going to find themselves dealing with a war answering to the post-mortem description of World War I—*i.e.*, a war of "capitalists" and "munition-makers"—a new war would be introduced to them first as a war of clearly differing political ideologies, and finally as a struggle for "survival." The promises of democratic citizens to renounce the older type of "balance of power" politics warfare *seemed* about as relevant as the observations of a botanist during an earthquake. The democracies

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apparently, were going to have either to take the initiative in an international economic redistribution and share resources more fully or—eventually—to fight.

With the failure of practicability of the League experiment, the whole theory of voluntary world federation and organization seemed a futile gesture with which to meet the pressure of German and Japanese ideologies.

Consummation of a desired international end through non-violent means should be sought in political terms, for unless it appears to be "practical," few will follow the lead. Moral appeal alone is not enough for the average man. If the present devotees of non-violence are to become "social pioneers," they must endeavour to develop a method which society can recognize as a possible practical alternative to war in meeting issues of international disagreement.

In America, as in other nations, the *possibilities* of non-violence need to be ably explored and clearly presented.

If a combination of non-violence and politics can be made practical, it should be immediately considered in concrete form by all war-rejectors. Theoretical idealism is worthless. Without deeply-rooted idealism, the "practical" is dangerous.

If pacifists can help to bridge the gap between the two extremes of the "practical" and the "ideal," between means and ends, they will have made the most important social contribution of our era. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has made attempts to do so through the use of *satyagraha*. The religious pacifist often fails to see that one of the reasons for the partial success of *satyagraha* in India is precisely the fact that *satyagraha*, as applied by Gandhi and Nehru, has been a political technique involving millions of men *organized politically* to function in accordance with certain policies. Aside from the religious influence which Gandhi has with fully half his followers, he has won also undying allegiance of others by demonstrating a method of political action that has paid practical dividends.

If the principles of non-violence are to suggest methods of social and political pioneering and become ingredients of a future widespread movement, they must be prescribed in terms that have practical as well as moral appeal to the average man.

It is necessary for pacifists to begin thinking in terms of political influence. For instance, national non-violence seems to imply a very clearly marked foreign policy, *i.e.*, the curtailment of the manufacture of any and all munitions and the consequent "refusal" to ship abroad materials that can be used in the production of armaments by nations possessing armaments, or designs and desires for armament building. Such a foreign policy could only come into operation as a result of continued political success for legislation of this type. Such legislation would necessarily be led to utilize and perhaps even to accentuate the present movement toward controlled production, and for this reason, perhaps, the pacifist plan should be first of all national in application, as well as for the purpose of fully representing the basic philosophical principle of pacifism. That principle seems to be: "Adopt the ideal attitude yourself" without waiting for agreement from all others. This idea might conceivably serve as United States Foreign Policy.

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Dr. Montessori and The Child

Humanity is an orgapic unity that is not yet quite past the embryonic stage, though its natal hour seems about to strike. Helen Veale observes in *The Theosophist*:

We may hear much talk of the nations organizing themselves for peace and security into some Union, but Dr. Montessori emphasizes the point that the union is there, inevitably brought about by nature though consciously ignored and opposed by man, at the cost of immense suffering that can only be alleviated by understanding and co-operation. There is One Life without a second, and natural growth follows one law for development of any unit, whether a cell or a planet, a human child or civilized society.

Looked at from this point of view, the child assumes a double significance in these critical times, for not only is he the complete epitome of human evolution up to date, but he has in him the potentialities of present and future, as yet unspoiled and undistorted; and psychologists with the aid of biologists have been able to throw light on creative processes from birth onwards that build his faculties of body and mind. Understanding and aiding these natural processes, and specifically abstaining from putting obstacles of the usual sort in the way of natural growth, within a generation disease and crime could be almost eradicated within a nation. Still more, it has been found possible, with children who have been allowed to grow to the age of six in an environment of freedom and happily purposeful activity, to lead them further along educational channels by their own freely exercized will and imaginative interest, and educationists who tried these methods have realized that in this way only can free citizens be developed for the exercise of democratic rights and duties in a civilized state.

Obedience is shown by Madame Montessori to be a sublimation of the developed and exercised will, impossible of evocation by any form of repression or denial of freedom, but needing preparation of the spirit.

For children and for human groups alike it seems to her absurd to talk of freedom where there has been no preparation for its expression in an awakened and self-disciplined will. Children are found easily to thrill to imaginative pictures of the world we live in, given an insight into the mysteries of fascinating sciences, especially such as help to build a consistent picture of an unfolding Cosmic Plan, in which man has a noble part to play in co-operation with all other natural agents. Reverence for Life and its unfolding plan takes the place for them of dogmatic religious teachings that would inhibit human sympathies, and a passionate love for humanity and admiration for its long, unselfish, labours is the result of the right teaching of history. National exclusiveness and racial superiority finds little soil for growth where interest has been centred ever on human struggles all over the world, on pioneers and adventurers of all sorts, on centres of civilization with their achievements and weaknesses, whereby they fell, especially on nature's oft-disclosed purpose of bringing peoples and cultures together, by violence if no other means were found, because organic unity had to come in a world that was living and One!

Only through children so taught in all civilized countries will national prejudices and cultural barriers be overcome, so that humanity can enter on its heritage of freedom and fulfil its destiny. Such is Madame Montessori's faith, learnt from the child's inner soul, to which love and intuition penetrated.

Despite advanced age and many discouragements, she labours unceasingly to share with tormented world the knowledge which alone can bring it to peace and happiness.

Bending in reverence before the Babe, as the wise have done before us, we can find for ourselves the meaning of the Christ's saying, that the Kingdom of Heaven is open to man only if he seeks it as a little child. This is no mere tribute to a child's innocence, but means literally perhaps that heaven can only come on earth when a generation of men shall arise who have learnt to retain that right of entry to God's kingdom that was theirs in childhood, to keep open the door of the spirit, while developing truly human faculties.

A Plea for an Association of Scientific Workers

Science and Culture observes:

Science can no longer be maintained as a profession of a few elites in academic world engaged in leisurely pursuits far away from humdrum of the realities of life. Even in a country like India, where scientific activities are greatly handicapped and consequently remain backward, the seat of a scientific worker is not limited any more to the four walls of a university laboratory. In fact, a scientific worker today has more scope for utilizing his skill and earning his living in factories and fisheries, assembly plants and clinics than in the gloomy laboratories of the universities. Life of a scientific worker is being interwoven with the life of the common man. With the broadening of the scope of a scientific worker his status too is gradually enlarging. The idea that there can be an individual worker in any domain of science working all alone in his laboratory is as obsolete today as that of an artisan trying to be complete self-sufficient. At the same time, science, like other achievements of the mankind, does not depend on a few persons engrossed in abstruse thinking. A laboratory assistant, a technician or a collector of statistical data is very necessary for the progress of science as a skilled scientist. But it has become customary to regard the scientific achievements and products of science as the result of labour of a few leading individual scientists alone, just as historians in the past generation attributed the social changes or the outcome of a war in a country to the individual monarchs or generals of the period.

From this point of view a scientific contribution should be considered not as due to individual efforts but should be regarded as a production of socially collec-

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efforts, just as a factory owner cannot claim his productions to be due to his handful of executive officers. The difference existing between workers of different social strata producing goods in a factory or a scientific conclusion in a laboratory is devoid of any sharp line of demarcation.

With the advancement of science and industry and general education, the standard of labour in all civilised countries has gradually improved.

Besides other factors, trade unionism has played an important role in getting the voice of labour heard—voice against naked exploitation of the workers for the interest of the employees.

The fate of the scientific workers and technicians, although the standard of scientific achievement depends a great deal on their welfore, had already become precarious before World War II. During the war a vast number of technicians and other scientific workers have been trained and this number is out of proportion to the number of jobs available to them during the peace time.

Sugar factories in India employ on the average about five scientific workers in each factory as chemists, engineers etc. These factories are closed for approximately 6 months in a year (such factories are technically known as seasonal factories) and for this period the scientific workers are paid a paltry sum of Rs. 40|- or 45|- as "retaining allowance", while, during the season seldom their salary rises above Rs. 100|- p.m. Textile mills, which are growing numerically every month, employ quite a number of chemists and dye technicians. In a very large number of cases, it is alleged, the scientific workers are paid according to queer systems. In one case, for instance, the scientific workers receive Rs. 3|- p.m. as 'salary' and Rs. 87|- as allowance! It is reported that such a 'system' saves the company from paying a large amount to the Government in the shape of taxes! The scientific workers, however, are expected to eke their existence out of this meagre salary while the sword of Damocles hangs over the tenure of their service.

The Government of Bengal during the epidemic period in 1944 had boasted of having opened 1,200 satellite medical relief centres for serving epidemic-ridden areas. But very few are aware that the 'doctors' at these centres were given an allowance of Rs. 20|- p.m. It is no wonder that so many of them openly boasted of having sent their 'reports' without even going out of their houses.

That the chemists and pharmaceutists in the chemical industries are in no better condition has been amply proved by the stand taken by them along with their less fortunate colleagues, the common workers, during the wave of strikes all over India and specially in Bengal. Though the prosperity of the chemical industries depends much on the efficiency of these scientific workers, the average pay of a chemist is not more than Rs. 100|- or 125|- p.m.

The condition of research workers, teachers and professors in scientific subjects in our country has always been far from enviable.

More than once we have tried to bring to the notice of the people and the Government the conditions under which a scientist has to work in this country. The lack of assistants and proper equipments and paucity of funds sometimes stand as insurmountable obstacles against the efforts of a scientist. Rs. 75|- p.m. is the maximum allowance offered to a research scholar in the Calcutta University where the atmosphere for research is said to be more congenial than in other universities. In several universities in India, we are told, assistants for research work are paid at Rs. 30|- p.m. Even in Calcutta University there are instances of research scholars receiving Rs. 50|- p.m. and in at least one case we know of, a scholar with doctorate degree had to accept this term for the sake of love of his work! Even with this petty allowance a research scholar does not know if he will be given sufficient time to finish his work or if he would have to relinquish his post after the routine grant for two years.

Last year a circular was issued under the direction of the Central Government that no scientific worker with M.Sc. degree employed by the University should be payed less than Rs. 200|- per month. But such circulars are of no avail unless there be a machinery to see that the instructions are adhered to. Lecturers and 'professors' in science in the mufussil colleges in Bengal have been known to accept posts carrying Rs. 50|- p.m.

It is disgraceful for the scientific workers not to take lessons from their own humble brethren and make efforts to save themselves.

After all, the State like God helps only those who help themselves.

It may be mentioned for the sake of information that in Great Britain there was started in 1918 an organization—the Association of Scientific workers—when its membership was only 2,500. With the World War II, it became evident to the scientific workers in Britain that their salvation lay in their own strength. Today the "Association's membership of 16,000 includes scientific and technical staff in industry, Government service, the Universities and Agriculture, and their technical assistants. Practically all of these members are employees. Since the Association registered as a trade union in 1941 it has carried on hundreds of negotiations, both collective and on behalf of individuals, covering not only salaries but, also hours of work, holidays, sickness payment, service agreements, superannuation, compensation etc."

If the case of the British Association of Scientific Workers has been cited in details for an instance, it should be noted that such organizations have been started in other countries as well.

It is high time that in our country too lead be taken to unite the scientific workers in one body specially organized for them. Unless immediate efforts are made to improve the living conditions of such workers, unless their suggestions are incorporated for the betterment of national life, leaving the progress of the country in the hands of the legislators alone would hardly lift the country above the semi-feudal character as it is today.

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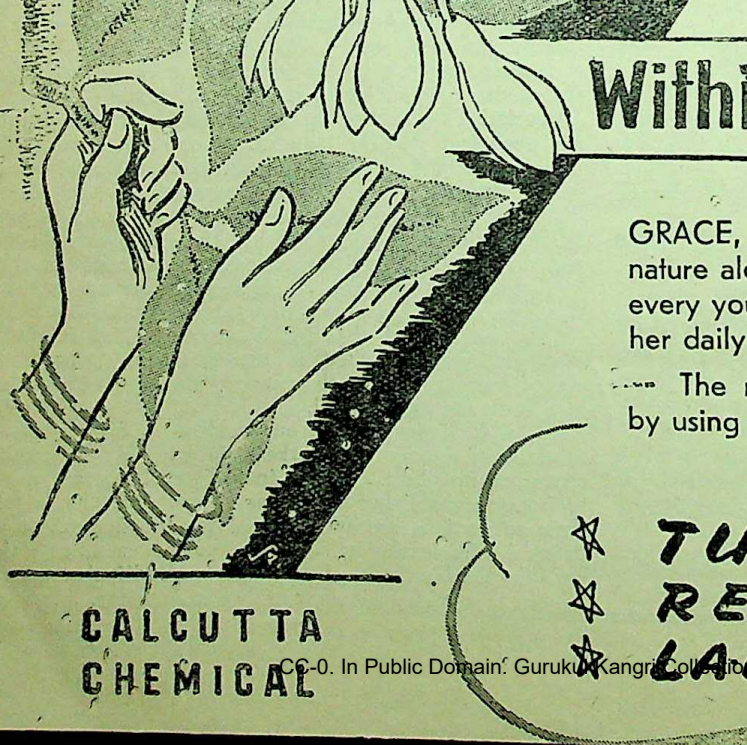

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Place of Ashrams in the Life of the Church in India

P. O. Philip cites a concrete example of the indigenous expression of Christianity among the rural masses of India in the *International Review of Missions*:

In the history of religious life of India, the ashrams appear over two thousand five hundred years ago as forest dwellings where men devoted to religion lived the simple life, and to which disciples came, not only to receive instruction, but to be trained in the realization of spiritual ideals. In the course of the centuries there have been many changes in the conception and working of the ashram, now functioning as a refuge for persons who renounced the world, now as a home given to religious contemplation and austerities, often as a centre of research and study about the ultimate Reality and as a place for the practice of rigorous mental and physical discipline. A common feature of many ashrams was the leadership supplied by a *guru* (preceptor) who after successive experiences as a student in earnest pursuit of knowledge, and as a householder and man of affairs, retired from everyday activities for the purpose of devoting the rest of his life, often with his wife, to an ashram and to inspiring and directing its inmates in their religious pursuits.

It was in such ashrams of the forest that the conception of the identity of the essence of man within (*atman*) and the essence of the world without (*Brahman*) was developed. Much argument and much reflection must have preceded that discovery, as is evident in the Upanishads. The word 'Upanishad' is derived from a root that means 'to sit'—sitting under trees in jungles and debating and discussing the baffling problems of the finite and the infinite. The *Brahman* philosophy was not accepted by all ashrams. It formed, however, the major current of thought and, in course of time, the dominant one. There were also free thinkers in some of the ashrams and they developed schools of thought which are agnostic.

While the results of research about the ultimate Reality of the universe will remain as the ashrams' most enduring contribution to India and the world, there are also other noteworthy features. Much of the religious literature of Hinduism, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and many of the Puranas, was produced by sages who lived in ashrams. The ashrams which started in jungles helped in opening up the wild forests of the immediate vicinity as habitable places and in domesticating the animals. They helped to establish contacts with the primitive tribes of the forests and to bring them under the civilizing influence of the advancing Aryan culture. Among those who entered the ashrams were men with trained minds and varied experience. In their new forest environments, they made use of their numerous opportunities for observation and investigation. They studied the herbs and their healing properties and developed systems of medical treatment. They studied the behaviour of animals, their diseases and how to cure them. The study of serpents and of antidotes to their poison was also undertaken. Through the *yoga* practices of the ashram psychology was studied.

The contributions of ashrams to education was perhaps the most valuable of all. They received a limited number of pupils who were instructed in theology along with *yoga*. As *yoga* could be learned and practised only under the fatherly care of a *guru*, education assumed the character of a life process imparted in the context of a family group where vital and intimate personal contacts existed between the *guru* and *sishya* (pupil). For the concept of the *gurukula* (family of the guru) system of education, we are indebted to the ashrams.

Prince Siddharta attained illumination and became Buddha (about 448 B.C.) by way of contemplation and meditation practised in an ashram. Some of the features of ashram life were incorporated by him in the regulations for the order of monks which he established. In admitting women into the order, he was influenced by Hindu *vanaprasthas* living in ashrams with their wives, and not by Hindu ascetics, who were celibates. *Ahimsa*—literally non-injury, but meaning love, including love of enemies and friendliness to all—the cardinal virtue of ashram life, was made the corner-stone of Buddhist morality.

When Buddhism spread in India and established monasteries where large numbers of celibate monks lived and worked, the old ashram ideal which embodied the Vedic religion and the *Brahman* philosophy received a set-back. Again, the revival of Hinduism in the medieval period, stimulated by the spread of Buddhism, was marked by the emergence of new theistic cults, centering on devotion to Siva or Vishnu, and of the Bhakti movement. These introduced a new element of positive satisfaction in religious experience which naturally tended to throw into the background the processes of enquiry and earnest search for the ultimate Reality (Brahman) for which the old ashrams stood.

After being eclipsed thus for some centuries, ashrams have been appearing again in modern India, reviving the enduring ideals of the old ashram, but adapting them to the changed conditions and needs of to-day.

It was for promoting education designed to re-capture some of the values of Indian culture, fast vanishing in changed conditions, that some of the first modern ashrams came into being. The *Gurukula* of the Arya Samaj and *Santiniketan* (abode of peace) established by Rabindranath Tagore are notable as ashrams and also as experiments in education. The former went back to the ancient method of *guru* and *sishya* living together as one family in very simple conditions of rural life. The other imparted education in a new atmosphere created by a synthesis of Indian and international cultures.

Mahatma Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati, which after some years of existence was closed by order of Government, stood apart. In it several characteristics of the *vanaprastha* ashram were reproduced. Plain and simple living, *ahimsa* in word, thought and deed, observance of continence and poverty, were some of the conditions imposed on members. In its short period of existence, a new attitude to the attainment of freedom and a new political philosophy and weapon of action were brought into existence. This ashram played a great part in creating and popularizing a constructive programme of action for the whole country and in training leaders to initiate it and carry it out.

With eminent men like Tagore and Gandhi adapting the ashram for the purpose of giving effective expression to new ideals in education and political action, and of transforming the outlook of the whole country, it would have been strange if Christians had been left entirely unaffected.

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The desire to give indigenous expression to Christianity had already taken root among them. There had been growing dissatisfaction both among western missionaries and among Indian Christians regarding the absence of real fellowship and equality among them in Christian service. For the embodiment and expression of the spirit of Christianity, the inadequacy of foreign institutions was widely felt. They were also increasingly aware that, for the message of Christ to make its natural appeal to the religious-minded in India, it should be presented in an atmosphere in harmony with the religious climate of the land, freed from the overgrowths of western Christianity and suffused by the spirit of oneness in Christ, transcending differences of race and culture and the limitations of local and historical development.

Ideas such as these, simmering in the minds of thoughtful Indian Christians, received much stimulus from the National Missionary Society of India, organized in 1905 with the object of carrying on missionary work with Indian men, Indian resources and using, as far as possible, indigenous methods suited to Indian conditions. We find that the late K. T. Paul, when he was General Secretary of the Society, advocated the ashram method at the North India Conference of the Society in 1921 as a most valuable indigenous method of missionary work. This idea of a Christian ashram assumed practical shape about ten years later through Dr. S. Jesudason. He is a highly qualified doctor with Indian and British degrees. When in Great Britain during and after the first world war, he was able to establish intimate Christian contacts with fellow-students of different nationalities through the Student Christian Movement. During this time he was impressed by the need for definitely organizing a supranational brotherhood whose members, thinking not merely in terms of their respective nationalities, will accept as the guiding principle of their lives the only true and lasting kinship, namely, that of the living union of those who seek to act towards all men as their brothers in the consciousness that all are children of the one Father as revealed by Jesus Christ. When Dr. Jesudason was working as resident medical officer of the London Medical Mission, friendship grew between him and a Scottish medical student, E. Forrester-Paton. After the completion of his medical studies, Forrester-Paton joined Jesudason in the work among the poor of London in connexion with the London Medical Mission. They had much in common in ideals and aspirations. Later, they were accepted as honorary missionaries by the Church of Scotland mission to be in joint charge of the mission's hospital in Poona. While there, they tried to put into practice some of their cherished ideals of Christian service. But they felt that the conventional system of a paid staff of superior and subordinate workers tended to destroy the spirit of comradeship which they longed to see established in the sharing of a common purpose and of love among the workers themselves as well as towards the patients. They were also up against the workings of well-established institutions and time-honoured usages which they could not always reconcile with the new spirit of brotherhood and love for which they stood. They turned to the National Missionary Society of India for advice and help in putting their ideals into practice. The writer of this article, as the General Secretary of the Society at the time, had the privilege of sharing with them, and with others of similar ideals in different parts of India, plans for launching a Christian ashram. With Dr. S. Jesudason and Dr. E. Forrester-Paton as its first members, the *Kristukula* (the family of Christ) *Ashram* was established at Tirupattur in the North Arcot District of South India (about a hundred and forty miles south-west of Madras city) in 1921, in affiliation with the National Missionary Society of India. It is two miles from the town, beautifully located on a plateau land of about a hundred fifty acres encircled by hills. All around there are small villages and isolated farmsteads. From the beginning, the members of the ashram so planned mode of life and activities that they might be of service to the thousands of villagers living around Both the members being qualified doctors, they with medical relief work. Patients came to them in large numbers. Soon they had to make provision in-patients in a well-built and well-equipped hospital. To-day the hospital called *Sukanilayam* ('of health') is equipped on up-to-date lines with me surgical and eye wards to accommodate seventy-fi patients and with a large out-patient department as It was here that they made the bold experiment of ing on the work of medical relief without a paid of assistants. Appeal was made for volunteers to co spirit of Christian service for shorter or longer pe to help in this work. Doctors, students from me and arts colleges, and men and women of varied pations have been coming in response to this call. work and worship regulated by the discipline of ashram they live together in simple Indian style as family. Though such a group is necessarily subje frequent changes in personnel, and fluctuates in nu according to the period of the year, it is none the remarkable that the needs of the work have always met. Several workers have stayed for periods of o five years, and some of them have been fully qua doctors.

The agricultural operations on the ashram land ca out through the co-operation of paid labourers fro surrounding villages not only supply the ashram fa with food grains, vegetables and milk, but ser

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establish close relationship with the rural people and to teach them the value of improved methods in farming. In labour conditions and wages the ashram maintains fair standards which help to strengthen its Christian witness.

The children in the surrounding villages were found to be without facilities for adequate education. So one or two members of the ashram family who had training and experience in education opened a school called *Kalanilayam* (abode of culture) which has now developed into a higher elementary school with eight classes and about a hundred and forty pupils. Educational methods suited to Indian conditions are followed here.

A unique and central feature of the ashram is the *Japalaya* ('house of prayer') which is a Christian church adapted from the Dravidian style of temple architecture which prevails in South India. As in the case of Hindu temples in South India, the church has an outer wall enclosing a rectangular space. The gateway to this enclosure faces east and is surmounted by a tower characterized by exquisite carving and an elaboration of detail. Over the most sacred part of the temple, the chancel in this Christian adaptation, is a second tower surmounted by a cross fixed on a gilt metal globe. The sides of these towers show a series of terraces, rising tier above tier, on each of which are numerous room-like cells, symbolizing perhaps the ideal monastery. Within the rectangular enclosure is the main hall of prayer, wide open on the three sides except for the rows of pillars which support the flat stone roof. Such broad open halls are admirably suited to the climate conditions of South India.

To help the indigenous expression of Christian witness, faith and worship, the ashram has published a Tamil song book of lyrics bearing upon various devotional subjects. The ashram has also published a Tamil prayer book embodying an order of service based on indigenous modes of worship and expression. Both these are used during worship at the ashram.

The ashram is not connected with any particular church body; but affiliated to the National Missionary Society of India, which is an interdenominational organization, it welcomes members of all churches and accepts the spiritual ministrations of ministers of episcopal and non-episcopal churches.

The argument is sometimes advanced that the ashram movement represents a way of life which India, in common with the rest of the world, is fast outgrowing. It is contended that while the clamant need in India to-day is to raise the standard of life of the people, it is wrong to exalt the simple way of life, as the ashrams do, and thus help to deprive the masses of the incentive to escape from the almost primitive conditions of life in which they unfortunately find themselves. In answer to this, all that need be said here is that the simple way of life which a few with a special vocation are led to adopt is only a means for the attainment of higher ends; and that in the context of the widespread and desperate poverty of the Indian rural masses to-day those who seek to serve them effectively can hope to do so only by sharing with them the conditions of their life. The life and work of the Lord Jesus Christ shows us unmistakably that the way of redeeming love is also the way of complete identification with those whom we long to bring into the glorious heritage of the Kingdom of God.

Congress and The Princely States

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of a press interview at Wardha, said:

"The Congress policy toward the States is that they are to be integral parts of India with the largest possible autonomy. There being hundreds of States of all sizes it is impossible to treat them alike. Obviously only the major States are big enough to form units of the federation or union. The others must combine to form units or be absorbed in an existing unit like a province. There should be no difference in their status. We have deliberately tried to make a friendly approach to the rulers so as to find a way out by peaceful and co-operative methods but it is obvious that there can be no autocracy in the future anywhere in India and the people of the States, as the people of the rest of India, must have final authority. There has been some response from a few of the rulers but on the whole this has been feeble. In some notable cases attempts have been made even to put the clock back.

"Nowhere else in the world is there anything like this system of the Indian States. Even now they are largely dependent on the political department of the Government of India. With the removal of British authority from India the whole present basis of the system goes and inevitably the people of the States will have their way as to their future. The people's organization has already made it clear that they want a full democratic government within the union of India. It is also evident that the same measure of democratic liberty must prevail in both a princely state and a province and that fundamental rights will be common to all the federated units of the Indian union. There may be minor differences in regard to internal administrative arrangements, but there is bound to be a tendency towards uniformity and the same standards of administration and personal liberty. Congress as well as the States people's organization have said that the rulers may remain as constitutional heads but that their people must have full responsible government. That is to say that the sovereignty must rest with the people. It is for the people to decide the inner constitution of the State and the form of administration. In the proposed Constituent Assembly the States, like the Provinces, should be represented by elected persons and not by the nominees of the rulers."—*India Today.*

Sex-Ratio of Births in India

Its Variations in Time and Space

J. M. Dutta writes in *Genus*, an Italian Journal, dealing with the population problem:

It is a well recognised fact that in almost all parts of the world more boy-babies are born into the world than girl-babies. Explanations of such a phenomenon in the present condition of human knowledge must be hazardous in the extreme, but the process of evolution may afford one. Darwin has pointed out that the male sex is more variable in structure than the female, and variations in important organs would generally be injurious. According to the same authority, female infanticide, if long continued, would tend to cause an excess of males at birth. Girls being killed in families where the majority of the children are females, and spared in those where the majority are males, those who survive and become mothers would belong to a stock with a male-producing tendency. Parents to-day are anxious for male children and in earlier stages of civilization this has been more obviously true. The favourite wife was the wife who bore sons to her husband, and the father of many sons established his race at the expense of others. So ardently are sons longed for by the Hindus that, in all parts of India, when a woman becomes pregnant, a special ceremony "*Pumsavanam*" is performed in order to induce the birth of a male child. Thus families in which there was a tendency to breed male offspring survived while others did not. A process in such a manner probably helped to evolve the human race which at present seems to produce something like 21 boys to 20 girls, and its different development would produce what statisticians have found to exist, namely,

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different ratios between the sexes at birth in different races.

There is evidence of this greater masculinity at birth in the higher proportion of women in certain aboriginal and Hill Tribes in Bengal than among the great mass of Bengalis, but vital statistics are not prepared according to race and within the Province. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the actual proportion between female births and male births according to race. Apart from groping in the dark to find explanations of the facts of the case, there are incidental variations of "masculinity at birth", which have been and are being investigated; and are interesting in themselves.

A proposition which was advanced during the earlier part of the last century was the "Hofacher-Sadler law". It laid down that masculinity is slightly higher among the firstborn than among others, and held the field for many years, but it is now said to have been based on insufficient data and to be unsupported by the figures for large numbers of instances. But some Bengal statistics lend support to the law.

Mr. S. de Jastrzebski considers that there is evidence to show that masculinity at birth is affected by race, that it is greater in rural than in urban populations, that it is probably slightly greater in first than in subsequent births, and that so far as present evidence goes, war raises the rates of masculinity.

The relevant statistics are given below.

YEARS	BIRTHS				MASCULINITY		
	Calcutta		Municipalities excluding Calcutta		Calcutta	Municipalities	Bengal
	Male	Female	Male	Female			
1933	13.445	12.690	25.843	23.066	937	892	929
1934	13.416	12.301	24.939	22'370	917	897	928
1935	13.585	11.753	27.397	24.604	865	898	926
1936	16.793	13.702	28.672	25.688	816	896	927
1937	14.767	11.871	28.931	26.282	804	908	926
Average for 5 years 1933-37 . . .					868	898	927

It would thus appear that the masculinity at birth in Calcutta is greater than that of the municipalities (or towns smaller than Calcutta); and that the masculinity at birth in the municipalities is greater than that of all Bengal. Thus in Bengal masculinity is not only greater in urban areas, but it seems to increase with the urbanisation.

The Sudan Problem

Under the heading, the *Middle East Opinion*, announces that Sudanese delegates re-affirm demands for unity with Egypt:

The Sudan Delegation gave a tea-party at the Continental-Savoy in honour of the members of the Egyptian Parliament.

At the principal table sat Dr. Hussein Heikal Pasha, Mtre. Hamed Gouda, Wassef Ghali Pasha, Fuad Serag el Din Pasha, and Mtre. Ismail el Azhari, President of the Sudan Delegation.

Mtre. Ismail El-Azhari spoke of the important task to be performed by the Egyptian Parliament when the moment comes for the ratification of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement.

He went on to say that he was the bearer of a message from the people of the South to the inhabitants of the North to the effect that they desire freedom in association with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown.

In a few well chosen words, Heikal Pasha, President of the Senate, thanked the Sudan Delegation for an enjoyable entertainment.

He added that the meeting brought to mind the memorable stand of the late Sherif Pasha who said "If we were to abandon the Sudan, she would not abandon us."

He then made allusion to the joint strife of Egyptians and Sudanese throughout the ages standing together in the face of ancient Greeks, Romans and other invaders.

He pointed out that if the inhabitants of the Nile Valley differed on any point, they were unanimous in their conviction of the inseparable character of the Nile Valley.

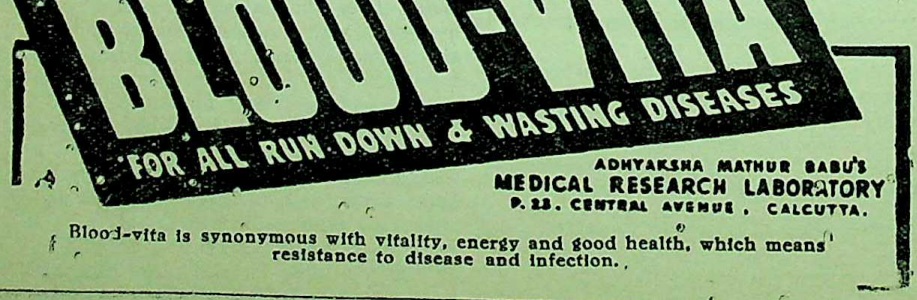
Modern means of communication, he added, had further consolidated the link binding the South to the North.

He pointed out that Egypt had never desired any domination over the Sudan nor exploitation of its resources and as two peoples living in the same valley with various links of a lasting character, they should not do without unity essential to them both.

He continued saying that nature itself had made the two nations a single unit.

With regard to the present negotiations he said that the Egyptian negotiators knew exactly what they wanted and would spare no effort in realizing their legitimate national edmands.

He reiterated his thanks to the Sudan Delegation for the opportunity afforded to them for meeting together and hoped that a future meeting would be held in the Sudan.



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সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	৶৹
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A Defence of the Nile Valley

Mtre. Ismail El Azhari, Head of the Sudan Delegation, has issued a pamphlet in defence of the theory of the unity of the entire Nile Valley.

In an introductory word, Mtre. El Azhari writes :

"The tendency towards an association with Egypt is normal, being the outcome of our mutual history and the identity of our interests. Nor can such important factors as language, religion and traditions be lost sight of. Then, there is the Nile, the strongest bond of all and whose existence as a life-giving artery to both nations reaffirms their unity."

Further, the age of a small nation standing alone is long past as we have entered upon an era of international association and federation enabling united groups to play an important role in world affairs.

"We claim a national right when we ask for a democratic Sudanese Government in association with Egypt under the Egyptian Crown.

Post-war conditions and principles encourage us to claim liberty in the name of the Sudan Congress consisting of all the enlightened elements of the Sudan in association of the different parties.

The Sudan has contributed in a large scale to the final victory of the United Nations by the part played by the Sudanese Defence Force, in the campaigns of Eritrea, Ethiopia, North Africa, Italy, Germany, and even Japan.

In the name of justice and democracy for which the United Nations fought we reaffirm our national claims."

Harvest Time in Ancient Egypt

Dr. Abdel Raouf M. Tantawi, Head of the Ancient Agricultural Section, FUAD I, Agricultural Museum, Cairo, writes in the *Middle East Opinion*:

Visitors to the Ancient Egyptian Agricultural section may see samples of crops discovered in ancient tombs of various ages from the period of the first Pharaonic dynasties to the Arab conquests.

Such samples give a picture of the evolution of agriculture in Egypt. The crop to which particular importance was attached was wheat, the harvesting of which will be the subject of this article.

About 4241 B.C. Ancient Egyptians discovered the oldest calendar as a result of their proficiency in astronomy. Thus, they divided the year into three seasons, of four months each, which were known as the Flood Season, the Sowing Season, and the Harvest Season, almost identified with the present agricultural seasons among the fellahin of Egypt.

Harvest Caused Jubilation

The harvest season started when the crop was ripe. People hurried to the fields in jubilation. Farmers carried out harvesting in the presence of land-owners who were careful to control work in person : tax-collectors surveyed the cultivated land and assessed taxes accordingly ; priests received the portion devoted to temples and professional craftsmen secured their annuities.

It is noteworthy in this connection that this type of annual payment still survives in rural districts where the Imam of the mosque, the headmaster of the village school, the water carrier, the barber, the carpenter, and others, receive what is due to them twice annually, at the wheat and maize harvest times.

Pharaohs Started Harvest

As a proof of the particular importance attached to the harvest of wheat, the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt celebrated religious and national festivals on the occasion. They offered gifts to Nabro, the harvest god represented by a human body covered with grains. The occasion was one of rejoicing for all classes of the population.

King Amenhat III said about 2000 B.C.: "I have adored the harvest god ; the Nile greets me : and in my reign none of my subjects suffer hunger or thirst."

Beside such festivities celebrated by the chanting of songs to the accompaniment of musical instruments, nets were set up in all fields to catch swarms of quails. Thus, it was evident that Nature had endowed them with a plentiful harvest and provided them with a bountiful supply of delicious birds.

Traditional Ceremony

As a mark of the interest taken by Kings in the occasion, the Pharaoh of Egypt in person inaugurated the season, by going out into the field, sickle in hand, to cut out the first bunch of cobs, thus enthusing the people in their toil.

Rameses II (about 1200 B.C.) gave a picture of the traditional ceremony on the walls of the Gabo Temple at Luxor.

Furthermore, as the wheat was the main medium of barter, the treasury often consisted of huge quantities of wheat as taxes in kind, the surplus stocks used to promote foreign trade.

The story of the arrival of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt to obtain provisions from the well-stocked stores of the Pharaoh stands as a proof that neighbouring countries depended on Egypt for their supply of wheat in times of dire scarcity.

পণ্ডিত ৺রমানাথ চক্রবর্ত্তী সঙ্কলিত এবং
ভক্তিতীর্থ শ্রীউমেশ চক্রবর্ত্তী সম্পাদিত ও প্রকাশিত
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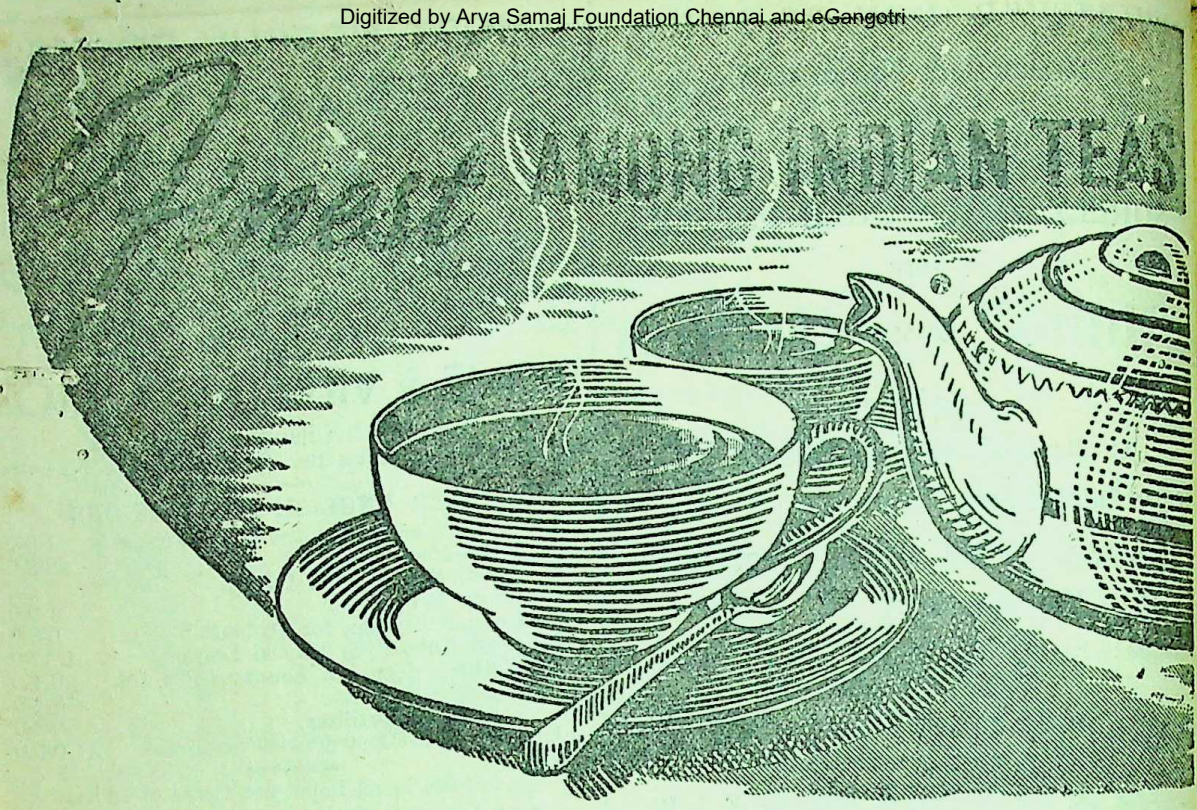

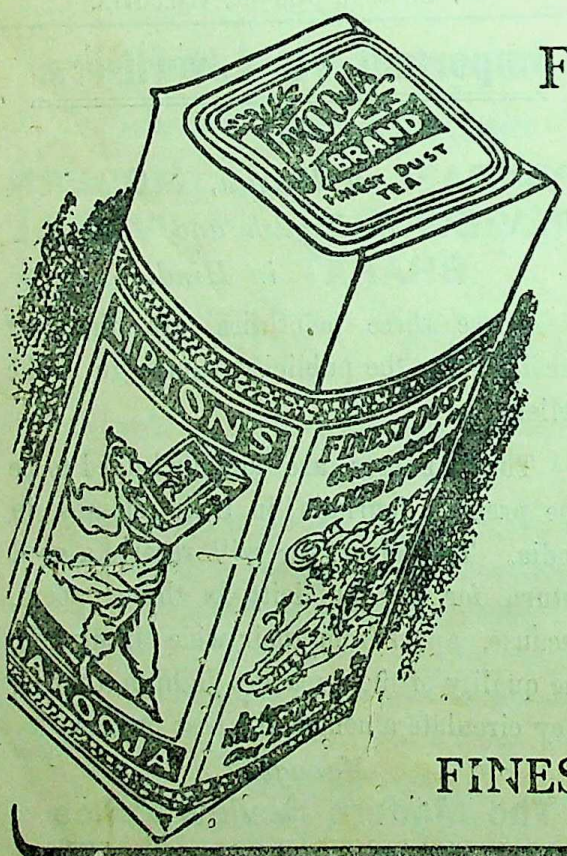

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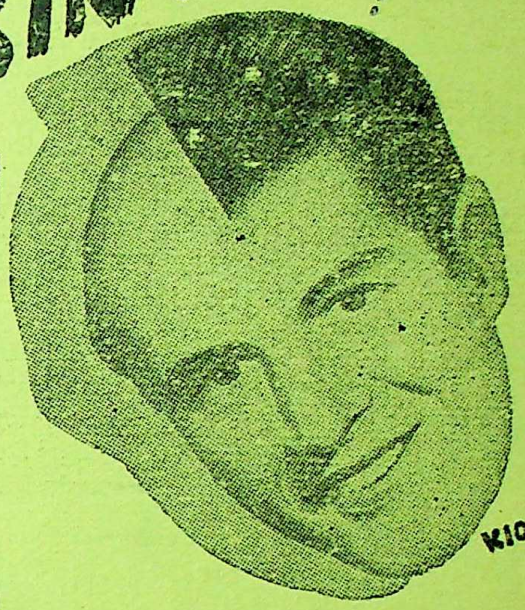

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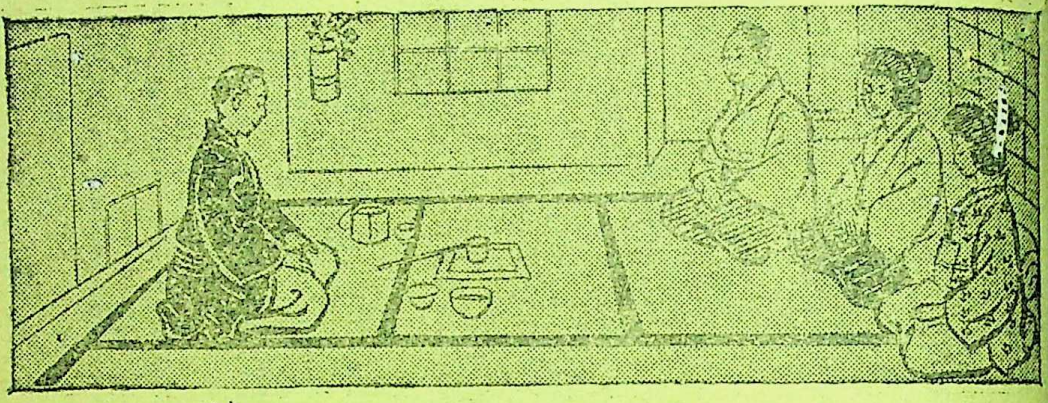

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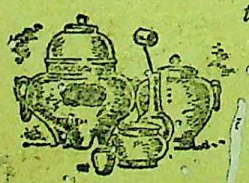
Japan is a land of formality. Every aspect of social and religious life is therefore related to a strict ritual—and so the drinking of tea has become a highly organised and elaborate ceremony. They call it 'O Cha,' meaning Honourable Tea. Powdered tea is offered to a distinguished guest by the host, who fills the cup with hot water, places as much tea as will lie on the point of a knife, and stirs. Milk and sugar are not used. It takes three years to perfect the training of a young lady of good family in the etiquette of tea. The slightest error in the handling of cups, a drop spilled—these are a major disgrace for the house. The rest of the Nation drinks tea continuously—at all hours of the day and night. It is even said that Japan's business is conducted over the tea cup, the National beverage of Nippon.



Of a host of accessories prescribed for this impressive tea-ritual the most important are the *Daisu*, a covered tray on which is placed the *Cha-wan*, the tea-bowl. Shown here also are the *Cha-ire*, receptacle for powdered tea, *Cha-kama*, kettle for hot water and *Ko-ire*, the incense holder.

the universal beverage

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Invalid Cookery

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Take 2 oz. of pearl barley 1 pint of boiling water, three lumps of sugar, thinly pared rind of half a lemon.

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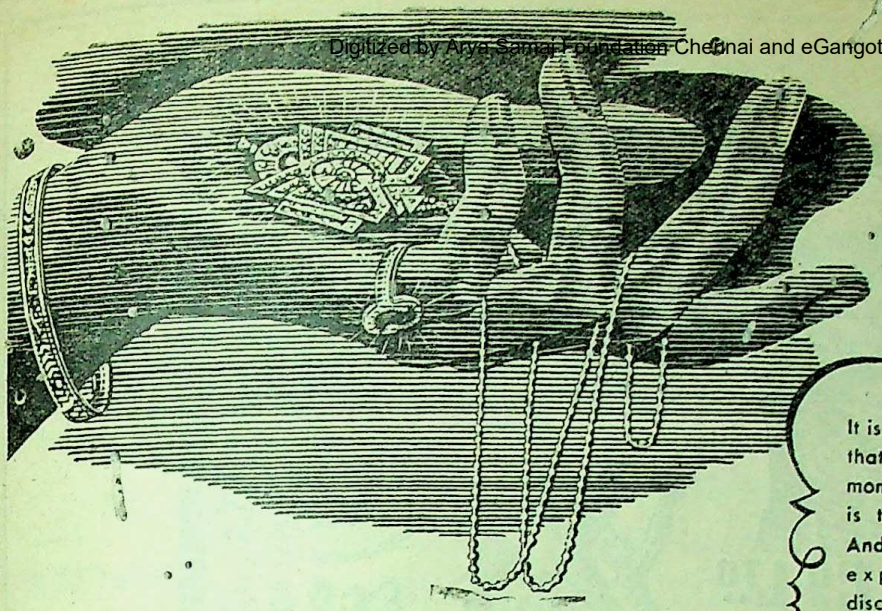

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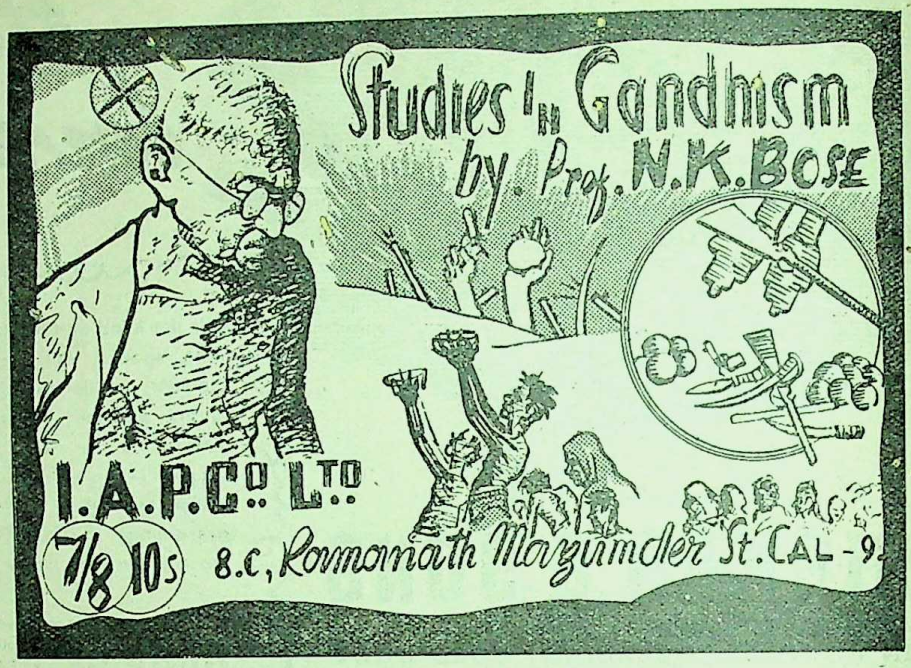

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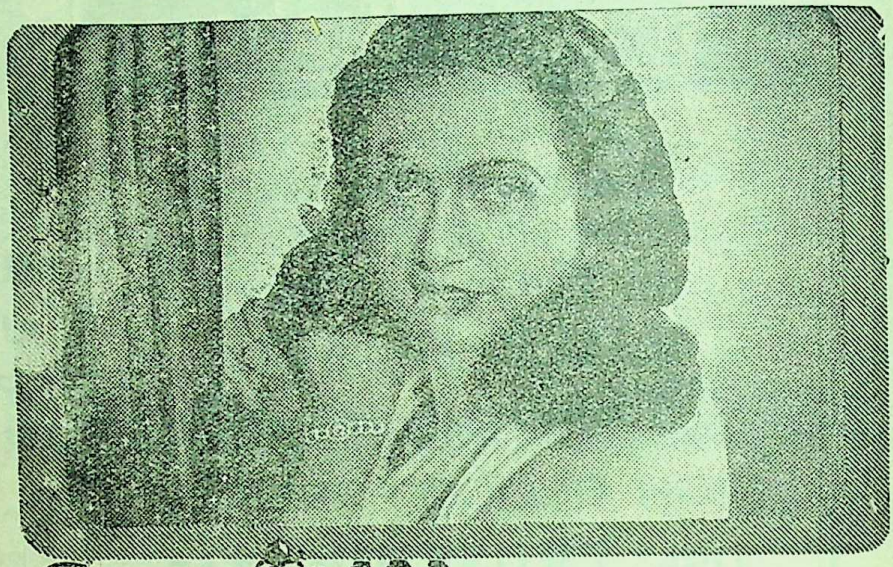

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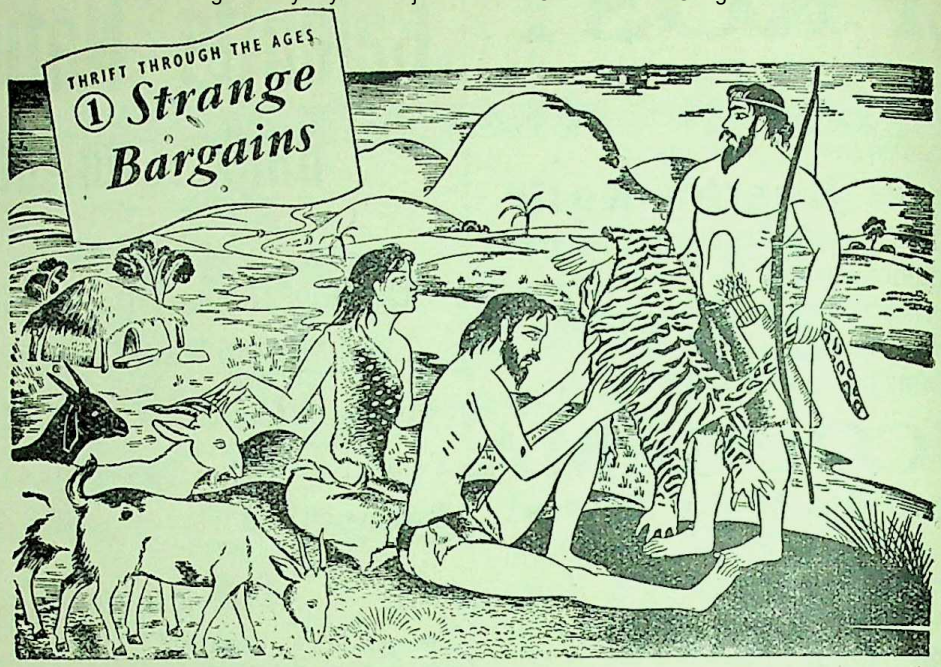

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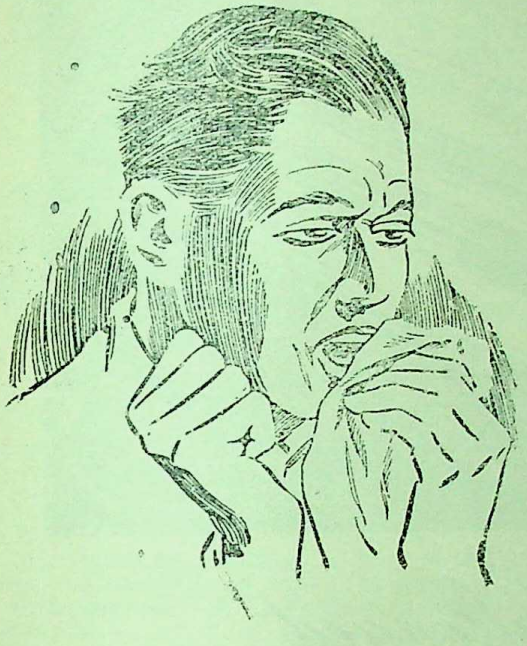

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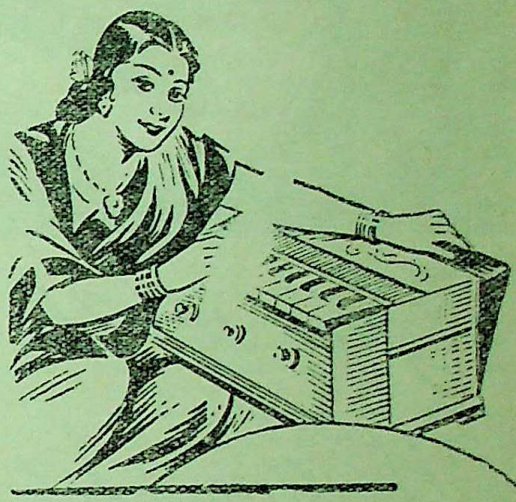

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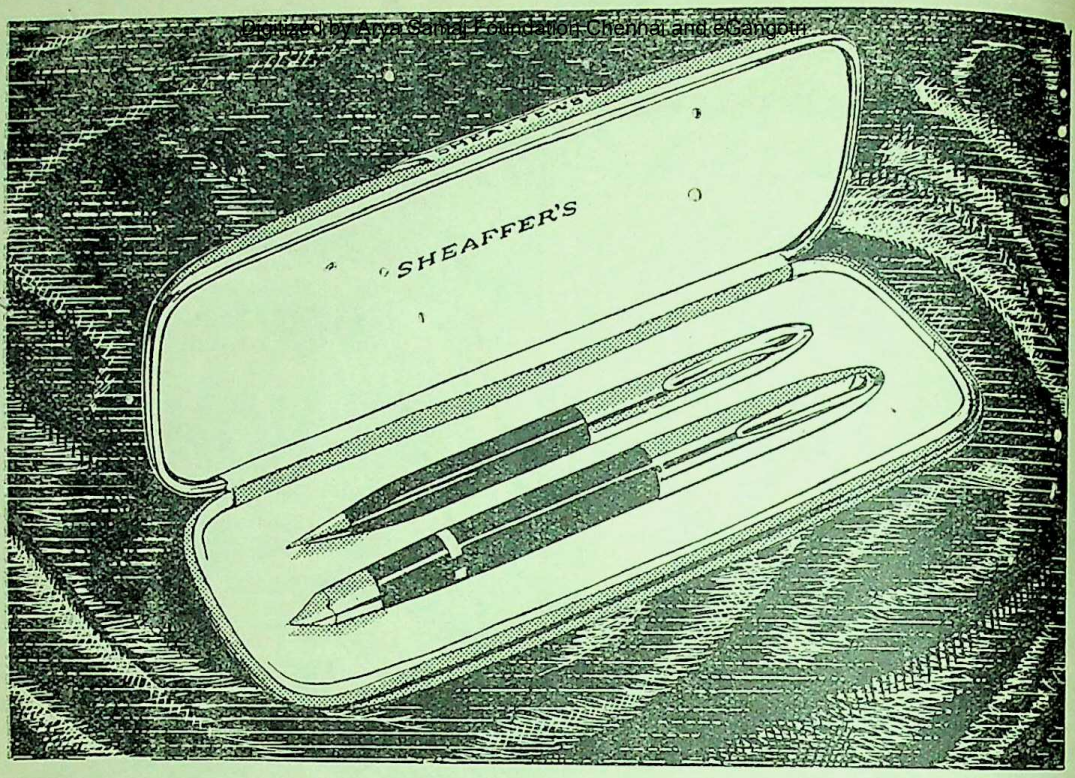

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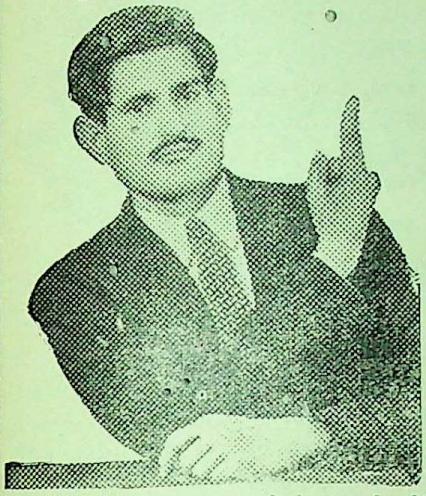

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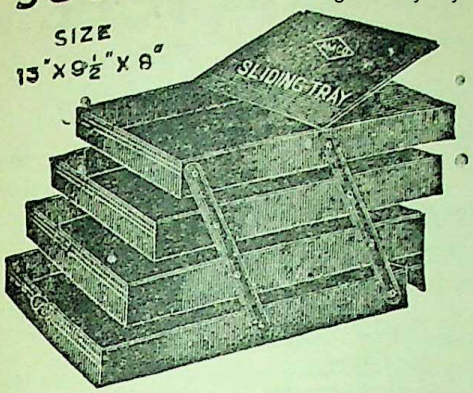

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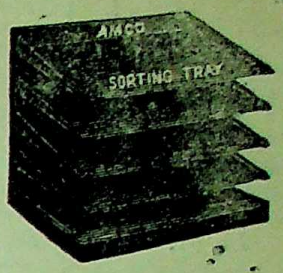

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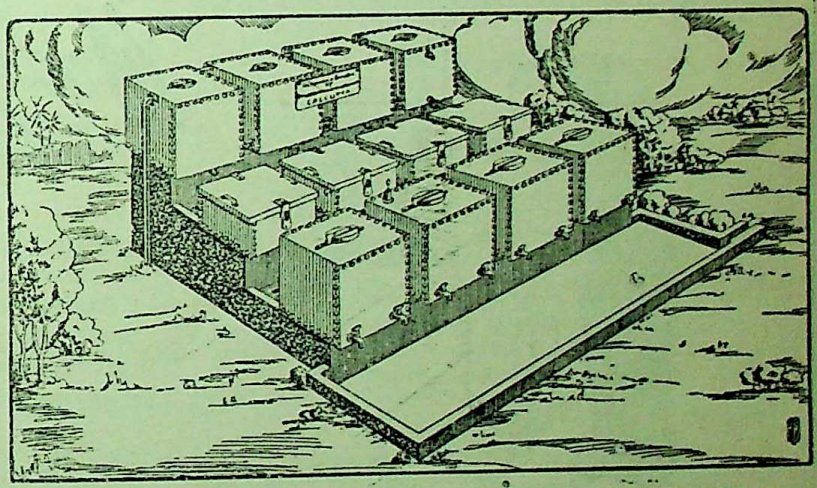

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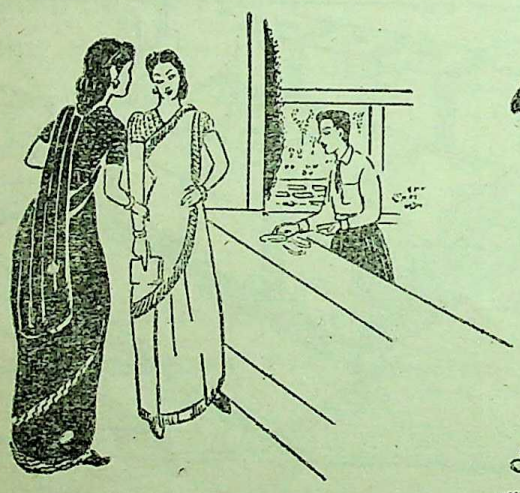

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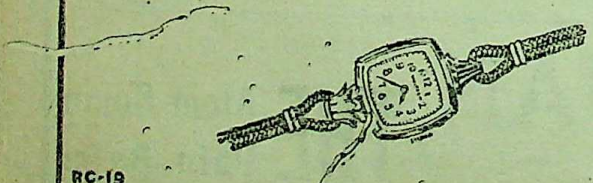

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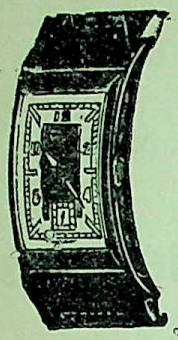

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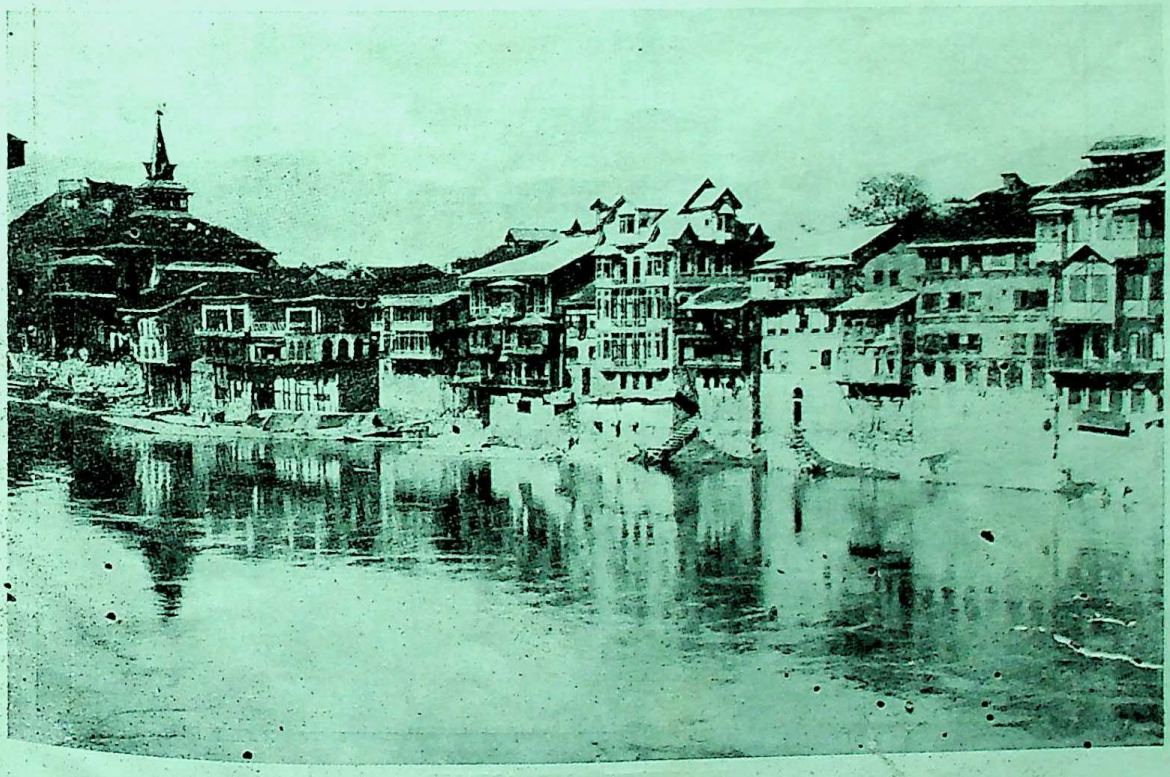

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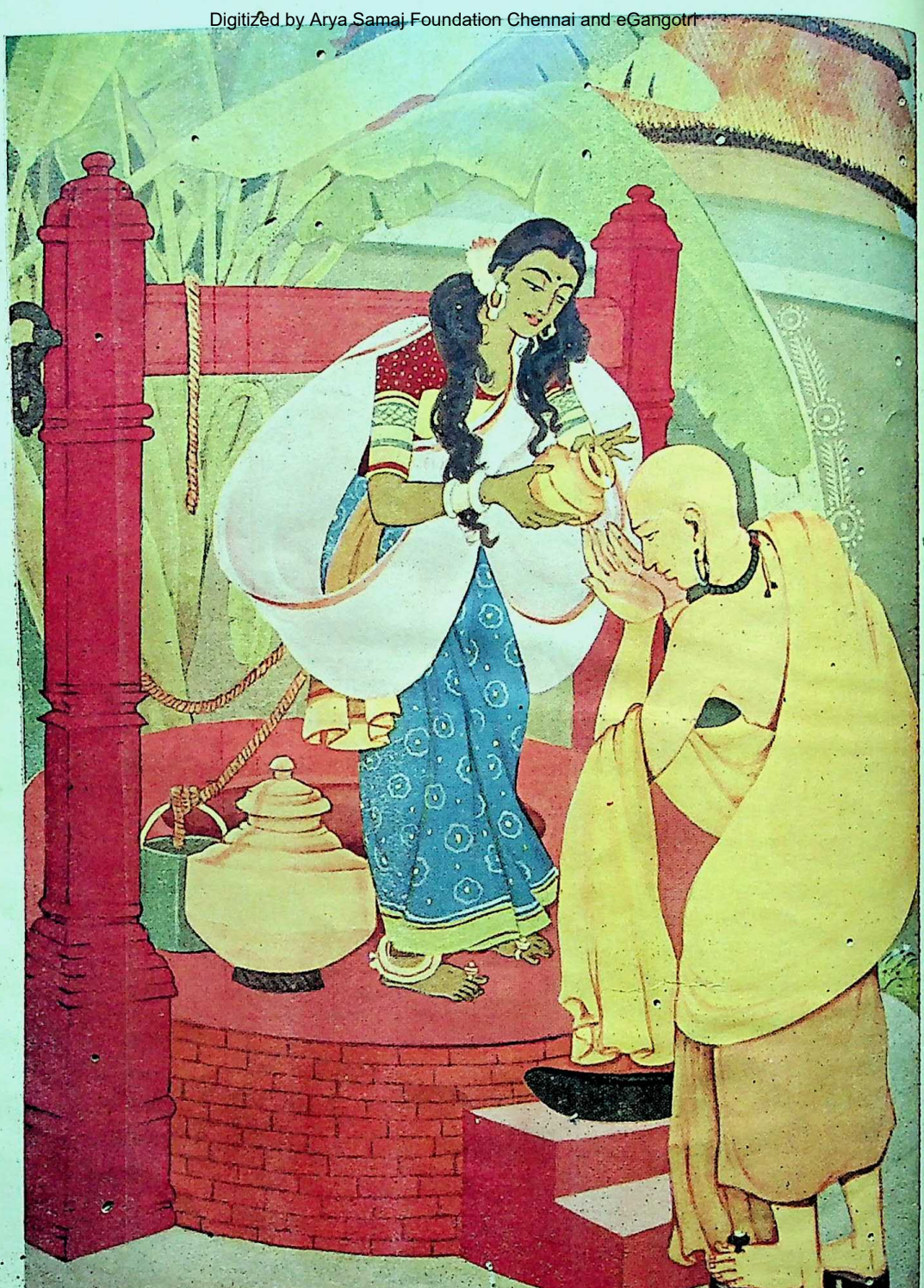

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NOTES

The Congress in Power

Acharya Kripalani's statement, the full text of which is given in this issue, contains many poignant truths. It is a vital necessity for every Congressman and nationalist in India to realise in full the implications of such a statement, coming as it does from the President of the A.-I. C. C. We have been feeling for some time that the men at the top of the Congress have lost sight of realities and are indulging in self-adulation and self-and-party-aggrandisement at the cost of their faithful followers, who constitute the bulk of the Indian nation. The All-India Congress Committee and most of the Provincial Congress Committees have lost sight of the Congress ideals of service and are behaving as if they were conquerors, free to bestow largesse, jobs, contracts and appointments indiscriminately, on their relatives and favourites, without regard to the welfare of the people. We cannot say as yet that we have even made a beginning to arrive at the democratic ideal of governing the country "for the people, by the people."

Imperial Delhi was conceived and constructed by the British Imperialist as a psychological dam against the flowing torrent of Indian nationalism, in a vain attempt to divert that flow back to mediaevalism. The British failed, due mainly to two World Wars and the rising temper of the masses in Nationalist India, but to our sorrow we must record the fact that Imperial Delhi is more mediaeval today than it was ever under the Viceroys. We must admit the truth of the remark, made by a foreign educationalist whose knowledge of the India of today was comprehensive, that the Congress Government was ultra-modern in its speeches and preachings but was mediaeval in its ways, while the Muslim League was mediaeval in its ideals but primitive in its behaviour. The heads of the Congress Governments, at the Centre and in the Provinces, must realise that at present they are lowering the standards everywhere and unless the menace be checked in time, this freedom, won by the People at such a terrible cost of sacrifice and misery, might be frittered away by the Leaders of the nation. The heads of the Government must realise that they are gradually estranging themselves from the people in the way they are proceeding.

There is a tame Legislature and Parliament at Delhi and the same is the case in the provinces. And the reason why is not far to seek. For a considerable time past, the Powers-that-be in the Working Committee, virtually nominated the A.-I. C. C., and the A.-I. C. C. in its turn dominated the Provincial Congress Committees. The Provincial Committees moulded the District Committees and so on and so forth. The nation was frantically eager for freedom after over a century of ruthless exploitation and merciless repression and therefore neither asked quesitons nor reasoned why. They were willing to be led by anyone in the name of freedom without looking at the antecedents of that leader. And therefore these Tammany Hall methods of Caucus rule was tolerated for the want of a better system. As a consequence we have today party-boss rule almost all over the country, and these party-bosses have seen to it that only the tamest and dumbest of their henchmen be sent to the Legislatures and Assemblies. Indeed it would not be wrong to say that 80 per cent—if not more—of the members of the Legislatures and Assemblies are nominated members, nominated by their party-bosses and not elected by the free will of the country's nationals. Our leaders must realise that this arrangement runs counter to the basic ideals of the Congress and violates the accepted principles of democracy.

In the total absence of any opposition or even that of a "ginger-group," the Government remains unaware of pitfalls and becomes pussillanimous in normal times and vacillatory and erratic in emergencies. This fact has become patently manifest in Delhi through the course of the year that is coming to a close. Our leaders, including our beloved Mahatma Gandhi, must beware of this fact. No country can travel far on the path of progress if its heads alternate between blissful somnolence and violent emotional agitation.

We find that our great ones are yet moving along

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their individual emotional impulses. Do the Congress leaders realise that their first and foremost duty is to serve those of the Indian nationals through whose staunch support, firm determination and immense sacrifices these leaders have attained the eminence and power they enjoy today? We confess that we are unable as yet to perceive any realism or even any desire to serve in those in whose hands the reins of the State have been placed through the sanction of the people. We observed with dismay the irresponsibility and light-heartedness with which vital Cabinet portfolios and Foreign service posts of paramount importance were handed out like prize-books at a school annual function, without any consideration as to the fitness or suitability of the incumbent to the post and without weighing the consequences, if the man proved to be a broken reed. Delhi today, as ever, is the Eldorado of the careerist, the office-hunter and the myrmidons of the profiteer and the black-marketer. Square-pegs are still being placed in round holes by the arbiters of the nation's destiny. Efficiency is being shouldered aside by sycophancy and sterling worth, experience and specialised knowledge count as nought as against skill in party-jobbery and intrigue. And most of the provincial administrations have taken the cue from Delhi and at least one well-established "Congress province" is out-Heroding Herod. Acharya Kripalani is more than justified in stating that "the unfortunate fact remains that red-tapism, jobbery, corruption, bribery, black-marketing, profiteering are as rampant today as they were in the days of the British." He should have added that nepotism, favouritism and party-jobbery evils threaten to set up records unsurpassed even by the Quisling governments under the League-Linlithgow administration. Do our leaders consider the task of nation-building in India not arduous enough that they allow the Indian Union to backslide into a vast Augean stable in this fashion?

The Congress of today must redeem its pledges to its real supporters who formed the masses that rose and fought for freedom against desperate odds, without guidance and without aid. Or else this Congress must and will have to make way for a nationalism more vitally alive to the grim realities of nation-building, just as the Moderate Congress and the Liberal Congress had to stand aside before Mahatma Gandhi's passive-resistance movement. A nation cannot be experimented upon for ever like a cat under chloroform, just to satisfy the pet theories of its leaders, however great and eminent they might be. We have to make this statement, more in sorrow than in anger, because we are unable to appreciate the erratic actions of our leaders and their still more puzzling utterances. For example, we confess we could not perceive either logic or realism in the "back-to-Pakistan" resolution in A.-I. C. C., in regard to the Hindu and Sikh refugees. And further, we confess,, we are unable to percieve, in the light of our harrowing experiences in the dire calamities of the 1943 famine, any constructive reasoning in Mahatma Gandhi's tirade against Controls in the absence of a full and unfailing guarantee of protection to the poor and needy against the filthy lust for gain that is ever present in the atrophied hearts of those who control the trade in the people's food and raiment.

Bengal and the Congress Ministry

Reaction is inevitable in any democratic country, sooner or later according to the degree of political consciousness of its peoples, if the government continues to insist on imposing its will on the nationals of that country, without any consideration for the opinion, needs and necessities or feelings of the majority. The reaction becomes more and more pronounced as the people progressively realise that they are being denied those very rights, inherent in the principle of self-determination, for which they have fought and suffered for generations, by the self-same leaders who only yesterday were totally dependant on their support. If that leader who, through a pledge of democracy and selfless service, has been able to climb to the high pedestal of authority through the will and sanction of the people, starts looking down from it on the people with the superior air of an autocrat, ignoring their will, needs and desires, then he is only asking for repudiation. If he continues to air his whims and fads and to give vent to his psychological complexes, without any regard for the feelings of his own people, relying solely on the acclaim and adulation of his creatures whom he has secured as henchmen through the lavish distribution of office and largesse at the cost of the long-suffering tax-payer, then catastrophe will follow, sure as fate. *Vox populi, Vox Dei* is not a mere hackneyed saw today, it is an axiomatic, living truth.

Arrogance, obduracy, intolerance of criticism and chronic self-opinionatedness might be admirable traits in a totalitarian Dictator, but they cannot be called democratic virtues by any stretch of imagination. Resentment will follow with the progressive realisation by the people that pledges are not being redeemed, that the people's needs and desires are being ignored and that unworthy persons are being placed in authority through nepotism, favouritism and party-jobbery crowned with inexperience, on whom the people cannot place any reliance. This, for example, is patently the case in West Bengal today under the Ghosh Ministry.

The people of West Bengal feel that they are being deprived of their rights, for example, there has been no formation of the Zonal Congress Committee for which the A.-I. C. C. President issued a directive. Further the people of West Bengal feel that their opinion or will counts for little with Mr. Prafulla Ghosh, who relies on the party-caucus of the B.P.C.C. and the benevolence of the A.-I. C. C. to keep him in office. We do not wish to go into further details in view of the recent deplorable anti-Security Act demonstrations—which we cannot condemn too strongly—in which the immature youth of Calcutta was made a cat's paw for ulterior motives. But we must state that the resentment against the Ghosh Ministry has substantial grounds.

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Acharya Kripalani's Resignation

The Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, asked the All-India Congress Committee, which met at New Delhi on November 15, to relieve him of the responsibility of Presidentship and to treat his deicsion as irrevocable. Mahatma Gandhi attended the meeting and supporting the stand taken up by Acharya Kripalani told the Committee that either it should accept the resignation of the President or agree to his point of view. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected Congress President in succession to Acharya Kripalani. The election was unanimous. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who is now holding the portfolio of Food and Agriculture in the Central Government will resign his Ministership but will probably retain the Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly which may hereafter be made a paid office. The following is the full text of his statement :

Looking back over the ghastly tragedy of the last two months, I have no doubt that we would have been wise if before agreeing to partition we had made Mr. Jinnah face the logical consequences of his theory of two-nations. We did not and do not believe in this pernicious theory and yet by accepting the June 3 Plan, we were more or less driven to adopt it as the basis of partition. However, my purpose in inviting your attention to this tragedy is not to discuss the past but to seek light for the future so that we may face it with one mind and with clear conception of the issues at stake.

Those of our Muslim countrymen, and they formed the overwhelming majority of the Muslim community, who, misguided by the League leadership, helped in the establishment of Pakistan, assure us today that they no more believe in the two-nation theory. They are as vehement in their loyalty to the Indian Union as they were for the division of the country. Although we welcome these verbal expressions of loyalty, it is only by their deeds that this loyalty can be tested. Nor is repentance in itself sufficient to wipe out the evil consequences of the mischief already perpetrated.

The last few months' experience should teach us that it is easy to divide the country but not so easy to divide the peace of the country. In spite of the national and non-communal basis of our State, we cannot ignore the fact that whatever is done in Pakistan has its inevitable repercussion in India. We should, therefore, frankly tell the League-minded Muslims that though we, Congressmen, and our Governments are determined to protect them, we cannot do so merely on the strength of our police and army. A democracy cannot put down the common man by sheer force of arms.

The safety of the Muslims must come from their Hindu neighbours who form a majority of the population and from whom the majority in the ranks of the police and the army must come. These will not be active in affording this protection unless they know that their co-religionists in Pakistan are getting a fair deal.

If that is so the Muslim community must organize itself to bring pressure on Pakistan to do justice to its minorities. This is the only way that it can show its loyalty to the Indian Union at this critical juncture. If the Muslim community fails in this effort it must be ready to help the Indian Union to adopt whatever pressure international practice prescribes to settle disputes between two independent States.

It is no good shutting one's eyes to facts. We must face them boldly and make up our minds as to what we must do if we wish to preserve the freedom we have won after years of suffering and sacrifice. The issue at stake is the very existence of our State. It is time we realized that the politics of the Muslim League and the principles which govern its policy in Pakistan are the very negation of all that the Congress had stood for and one which we seek to build our own State in India. We believe in a secular, democratic State, and whatever the provocation and whatever measures we may be obliged to adopt to safeguard its security, we cannot think in terms of a communal State.

The League, on the other hand, with its creed of Islamic exclusiveness, its cult of communal hatred and its practice of terrorism and treachery is an exact replica of the German Nazis. The more we appease its appetite the more it will devour till like the Nazis in Europe, it will become a menace to the peace of Asia. If we do not take a firm stand today and prepare against this menace, we shall, like Chamberlain's England, rue our folly.

I do not suggest that we would declare war on Pakistan. Far from it. On the contrary, I hope and pray that such an unhappy contingency will never arise. But I do believe that the only way to avoid the ghastly tragedy of a war between India and Pakistan is to make India strong. There are many sanctions, economic and other, short of war, which we can use to help Pakistan see that friendly and amicable relations with India are to the mutual advantage of both the countries. Fear of the consequences of one's folly is a salutary factor in enforcing international, if not also individual, morality.

Our first and foremost duty today, therefore, is to sink all our petty inter-group or personal differences in one Herculean effort to build up a powerful State which will be a bulkwark of peace. I am a believer in non-violence, but I understand the logic of violence. Our State, like every other State, maintains an army and must use it when occasion demands it. Weakness, I hold, is a crime. If we lack the supreme courage of non-violence and the will to follow the Gandhian way, let us at least have the common courage of disciplined violence. We have enough of resources and more than enough of manpower. *All we need is organization and drive to train and equip our men so that every city, every town and every village should have a disciplined citizen-army, which will be an instrument of service in peace and a guarantee of security in war.* As far as I know the popular mind, the people are only too anxious to co-operate with the Government in such an organization.

I dare say the Government are aware of the urgency of the situation and are perhaps planning such a drive, but so far there has been little evidence of it, with the result that the people, instead of being inspired with enthusiasm and confidence, are daily becoming restive and critical and looking to communal organisations for a lead

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in this matter. After all, in politics, we must not only do the right thing but also appear to be doing so.

The people must also realize that a nation's strength is to be measured not by the size of its armies but by the ability of the common citizen to rise to the occasion. The State can cope with external menace, only if it can count on the disciplined loyalty of its people. No State can be strong where the people are prone at the slightest provocation to take the law into their hands. Whatever the provocations, the kind of lawlessness that recently disfigured the face of Delhi was the greatest disservice that our people could have done to the State.

Apart from the moral degradation involved in lynching innocent men and women for crimes of their co-religionists elsewhere, such anarchy is the very negation of the conditions necessary for protecting our new-found freedom. If the people have a grievance, they must look to the Government to take the necessary steps and if the Government of the day are not willing or able to do so, they can demand a change in the Government. But they have no right to deprive others of the elementary rights of citizenship for no other crime than that of belonging to a different religion.

Even a criminal in a civilized State has a right to live, unless the State after a fair trial deprives him of it. It is degrading and barbaric of us to assume that a Muslim because he is a Muslim is unworthy to be a citizen of this State. All that we can demand is that those Muslims whose past record or present behaviour makes their loyalty to the State suspect should not be trusted with responsible positions in the services, in the interest of the safety of the State. But in no case can the people arrogate to themselves functions which properly belong to the Government. Thereby they will only weaken the State and wreck the very foundations of a stable and civilized existence.

There are at present two sources of friction between India and Pakistan which, unless eliminated or wisely controlled in time, may develop into major conflicts or war. One relates to the problem of the minorities, the other to Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. In relation to both these problems it is desirable that our leaders in the Government should take the A.-I.C.C. into confidence and tell us what the present position is and what the Government's future stand is likely to be. On both these issues the nation is deeply agitated and Congressmen ought to know enough of the Government's policy to be able to explain and justify it to the people.

We cannot absolve ourselves of our responsibility towards the minorities in Pakistan. They were part of our nation as much as we are. They suffered and fought as our comrades in the struggle for freedom. They believe as fervently in the Congress ideal of a united India as we did. It is not they but we who voted for the acceptance of the June 3 Plan which has deprived them of the fruits of freedom and placed them at the mercy of a party in whose ideals they did not believe. And yet as loyal Congressmen they accepted our decision in good faith, believing that it was for the good of India as a whole.

They believe in our assurance that their rights in [illegible] adequately safeguarded. How the we disown responsibility towards them today? How we allow them to be treated as worse than pari Pakistan? How dare we deny or grudge them shelter they come to us fleeing from terror worse than de You have then to lay down a policy for all our pro to follow. With intelligent planning and proper co-or tion, we should be able to absorb in our economy million people. It may take time to do so, but the should not be beyond our resources.

What, however, is exasperating is not the natu the task but the fact that in this, as in several matters, we do not know where we stand. *We seem living from hand to mouth and have left the initia the hands of Pakistan. We ought to have anticipate contingency of a transfer of populations being force us and should have provided for it in the June 3 A ment.* As it is, we have been obliged to accept it regard to the Punjab. Although Sind, Baluchistan the Frontier are not included in the arrangement, we faced with the fact of a daily exodus of the Hindus these provinces. Fortunately, the situation in Beng comparatively better but he would be a rash prophet said that a similar contingency would not arise there. we going to let the initiative in this matter to rest Pakistan so that whenever it suits its Government it h the minorities out of its land and forces us to ma refugee camps in perpetuity? How long are the mino in each Dominion to look for protection and shelte the Government of the other Dominion?

The situation is illogical and intolerable. We finally make up our minds whether the Governmen Pakistan can be trusted to look after the minorities we are convinced that it cannot, then the sooner we them over and allow such Muslims as wish to migra Pakistan to do so, the better it is in the interest of the Governments.

If, on the other hand, we feel reasonably con that the Pakistan Government is sincere in its profe to guarantee equal rights to the minorities, then we by mutual agreement fix a time-limit within which ci ship will be freely inter-changeable. We must then Central and provincial regulations, if any, about s and settlement in particular areas of the Indian for those coming from Pakistan. After the expiry fixed date the protection of minorities will be the sive concern of the State whose citizenship they have tarily chosen to accept. Some such arrangement is only cure of what threatens to be a chronic disease.

I also feel that since the Congress is a national not an international organization, it is inconsistent us to maintain Congress parties in Pakistan, once the tion period is over. As it is, we are faced with s anomalies. Many office-bearers of the Frontier, Punjab, East Bengal and Sind P.C.C.s and members provincial Assemblies there have left their respective Do they continue to represent the Congress organiz there? These are matters about which the A.-I.C.C. [illegible] clear guidance to the Working Committee. sonally, I feel that the indefinite continuance of the

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gress Party in Pakistan and of the Muslim League Party in India is illogical, inconsistent and fraught with complexities.

Coming to the States, I am glad that our Government have declared their policy in clear and firm terms. Kashmir has acceded to the Indian Union and unless and until the people of Kashmir have constitutionally declared their will otherwise, the Government of India shall meet any unwarranted interference or aggression from outside with all the resources at their command. Nor will the Indian Government recognize or tolerate the so-called independent status of Hyderabad. Fortunately, the Junagdh episode promises to end satisfactorily. While the Indian Government have consistently maintained their democratic stand that the will of the people must be the decisive factor in determining the State's accession, the Pakistan authorities, in their frantic intrigues to grab what they can, have landed themselves in the illogical and absurd position of justifying the Nawab when he flouted his people's will and of repudiating his action when he was obliged to respect their will.

I congratulate the Government on their firm action in Kashmir which, though belated, has fortunately succeeded in checkmating the well-planned plot of the Pakistan Government to terrorize the State into submission. The initial success that has been attained by our Army is a tribute to its courage and efficiency. But we must not suppose that we are as yet out of the woods. Winter will soon make operations in Kashmir difficult. We must take immediate steps to see that our forces there are not isolated or unduly handicapped by the road being blocked by snow. I assure the Government that whatever measures are necessary to fulfil our obligations to the people of these States will have the willing and whole-hearted co-operation of our people.

Congress Objective

There is yet another problem of which I wish to invite your attention, and that is the problem of the Congress objective and of the Congress organization. *Now that the basic aim of the Congress, which was the achievement of independence by peaceful and legitimate means, may be taken to have been achieved, should the Congress as an organization and as a political party continue to exist and, if so, what should be its programme?* I have no doubt in my mind that the need of the Congress to function as a well-knit, disciplined political party is as great today as ever. Even in the recent communal frenzy, it is Congressmen who have kept themselves comparatively free from the prevalent hysteria and by their influence helped the various provincial Governments to maintain the peace and whatever communal harmony there is. Nor is there in India today another political party that can immediately and effectively fill the gap, were the Congress to disappear from the scene. Moreover, the Congress in the course of its struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership has evolved a concept of freedom which comprehends a programme of social and economic reconstruction, not yet realized. We believed not only in an India freed of British rule but in a non-violent democratic society built on decentralized economy which will eliminate economic exploitation of one class by another without investing the State with the monopoly of political and economic exploitation, which is what happens in the centralized economy of a Communist or Fascist State. This concept was symbolized in the Charkha on our Flag.

To work out the scheme of decentralization the Congress under Gandhiji's lead created the Charkha, *gramudyog* and the *talimi sanghs*. Does the Congress yet hold to the principles and policies underlying these associations? Or do we consider that the three institutions, brought into being by resolutions of the Congress, merely represent the unpractical fads of Gandhiji which we accepted as the price of his leanership? In the former case, the Congress Governments, now that they wield effective power, must carry out the policies worked out by these associations and profit by their knowledge and experience. In the latter case, we must be honest enough to admit that these policies being unpractical are no longer acceptable to our Governments and cannot be given effect to by them. The Congress might then dissociate itself from these associations by some kind of declaration or resolution. Not to take either course is to create confusion within the Congress and uncertainty in the nation.

On the other hand, we may not forget that if India is to survive as a free nation in the modern world of aggressive ambitions and heavy armaments, and since the nation seems to have decided that the State cannot be based upon pure non-violence, India must have a powerful army and certain heavy basic industries. We have then to review the whole structure of our economy and finally make up our minds as to what sort of a State we want. That it shall be democratic State we are all agreed. But what sort of a democratic State? Do we believe in a capitalist economy with its unlimited scope for private enterprise and unrestricted profits? Or do we envisage State Socialism of the orthodox Western pattern, with its highly centralized economy, State-ownership of all means of production, and supremacy of the bureaucrat? Or shall we utilize such wisdom as Gandhiji has taught us and experiment with an unorthodox pattern of socialist economy, where industry will as far as possible be decentralized and such enterprises as cannot be so decentralized will be run either on a co-operative basis or owned or controlled by the State? In either case, whether of the orthodox or unorthodox pattern, we have to ask: *Have we an adequate, efficient and irreproachably honest army of civil servants who can be trusted to plan, manage or control production and distribution on behalf of the State?*

We have a programme for the abolition of zamindaris which the Congress Ministries in the provinces are in the process of putting through. Are we going to rest content with abolishing the zamindaris or have we a plan for so ordering our agricultural economy as to increase production as well? Whatever plans we have, they have to be executed by the civil service which was trained by the British for one purpose and which has to be utilized by us for quite a different purpose. *I know that our leaders who before they took over the Government used to denounce the civil service as inefficient and corrupt have suddenly discovered its* [illegible] We take their word for it, though

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there is a general suspicion that the services, even where they are loyal to their present bosses, have not changed their attitude to their real masters, the public.

However, the unfortunate fact remains that red-tapism, jobbery, corruption, bribery, black-marketing and profiteering are as rampant today as they were in the days of the British.

In the streets of Delhi, on the pavements of Connaught Place, black-marketing goes on flagrantly and shamelessly. Where is the police and the dreaded C.I.D. that used to dog our footsteps? Why can't they bring the black-marketers and the anti-social criminals to the dock? The common man is as much the victim of injustice and exploitation today as he was before the National Flag was hoisted over the Secretriat.

Even more unfortunate is the evidence of decay in the calibre and morale of our political workers. The unity that held us together in the days of struggle and suffering is being increasingly marred by factions and divisions based more on personal rivalry than on any discoverable principles. The spirit of sacrifice and idealism that sustained us and made us what we were is being replaced by competition in our politics. It is tragic that we should disintegrate at a time when we need all our strength, unity and moral resources to justify the hopes that the nation has reposed in us. For if the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?

All these are questions which we must ponder over and to cope with which we must mobilize all our moral and material resources.

Congress And The Government

This brings me to the issue which demands consideration in the present context. It has perturbed my mind ever since my election as President of this organization. What should be the relation of the Congress Executive or the Working Committee to the Government at the Centre? This is a matter which is bound to affect for good or ill not only the character of the Central Government in the new set-up but the position of the Congress in the country. The indefiniteness of this relation has already caused confusion in the minds of Congressmen and the general public who do not know and cannot yet understand where the responsibility for any particular decision or the want of it lies.

How is the Congress to give to the Government its active and enlightened co-operation unless its highest executive or at least its popularly chosen head is taken into full confidence on important matters that affect the nation? If there is no free and full co-operation between the Governments and the Congress organization the result is misunderstanding and confusion, such as is prevalent today in the ranks of the Congress and in the minds of the people. Nor can the Congress serve as a living and effective link between the Government and the people unless the leadership in the Government and in the Congress work in the closest harmony.

It is the party which is in constant touch with the people in villages and in towns and reflects changes in their will and temper. It is the party from which the Government of the day derives its power. Any action which weakens the organization of the party or lo its prestige in the eyes of the people must sooner or l undermine the position of the Government. If, there the present confusion is not checked in time, I am af the Congress as an organization will speedily disinteg and its place in the national life will be captured by e some organization, may be of militant communalism, or the Communist Party.

I have discussed this problem with my colleagues the Working Committee on more than one occasion have also sought Gandhiji's light on it. While no disputes the necessity of a close and harmonious co-ope tion between the Government and the Congress Execu the difficulty is how to achieve it. The need for this operation is recognized in theory but I find it missing practice. It may be due to the fact that all of us are united on basic policies. Or it may be that this co-operat is lacking because I who happen to be President of organization do not enjoy the confidence of my colleag in the Central Cabinet. If that is so, then I should the last person to stand in the way of what is necess in the interest of this nation.

If by eliminating myself I could make room for co-operation between the Government and my succes none would be happier than myself. I sought Gandhi advice and he agreed with me that under the circu stances I was justified in resigning. And so I placed resignation before the Working Committee. But in vi of the critical situation then prevailing in the coun my colleagues were unwilling to relieve me of my re ponsibility. In deference to their wishes I agreed to co tinue. Any longer continuance is, I feel, dangerous bo for the Congress and the country.

Realizing the critical situation in the country, a heav responsibility rests on the shoulders of my colleagues the Government. They are tried and trusted leade of the people and are guided in their action by the highe motive of service to the nation. I am, therefore, loth take any step that may divert the attention of the peo from the immediate task of strengthening the State. Neve theless by allowing the present confusion in the relati between the Working Committee and the Government continue, we shall in the long run weaken both the Gover ment and the Congress. I, therefore, want you to co sider this question calmly and dispassionately and af hearing all viewpoints and viewing all considerations give a clear and positive directive which must in futu govern this relation. In your discussion you will plea avoid the personal factor. It has no place in considerin the present situation. You will also treat my decision be irrevocable.

You have also to decide about the composition the Working Committee. It is today overweighed wi members who occupy office in the Government, either Ce tral or provincial. Last year though you left the discre tion to the President in the matter it was the feeling the House that not more than a third of the Committe should consist of such members. I respected this wish the House in forming my Working Committee last yea but since then several of my colleagues have accepte

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office and the original proportion has been upset. At present a majority of members of the Working Committee are in the Government. I would like you to give my successor a clear directive in this matter of the composition of the Working Committee.

I know that by resigning at this critical juncture I am taking a grave decision. It is possible that my point of view may not be appreciated. It is even possible that my motive may be misunderstood. But I must take that risk if I am to be true to myself and to the charge that is placed in my hands. I must, therefore, efface myself. I do so in the assurance that the national interests which we all hold so dear will be safe in their hands.

India Govt.'s State Policy

Sardar Patel explained the Government of India's policy regarding the States in a public meeting held at Rajkot on November 12. Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, in the words of Sardar Patel, were the only problems left out of a difficult legacy handed down to India by a departing Britain which quite naturally desired at the time of its departure not to displease either the Princes or the people—either Hindus, or Muslims or Sikhs.

He told his audience that the real purpose of his visit to Kathiawar was the disentanglement of the many knotty problems which the sudden collapse of authority in Junagadh had created not only for the people of Junagadh but the whole of Kathiawar.

Recalling how the Nawab of Junagadh had left the State "without a shot being fired," Sardar Patel maintainel that the trouble had been brought upon the Nawab's head by the wrong advice which he received from the people who were bent upon mischief and by machinations of the Pakistan Government itself.

Pakistan had no business, he said, to meddle with Junagadh. When we accepted partition we did so in the hope of a final settlement of a brotherly dispute. We felt that satisfying the obstinate demand of a brother who had been a part of the joint family we would bring peace to both of us and prosperity to all. But hardly had partition been effected when the Punjab disturbances engulfed us. Nevertheless we took particular care to avoid creating any obstacles in the way of Pakistan's relationship with the States with whom such relationship was quite natural.

"We did not attempt to seduce any of their States into our fold. But it was they who throughout made it a business to create difficulties and obstacles for us as much and as often as possible.

"Even then we had no intention of marching our troops into the Junagadh territory but then the Provisional Government led by Sj. Samaldas Gandhi took a hand. They took village after village and reached Kuntyana. It was then that the advisers of the Nawab, who had already fled, realised that the game was up. They left, leaving the people who had financed them, in utter predicament."

Narrating the circumstances which preceded the final debacle, Sardar Patel pointed out that the Dewan's decision to hand over the administration to the Indian Dominion was reached after Major Harvey Jones had been denied assistance by the Pakistan Government and after the Council and the people had been taken into consultation.

It was no hasty decision but a calculated move to accept the inevitable. The Dewan informed the Pakistan Government of what he was doing. We waited for 24 hours to see how Pakistan would react. But there was no response whatsoever. We then decided to march in order not only to preserve the peace in Junagadh but also to forestall its adverse repercussion in the whole of Kathiawar.

Sardar Patel emphatically repudiated Pakistan's contention that the Dewan had no authority to take the action that he did. He had the assent of the Nawab of Junagadh and backing of the people. What other authority under any conception of sovereignty did the Dewan need in support of his action?

It was, however, Pakistan's practice to use all sorts of devices in order to call in question anything that the Indian Dominion did. They would cry or use threat, sometimes they would blow hot and sometimes cold. The Dewan in a more congenial atmosphere in Karachi had suddenly realised that he had not handed over the administration completely to the Indian Dominion.

But his letter is crystal clear and he cannot naturally expect us to hand over the State on a plate after all the misdeeds of himself and his other officers and the desertion of the Nawab. We have said more than once that the final arbiters on this issue are the people and it is by their verdict that we shall be guided. I can assure everybody that the verdict would be a real verdict ascertained in a truly deomcratic manner. We cannot imitate the methods which Pakistan utilised in forcing a decision in Kashmir.

Rampur which was the first to declare its accession to the Indian Dominion witnessed the first fruits of Pakistan's malevolence. We met this challenge resolutely and the resistance collapsed. Then they sought a foothold in Junagadh. We warned them, we begged of them, we reasoned with them but obstinacy was not conquered.

We could not naturally be blind to the consequences which this interference with our affairs entailed and the States which had acceded to us long before they took the final plunge in Junagadh. It was with this idea of safeguarding the rights of the acceding States and peace of Kathiawar that we had to take precautionary measures and send troops to Manavadar, Mangrol and Babariawad.

Sardar Patel also recounted the recent events in Kashmir where again Pakistan had intervened in the crudest and worst form that any foreign power could have done in the affairs of a neighbouring State.

"But the future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people. Despite the attempts of Pakistan to avoid this commitment in the case of Hyderabad and despite their attempts to avoid facing facts in Junagadh the will of the people will have its way. If Hyderabad does not see the writing on the wall it goes the way Junagadh has gone."

Turning to the general question of responsible Government in the States Sardar Patel emphasised that as one

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who had done more than anyone else to preserve the true rights of the Princes he felt that Princes could survive only as trustees of the people.

"Let them not heed any false or fraudulent advice which interested persons engaged in the pursuit of selfish ends might offer them. Instead let them carry the people with them. Princes and people belong to one family and their best and mutual interest lies in remaining as a family rather than behaving as foes. But at the same time it was the duty of the people to prove themselves worthy of the great responsibility which a democratic regime entailed."

He recalled that Cochin had seen recently the farthest advance yet made on the road to responsible Government but how despite full co-operation of the Ruler, the responsible Government in the State had come to grief.

Sardar Patel had a special word of advice to say to Hindus and Muslims of Kathiawar. He recalled how in the past Muslims of Kathiawar had contributed to the League propaganda of two-nation theory and how they had taken part in League politics. "But I have forgotten the past which is dead and gone. Gone if only they will treat with us as such. But if they still feel an attachment to the two-nation theory and look to an outside power they have no place in Kathiawar.

"It was to put an end to this dual loyalty that we agreed to create Pakistan so that those who prefer to abide in the faith can find a place where they can pursue it. In India there is no place for such persons. If they stay in India it can only be as loyal citizens, otherwise they have to be treated as foreigners with all the attendant disabilities. They should live in India like brothers and in harmony with non-Muslims."

He enjoined upon the Hindus to follow Mahatma Gandhi in his creed of non-violence. He recalled how recent disturbances had disgraced India in the eyes of the world and it was for them to win back their lost reputation by correct behaviour and noble conduct; at the same time he deplored the tendency to get panicky.

"If we have to die we must die like brave men. As human beings with a sense of human dignity we cannot die crying."

Sardar Patel made a moving reference to his intimate contact with the late Ruler of Rajkot, Raja Lekhaji Raj, and the historic fast which nine years ago Gandhiji undertook in furtherance of responsible Government in the States.

"It is, therefore, a great source of satisfaction to me and a real pleasure that the Thakore Saheb was good enough to write to me only this morning that he issued instructions to his Dewan to implement the agreement, which had been reached between me and the late Ruler on December 26, 1938 in the circumstances, the speed and drama of which had baffled even the then Resident, Mr. Gibson. By this action the Thakore Saheb has demonstrated a high sense of public duty and has kept up the pledge given by his brother."

He wanted Hindus and Muslims to forget the past and to live happily together. "To make it possible Muslims in India search their conscience and ascertain if they are really loyal to this country. If they are let them go to the country which claims their allegiance.

Finally he felt he should make it clear to the audience that there was no question of India being unable to stand up to the threats which had been held out. Pakistan actions were probably prompted by the feeling that India was in trouble and therefore fomentation of trouble in the States would make matters worse.

"I assure you that we are not going to let the grass grow under our feet. Even if all these troubles come at the same time, we have got resources which would enable us to stand up to all of them at the same time. If they are anxious to challenge us, we would be ready to accept it.

"Let no State have evil designs on us or dream of extending its hegemony. Let them not entertain the false hope of any Jatistan or Rajasthan or Sikhistan. If they persist all these dreamers will soon be disillusioned. Instead let them realise which way their true interest lies.

"I bear Pakistan no ill-will, I wish them godspeed; let them only leave us to pursue our own salvation and stop meddling into our affairs even in places like faraway Tripura. We shall then each settle down to our respective destiny; maybe after we have become prosperous they will awaken themselves to the need for reunion in the best interest of both.

"It is neither our business nor our intention to force a reunion. We only wish to be left alone so that both can live in peace and prosperity, happiness and harmony."

Sardar Patel on Relations with Hyderabad

Sardar Patel, Minister for Home Affairs and States told the members of the Indian Parliament that the Agreement with Hyderabad had been signed. Explaining the Agreement he said that under the settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State except Paramountcy functions were to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year.

The Deputy Prime Minister said that a permanent accession would have been "in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad," but he fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State and consistent with our policy to secure agreement not by coercion but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, Government felt that that an agreement even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever.

Sardar Patel said: "With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of the negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has

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been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the agreement signed this morning as well as a copy of the collateral letters exchanged between H. E. H. the Nizam and H. E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the rulers resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representative of H. E. H. the Nizam also, at the same time I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached.

At the same time H. E. H. the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him a extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General with the concurrence of the Cabinet undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the delegation sent by H. E. H. and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old delegation resigned and a new one was sent by H. E. H. the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for, placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise, that Hon'ble members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes. I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

Hyderabad

The stand-still agreement between India and Hyderabad has been signed after protracted negotiations. The agreement is in exactly the same form as the one previously agreed to with the Chhatari delegation. The Majlis Ittehadul Muslemin of Hyderabad took exception to this form and by violent demonstrations, prevented the Chhatari delegation from going to New Delhi after consultations with the Nizam. Nawab of Chhatari then resigned. Others who figured prominently in negotiations on behalf of Hyderabad were Sir Mirza Ismail during whose Premiership the negotiations were initiated; Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to Nizam; Nawab Ali Yar Jung, former Minister for Constitutional Affairs in the Nizam's Government and Sir Sultan Ahmed. Sir Walter Monckton and Sir Sultan Ahmed withdrew from the Negotiation Committee following strong opposition to the trend of the negotiations voiced by the Ittehadul Muslemin. Earlier, Nawab Ali Yar Jung resigned his office for similar reasons. The delegation was led by Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung when the agreement was signed. Government of India's representative had fourteen meetings with the various delegations during prolonged negotiations.

According to the Agreement, the Nizam will have no power to appoint diplomatic Agents in any foreign country or any country of the British Commonwealth.

The Agreement shall not impose any right on Indian Union to station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

With regard to the Nizam maintaining an Agent-General in London, it is pointed out that Hyderabad had an Agent-General even before August 15. He can appoint such officers wherever he desires but they will not have any diplomatic status or functions and their work will be confined to matters of trade and commerce, that is, trade interest on behalf of Hyderabad. They will have to work in co-ordination with Indian Trade Commissioners and with Indian Diplomatic Officers. In other words, they will work under Indian Supervision.

The following is the text of the Agreement:

Agreement made this twenty-ninth day of November, 1947 between the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Whereas it is the aim and policy of the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to work together in close association and amity for the mutual benefit of both but a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached; and whereas it is to the advantage of both parties that existing agreements and

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administrative arrangements in matters of common concern should, pending such final agreement as aforesaid, be continued:

Now, therefore, it is hereby agreed as follows:

Article 1. Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 15th August, 1947 shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam.

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion:

(1) To send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order.

(2) To station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

Article 2. The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purposes of this agreement to appoint agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

Article 3. (*i*) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any paramountcy relationship.

(*ii*) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

Article 4. Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators.

Article 5. This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year.

In confirmation whereof the Governer-General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.

Mir Osman Ali Khan,
Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar,
Mountbatten of Burma,
Governor-General of India.

Nizam-Mountbatten Correspondence

An exchange of correspondence between Lord Mountbatten and Nizam took place on the day before the agreement was signed. The following is the correspondence:

The Nizam in his letter to the Governor-General regrets that a final agreement "as to the eventual nature of the association between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India" has not been reached and says that short accession either to India or to Pakistan he has been re to negotiate with the Government of India "upon a other basis." He hopes that within the period of duration of the agreement "both Governments will be a to turn their attention more fully to the problems administration without constant preoccupation with question of constitutional relationship."

There is also the question which has been much cussed between my delegation and the representatives your Government about diplomatic and trade represen tives for Hyderabad abroad. I am prepared to exec the agreement on the understanding that the Governm of the Dominion will take no objection to the maintenan of the Hyderabad Agent-General in U.K. or to the a pointment of similar representatives in any other coun I shall be prepared to arrange for the complete co-ordi tion of the work of these representatives with the di matic and commercial representatives of the Dominion India in such countries and to inform you in advance any representatives whom I may decide to appoint. I confident that your Excellency's Government will be equ ready to co-operate with mine in regard to the import export trade of Hyderabad.

There are several matters which have been outstan ling between us for some time and which I should l to see cleared out of the way as soon as the agreem comes into force:

(1) No paramountcy functions remain to be exerci nor was the Hyderabad Residency retained except as house for the British Resident when there was one in past. In these circumstances I should be glad if y Government would now hand it over to Hyderabod. S able arrangements can be immediately made about treasury and your treasury officials.

It is of course manifest that my rights in regard such matters as currency, coinage and postal rights in no way impaired by the Standstill Agreement. I sho be glad if Your Excellency would give me an express surance that the rights to which I have just referred tinue undiminished.

I should like to take this opportunity of suggest that, in relation to passport the Dominion of India sho agree, as a matter of convenience in a question which becoming urgent, to the Chief Secretary of my Gove ment or some other appropriate officer issuing passp to Hyderabad subjects which would be countersigned the Dominion.

I am sure that in entering into this agreement b our Governments intend to do all they can to prevent s versive movements and propaganda in the territory of other.

I know well Your Excellency's interests in all sh taken to abate communal antagonism. It may therefo be of interest to you to know that in conformity w earlier declarations on my part, I propose to issue a man in the immediate future expressing my firm reso to protect the lives, rights and interests of all my subje alike, irrespective of caste or creed.

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Mountbatten's Letter

The following is the copy of a letter from His Excellency the Governor-General to H. E. the Nizam, dated the 29th November, 1947:

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Exalted Highness's letter dated 29th November and the agreement. While my Government and I note that Your Exalted Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan we very much regret that you should have been unable to execute an Instrument of Accession with India. Both my Minister for States in his statement of July 5 and I myself in my speech of July 25 to the representatives of the States have made it clear that it is the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain the sovereignty of the States and to work with them as full partners in the administration of the three subjects proposed for accession. My Government cordially reciprocate your hope that, given goodwill on both sides, the working of the Standstill Agreement will provide a basis for a satisfactory long-term solution. Placed as Hyderabad is, its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India; and my Government hope that before the present agreement expires, it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India.

My Government will be prepared to discuss with your representatives as soon as possible the question of handing over the posts, telegraphs and telephones; and also the future strength and equipment of the Hyderabad forces.

As regards the supply of arms and equipment the Dominion Government will be able to supply for legitimate requirements.

My Government have no obejction to your maintaining an Agent-General in London and appointing similar representatives elsewhere, if necessary. In this connection they are very glad to have your assurance, to which you will appreciate that the Government of India attach great importance, that the activities of such representatives will be fully co-ordinated with those of the representatives of the Dominion of India and will be confined to matters properly relating to trade and commerce.

The Government of India are certainly prepared to co-operate with Hyderabad fully in regard to its import trade.

As regards the points raised in para IV of your letter, my Government have authorised me to say as follows:—

1. My Government gladly agree that the residency buildings at Hyderabad will be returned to your Government as soon as alternative accommodation promised by you is made available for our treasury and officials employed there.

2. My Government take the necessary action in regard to the early supply of arms and ammunition for which an indent has been received from your Government.

3. My Government will help your Government in securing the vehicles that they require.

4. It is the definite intention of my Government that the troops at present stationed inside Hyderabad territory should be progressively withdrawn according to an agreed programme, and that the withdrawal shall be completed by the end of February, 1948 at the latest.

5. On the points remaining to be settled regarding the retrocession of jurisdiction, these can be discussed with my Government by your representative as soon as he is appointed.

6. I am authorised to assure Your Exalted Highness that your rights in regard to currency, coinage and postal matters will in no way be impaired by the Standstill Agreement.

7. My Government will take up the question of passports mentioned in Para VI of your letter. They are fully prepared to assist you in this respect.

8. With reference to Paras VII and VIII of your letter the Government of India desire to assure Your Exalted Highness that it is their earnest desire to promote communal harmony and to maintain peace and security, and they will co-operate wholeheartedly with you to that end.

9. I enclose the agreement duly signed by me.

India and Hyderabad

The full text of the Agreement signed between the Government of Indian Union and the Government of Hyderabad can hardly be understood even after going through the correspondence between the Nizam and Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India that has been published in the press as annexure to it. It does not explain why the Nizam has felt himself unable to agree to "the eventual nature of the association" between the two States. The ruler of Hyderabad has "not been prepared to contemplate accession to either dominion...." why, he has not cared to elaborate. Perhaps, the Hyderabad delegations, flying to an fro between New Delhi and Hyderabad, have done it. And the Government of India has for the present to be content with the negative satisfaction that his "Exalted Highness has no intention of acceding to Pakistan." And in view of the fact that "placed as Hyderabad is, its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India", Lord Mountbatten expresses the hope that "before the present Agreement expires, it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India."

This, as we have said, is negative satisfaction. We know the mind of the ruling class in the State of Hyderabad, and this has been described by the editor of the Calcutta *Statesman* from impressions gathered during a recent "conducted" tour. The writer makes much of Hyderabad being a relic of Moghul traditions, forgetful of the fact that the founder of the Asafjahi dynasty was one of the Mughal Viceroys who actively helped to disrupt the Mughal empire. Since then Hyderabad has been the focal point of all the disgruntled elements of Muslim society in India. Under the protecting wing of the Muslim rulers of the State they felt no need to help the evolution of a composite Nationalism in the country where men and women of various faiths and cultures have been brought by history to live in peace and amity. For a long time we have been convinced that from the hot-house of the State have issued many of the separatist conceits and ambitions one of which has sought escape in "Pakistan". It is not for nothing that the first attempt to rationalize the "Pakistan" slogan was made by a Muslim professor of the Osmania University

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of the State. The up-rooting of populations was visualized by him in his pamphlet on the subject written in 1938. This historical background should be understood by us in India when we consider the delaying tactics of the Nizam.

The Standstill Agreement has simply postponed a decision that will be preceded a year hence by the same deputations and confabulations. During this period the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslemin, the Union of Muslim organization in the State, will have opportunity to strengthen its forces and resources to sustain the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan in his dubious politics. We have seen how the Majlis stopped a deputation from proceeding to Delhi, how it forced the resignation of two of the Nizam's Prime Ministers, Sir Mirza Ismail and the Nawab of Chattari. This demonstration of power could not have been staged if the Nizam had not looked on it with benevolent eyes. The Majlis has not made any secret of the purpose it proposes to maintain and consolidate. It asserts that the sovereignty of the State is vested in the 20 lakh Muslims of the State, and that the Nizam is merely a symbol of this fact. The majority in the State, numbering about 130 lakhs, have acquiesced in this arrangement just as we did in the regime established at the Battle of Plassey. The Majlis would like to continue the old order of things which goes against the interests and outrages of the sentiments of the majority. This it seeks to secure by practising the gangsterism that the Muslim League National Guards have made familiar to us. It has set up various devices to intimidate the people; its organizers have been assured help by high quarters not excepting the Police as we have had experience in Calcutta and Noakhali-Tipperah.

Against this terrorism the State Congress have been maintaining an unequal fight. Their Civil Disobedience Movement, trying to keep it within the bounds of non-violence, is no match for the organization that has laid down certain lines of activity in the pursuit of its "Direct Action." These are indistinguishable from gangsterism, as our readers will see from the selection made below from these directives:

(*i*) To create panic in the people ;
(*viii*) Majlis volunteers should watch the State Congress houses . . . ;
(*xii*) In order to oppose the army of the boundaries, the volunteers should co-operate with the Hyderabad army, and all the Congress and Hindus who help the Indian Union, should be finished by constitutional or unconstitutional means;
(*ix*) Lists of Congress workers in the districts and Taluqas and also of those who have gone out and are conspiring with Patel have been called;
(*xxvi*) The houses of Hindu capitalists should be burnt, their wealth should be secured by every means and handed over to the Committee of Action ;
(*xxviii*) Possession of the lands of the Hindus in the Districts and Taluqas should be taken, and in case of opposition they should be crushed, and every help will be given by the Centre on its being informed ;
(*xxix*) The Hindu banks should be looted and the volunteers should be helped with it ;
(*xxxii*) Arabs and Pathans should be sent to Marathawada so that the traitors should be crush

Here is a family likeness to what the Muslim Leag did in Calcutta, in Noakhali-Tipperah, in the Punjab in the N.-W. Frontier Province. The Majlis Ittehad Muslemin of Hyderabad is patterned after the M League. It upholds the irresponsible and frankly munalist policy of the Nizam. The Standstill Agree changes nothing. It simply prolongs the torture of Hyderabad people.

After the Agreement

The Nizam is not sitting idle after the Stand Agreement has been signed. He wanted time and this he gained. He has made only one commitment, that he w not join Pakistan, which, landlocked as he is, he c not do. The day after the signing of the Agreement news of importance have seen the light of day. comes from Hyderabad saying that the Nizam's Co of Ministers has been dissolved. It has been announced a new Interim Government will be formed consisting four nominated members, four Muslims and four Hi including two popular ministers in the present Go ment. This gives one-third representation in the Coun Ministers for a community who form 88 per cent of population in the Nizam's Dominion.

The second news comes from the London Corresp ent of the *Hindusthan Standard*. He wires that despite Standstill Agreement between India and Hyderabad Nizam's frantic efforts for procuring arms and ammuni remain unabated. The Nizam seems to be exploring e possibility to evade vigilance of Sardar Patel.

The following is the despatch:

> With the connivance of a British armam magnate and expert, who has associates and frie in Lisbon, the Nizam's agents are securing milit supplies *via* Portugal and the Portuguese port Goa, I learnt on high authority today. It is und stood several consignments have already slip through the 45 miles of Indian territory that s rates Hyderabad from the Portuguese possessio
>
> Many consignments are being made ready shipment from Lisbon ; some are already on way to Goa, and a long-term flow of these making materials is being arranged under the g ance of this very able Britisher who was mad Knight Commander of the Order of the Em Empire in 1941 and had received his Knighthood services in reorganising supply of munitions dur the 1914-18 war."
>
> This gentleman, after starting his business ca in a Scottish agricultural concern, came to L where he became the chairman of one small fir ment company and director of a big bank in W an ex-Viceroy of India now plays an influential p Early in 1942, *Times* published about him: "... direction of reorganisation and expansion of m tions production in India, Australia and New land has already made a valuable contribution the present-day war effort. He has had more the advantage of long contact with industrial or nisations of U. S. and Canada." During the last he travelled with a Government mission 55,000 miles, inspected some 700 factories and Malaya, Hongkong, Australia and New Zealand

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The Nizam's so-called Agent-General yesterday afternoon three British pressmen; it is understood he did not admit these transactions *via* Lisbon, but asserted "in any case the Standstill Agreement allowed Hyderabad to procure arms and ammunition for the Hyderabad police force."

There is no doubt that officially inspired and encouraged individual businessmen of Pakistan are also actively associated with these acts of Hyderabad. When the Pakistan High Commissioner's Office in London denied *Daily Graphic's* story of Pakistan's "semi-official mission to Britain to buy fastest and latest jet-fighters with which to equip its Air Force," but added that "perhaps individual traders might be buying for commercial purposes," the question was asked: "What could be the 'commercial use' of jet-fighter planes, and how could ordinary traders buy military planes without permits from Governmental authorities concerned?"

Weekly Blitz's editor told the Indian journalists that the American General Clay had told him that India was divided because American administration considers Nehru and his colleagues to be "Communists" and thus Truman and Churchill readily agreed to the Mountbatten Plan in order to create a buffer between India and Russia. He therefore opined that solution of Indian and world peace problems lies in the re-union of India and Pakistan.

Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor of *Hitavada,* supported this view while he outlined his experiences during his sojourn in the U. S.

Nankana Sahib

This year the Sikhs were not allowed by the "Pakistani" authorities to visit Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak on the day on which they celebrated the anniversary of his birth. The Government of the Indian Union pleaded with the Sikhs to accept this fiat in consideration of the abnormal situation prevailing in the West Punjab. But the memory of this insult will rankle in the hearts of all Sikhs, prince and peasant, and they will not rest till the Nankana Sahib is made free to them. The Radcliffe Award has put it out of bounds to them, and we can enter into the feelings of our Sikh brethren as they faced the situation. A "Sikh statesman" writing in the columns of the *Liberator* (New Delhi) of December 10, 1947, has put the matter in its proper light in course of a query:

> Can he (the Muslim) imagine for a while his own plight if the doors to the Mecca are shut against him, and he be debarred from the sight of his Holy place?

A way out of this difficult problem must be found, otherwise there cannot be any peace in the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Government of the former cannot sit idle while the Sikhs suffer from this insult and outrage. The article we have referred to suggests a solution that the Nankana Sahib be constituted into a "sovereign independent State" on the analogy of the "Vatican City" in the heart of Italy. He quotes from W. A. Munro's *Government of Europe* to indicate the different aspects of the problem. We quote the relevant portion below:

> The new State established by the treaty of 1929 had to which name Vatican City has been given, includes an area of about a hundred acres only. It comprises the Vatican and the Lateran places as well as numerous small additional tracts of territory, with a present population of about five hundred. Thus Vatican City is the smallest among the sovereign States of the world. But it has all the appurtenances of civil sovereignty, with the right to send and receive ambassadors, with its own coinage and postal system, its own laws and courts. In addition some other tracts (such as the Villa of Castel Gondolfo), not included in Vatican City, are given the status of extra-territoriality, that is, they are removed from the jurisdiction of the Italian Government and placed under the civil control of the Holy See. All this territory is declared to be neutral and inviolable, and freedom of intercourse with other States is guaranteed at all times, including countries which may be engaged in war with Italy. On the other hand, the Holy See has undertaken not to embroil itself in international combinations or take part in international conferences 'unless all the parties in conflict appeal unanimously to its mission of peace.' This means that Vatican City, although a sovereign state, will not seek admission to the League of Nations.

Maladministration in Bhopal

An appeal to the State Department of the Indian Union Government to take a general survey of the internal administration of Bhopal State, which has acceded to the Indian Union, has been made recently by a number of Muslim leaders of Bhopal and the appeal has been published as a joint statement issued by them. Among the signatories to the statement are Mr. Tarzi Mashriqui, President of the Bhopal State People's Conference, Mr. Abdul Bari Khan, Senior Vice-Chairman of the Bhopal Municipal Board and Mr. Shakir Ali Khan, a leader of the State People's Conference. The signatories say, "We draw the attention of the State Department of the Indian Union and the All India States People's Conference that a general survey be taken of the internal administration of the Bhopal State which is most autocratic and hostile to the rights and liberties of the eight lakhs of working and middle class people in the State."

The Muslim leaders have also appealed to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel to send a personal representative to Bhopal and investigate allegations against the State Government "with particular reference to the direct and indirect assistance given to communal organisations as also the application of a Public Safety Act which is mainly directed against the State People's Conference."

In conclusion, the signatories say, "We also hope that the Nawab will see the signs of the time and not let his Government indulge in artificial and wanton misdeeds to suppress the will of the people, restore their civil liberties, repeal the Public Safety Act and constitute a popular and representative Ministry in the State."

The Nawab of Bhopal, one of the pillars of the Pakistan movement, proved his sense of reality when he melted away from his party and acceded to the Indian Union. He is a realist and he ought to have sense enough to retrace his steps back towards democracy.

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As Others See Us

The Tory Press in Britain have left us in no doubt with regard to their attitude towards the emergence of India as a State "free of British control." They have generally been against this liquidation of the British empire. But even some of them have been growing conscious that their dupes in "Pakistan" are not proving themselves quite equal to the task of building up a State that can serve as a check to the aspirations of Indian Nationalism. The *Yorkshire Post*, the organ of Anthony Eden, Deputy leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, front-paged in its issue of 17th November last an article by Alan Moorhead writing from New Delhi that "the Indian Dominion is beginning to feel its strength" and that there is a "much calmer atmosphere" in New Delhi where the Government, its leading members, argue that "the Pakistan Government by their truculent attitude are forcing this crisis on themselves." And how are they, the Qaid-e-Azam and his entourage, facing it? Alan Moorhead says that he "cannot exaggerate the mixture of apprehension, bitterness and truculent fatalism which is prevailing in the atmosphere among the Pakistan Government Departments in Lahore."

This evidence of an observer ideologically sympathetic to the upholders of separatism in India enables us to understand the psychology of the frantic cries of the Qaid-e-Azam, and of his two lieutenants, the Premiers of the N.-W. Frontier Province and of East Bengal. The former, an abettor and helper of the raiders on Kashmir, has attempted to stir up feelings in countries where the Muslims are in strength by an appeal with the slogan of "Islam in danger." The Premier of Eastern Bengal, more restrained because of his geographical position away from any *Dar-ul-Islam* area, finds it difficult to resist the temptation of joining in the war-whoop. In a recent broadcast from Dacca, Khwaja Nazimuddin appealed to the Pakistanis in his area to be ready to meet the emergency created by the "enemy", the Union of India. Herein he echoed the Qaid-e-Azam in his vituperative references to the country and state where he was born two and seventy years ago. Alan Moorhead's interpretation of developments in India should open the eyes of the Pakistani leaders to the seat of the real "enemy." Another observer with more knowledge of Indian affairs upholds the story featured by Alan Moorhead in the British press.

The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore reflected the mind of the higher bureaucracy in India, civil and military, during the British regime, and it has been a consistent opponent of Indian Nationalism and all that it stands for. The management of the paper for reasons of their own have elected to stay at Lahore and cater to the needs of the new State of Pakistan. The conductors of the paper have been witnesses to the gangsterism that has been let loose over West Punjab and all the attendant horrors of anarchy. It appears that they could not stand it any longer than the third week of October last. Then they burst out against the failure of the West Punjab Government to give "some overt proof of ability to govern." The Ministers were "inexperienced", the "bureaucracy" that was there to help and advise them has not been much of a help. The following quotation from article in the *Civil and Military Gazette* described better than anything we can say the condition of things in Mohammad Ali Jinnah's domain:

> At the moment the province is being ruled by Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot and his colleagues but by police constables and goondas. New heads of departments find that the organization has collapsed. Magistrates and petty officials are discovering in absence of broad lines of policy that it is impossible to implement orders which are ill concerted and not unoften mutually contradictory. And the public is being ground between the upper millstone of ignorance and inexperience and the lower one of corruption and self-aggrandisement. Meanwhile ministers don't know how to do things or how to get them done and the all-too-brief course of "cramming" conducted by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan during his recent visit to Lahore has yet to show results. At the moment, West Punjab Ministers are doing little in public either to allay disorder or to rehabilitate morale which is at the lowest ebb in recent history. Our advice to them would be to govern or get out except that the political horizon is at the moment almost bare of pretenders to office portfolios who offer hopes of better things.

This was written in the third week of October. But in the last week of November we find a mob at Lahore defying the Lahore magistrate's order, preventing depositors Hindu and Sikh, from taking out their deposits from the vaults of banks. During a month no improvement in conditions of decent government has taken place in the *de facto* capital of "Pakistan."

British Hand

During the whole period of British rule we have had experience of the trickeries which intensified antagonism between the communities in India. And we have no reason to believe that the enemies of India's freedom among the Britishers would not leave a trail of poison as they withdraw from this country. They would be feeling justified by the traditions of "Real Politik"—ever on the look-out to exploit situations for the supposed good of their own country. The following letter written by W. N. P. Liddell, Deputy Inspector-General of the Punjab C.I.D., to his Secret Service address in London reveals the hidden hand of "the enemy" to the Indian Union. It has to be remembered that when the letter was written there was a British Governor in the Punjab.

The letter appeared in the columns of the *Hindustan Standard* wired on the 4th November by its own correspondent from Cawnpore in the United Provinces.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Punjab Club, L...
8th July, 19...

My dear Liddel,

I have received your letter No. 5F. 26... 5DOG, dated the 18th June, 1947.

It is now settled about Pakistan, but other... the situation is extremely fluid. Pakistan's... shape has not yet been decided, and the form... Governments will take are indistinct. It is a... gone conclusion that Jinnah will be something... a Dictator, and that a chosen band will have... But just what position each one will hold ... to be decided. In the circumstances, the ...

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not come yet to make an approach or to sound the right persons, for it cannot be said yet who they are going to be.

I thing the Liaison Officer line is the right one to go on. I do not say it is the best; but Ahmed knows it is the arrangement which found favour when relevant matters were being discussed in Delhi. Ahmed is said to be of some importance in Pakistan and he might be curious if there was a departure from earlier ideas. It might be harmful if this happened.

It is possible that the Boundary Commission will make the Muslims rather more disgruntled than they are now. Even if this should happen, I think that they will welcome the help link-up with British security would afford them. I do not think I would find it difficult to raise the issue when the right time comes, or perhaps, as an alternative, suggest who should do so. I am half inclined already to stay on in India for a month or two and see how things are going. If it will help you, I will decide to do so. Will you please let me know—and also if you can arrange a quick means of communication between us? I believe that there is somebody in Lahore as the High Commissioner's representative. Could he be a channel for signals between us?

I have not brought Bennett into this matter because it would not serve a useful purpose to do so. He is definitely PNG with the Muslims and I fear they would look with suspicion and antagonism on anything with which he was connected. At some stage, however, I would like to discuss the whole business with the Governor, if I have your sanction to do so.

I am interested in Pakistan and I think you will remember that I discussed certain possibilities with you when you were in Lahore. The thoughts I had then have gone, of course, with Dominion Status. However, I still have a feeling that this part of the world is going to be interesting, if nothing more. In the circumstances, I would consider an offer if it were made to me. At the same time and in this connection it would be futile for me to think of staying out here if I was not going to be welcomed by Pakistan. I have friends among the League leaders and some of them have urged me not to go. Recently however, I have been the head of a new control dealing with the disordered situation and I have been hitting out pretty hard. This has been resented by Muslims and Mamdot has recently withdrawn his co-operation in important matters on this score, while I have been the recipient of many more threats than tokens of friendship. At the same time I am still being sounded as to whether I would be prepared to take the post of Pakistan's Director of Intelligence. Which suggests that I am not on the black list! However, this point about personal suitability is another one which will be clearer in the very near future.

Kashmir and Pakistan

The *anschluss* attempt on Kashmir having misfired, the Pakistan authorities are now attempting to use another weapon taken from the Nazi armoury, namely, false propaganda. Force and stratagem having been foiled for the time being, through the quick and powerful reaction of the Indian Union, the Premier of Pakistan is now attempting to substitute a saint's halo for the mailed gauntlet of Mars. Assuming an air of injured and patient innocence, he issued a statement on the 16th of November from Lahore, calling for U.N.O. intervention. This effort at enlisting the sympathy of the outside world could be regarded as naive had it not been so pregnant of dangerous possibilities. It is a typical Pakistani statement, mendacious and charged throughout with *suppressio veri*. Pakistan's active complicity with the Kashmir raiders and with the plotters in Junagadh and Hyderabad are now proved facts and as such no amount of distortion of truth should fool an intelligent observer. The Premier of Pakistan seems to think that brazen lies can be substituted for truth without fear of detection even to-day and that he can white-wash the foul and brutal atrocities perpetrated by the Pakistan-aided raiders by words of mouth.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan proposed that "the whole dispute be brought before the bar of international opinion—and the U.N.O. be asked immediately to appoint its representatives in Jammu and Kashmir State in order to put a stop to fighting and to the repression of Muslims in the State. To arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, to get up an impartial administration of the State till a plebiscite is held and to undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession."

"I have seen the Press report of the speech made by the Deputy Prime Minister of India at a public meeting at Rajkot on November 12 and his subsequent speech at Junagadh in the course of which he made unfounded allegations against Pakistan, tried to justify the acts of aggression committed by the India Government in Manavadar, Junagadh and Kashmir and threatened Hyderabad with similar aggression. I do not propose to emulate Mr. Patel by indulging in vituperative, invective or boastful threats. My firm and undeviating objective, as also the objective of the Pakistan Government, is to eliminate by peaceful and honourable means all existing causes of friction between the two Dominions and to establish conditions which would enable ourselves and our Indian neighbours to live in friendliness and amity.

I believe that a true understanding between the two countries can be based only on a clear and dispassionate appreciation of the facts of the present situation. It is with a view to promoting such an understanding that I propose to restate the position of the Pakistan Government in respect of the States over which the present disputes have arisen.

Hundreds of States, including a State such as Kapurthala which had a Muslim majority in the population, acceded to the Indian Union but in no case did the Pakistan Government interfere in any way. Junagadh was the first State to accede to Pakistan and at once the India Government started on a campaign of vilification, threats and economic blockades.

When these weapons did not succeed in intimidating the Junagadh State a "provisional Government" of Junagadh was set upon Indian soil and its first act was to occupy the Junagadh State property in Rajkot which is the seat of India Government's Regional Commissioner.

By infiltration tactics and other aggressive means the provisional Government proceeded to violate the territory of Junagadh with the help of troops, many of whom

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were drawn from the Indian Army. Conditions were created in which it became impossible for the Junagadh administration to carry on. Finally on the alleged request of the Dewan the administration was taken over and Junagadh was occupied by the armed forces of India.

The indisputable legal position is that in view of the State's accesion to Pakistan the Dewan had no right to prefer and the India Government had no right to accept the so-called invitation to the India Government to take over the administration of the State.

In spite of the gravest provocation we have refrained from any action which should result in armed conflicts. We could, with full justification and legal right, have sent our forces to Junagadh but at no time since the accession of the State was a single soldier sent by us to Junagadh and our advice throughout to the State authorities was to exercise the greatest restrain. Manavadar, another State, which had acceded to Pakistan and Mangrol and Babariawad have also been occupied by Indian troops.

In the Kashmir dispute too we have repeatedly urged a peaceful settlement by negotiation. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir have suffered grievously under the Maharaja's Government. Thousands have been killed. Muslim women have been abducted in large numbers and over a hundred thousand Muslims have been driven out of their homes into Pakistan in cruel and inhuman manner.

This destruction of Muslim life, honour and property is still continuing by armed mobs with the help of the State and India Union forces with the set purpose of eliminating the Muslim population from the State, and thousands of refugees are pouring into Pakistan.

Dogra troops and gangsters from the State have made numerous incursions into our territory in West Punjab. We made repeated attempts to persuade the Kashmir Government to discuss these questions with us but they were determined to join the Union of India against the will of the people of Kashmir by a *coup d'etat*. The India Government in direct and clear repudiation of the principles on which they had questioned the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and without any reference or any consultation with the Pakistan Dominion whose security is vitally affected by events in Kashmir, occupied Kashmir by military force and have since the very first day of their entry into Kashmir been engaged in putting down the Muslims there by force.

Pakistan territory itself has been twice violated by the Indian forces. Bombs have been dropped in our territory in the vicinity of Kohala bridge and our police posts at Ghari Habibullah in the Hazara district has been machine-gunned by the Indian air force.

Immediately after the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Government a conference between the two Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister was arranged at the instance of the Qaid-e-Azam on October 29. At the last minute this conference was postponed as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru fell ill. Another conference was then arranged for November 1, but this also did not take place because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could not attend it.

On November 1 the Qaid-e-Azam met Lord Mo... batten and put forward the following proposals for ... consideration of the Government of India.

First, to put an immediate stop to fighting. The ... Governors-General should be authorised by their respe... Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith, giving ... hours' notice to the opposing forces to cease fire. ... made it clear that we had no control over the forces ... the provisional Government of Kashmir or the tribes... engaged in fighting but we were prepared to warn t... in the clearest terms that if they did not obey the ... to cease fire immediately the forces of both Domi... would make war on them.

Secondly, both the forces of the Indian Dominion ... the tribesmen should withdraw simultaneously and ... the utmost expedition from the State territory.

Thirdly, the two Governors-General should be ve... with full powers by the two Dominion Governments ... restore peace, undertake the administration of Jammu ... Kashmir under joint control and supervision.

These were eminently reasonable proposals. We ... them at the risk of incurring the hostility of the Fro... tribes whose feelings had been intensely aroused over ... atrocities committed on their brethren in Kashmir.

The day after these proposals reached the India Gov... ment, the Prime Minister of India instead of sending ... reply officially gave a vague and evasive idea of his s... tion of the Kashmir question in a broadcast, merely ha... ing on the slogan of plebiscite, but disregarding eve... thing else. After waiting for some days I sent a remin... The India Government's official reply showed that t... were not prepared to accept any of our suggestions. ... the contrary, it was categorically stated that they w... first drive out all the so-called raiders by force of a... And as a recent telegram showed, they are not even ... pared to have discussion until this has been done.

We have made repeated efforts to have a confer... with the India Dominion to bring about peaceful se... ment but on one pretext or another the India Governm... with the might of military power behind them have flo... the idea. The attitude of the India Government indic... that they are determined to force a military decision ... Kashmir and to reduce the plebiscite to a farce by e... nating Muslim population by the cruel methods which ... now in operation. Indeed it now seems extremely do... ful if there will be any attempt at all to ascertain ... wishes of the people of Kashmir.

Speaking to Pressmen at Srinagar on Nov. 10, ... Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to that place, Sh... Abdullah is reported to have observed that there may ... be a referendum at all. While this Quisling who has ... an agent of the Congress for many years struts about ... State bartering away the life, honour and freedom of ... people for the sake of personal profit and power, the ... leaders of the Muslims of Kashmir are rotting in jail. ... statement reveals an uneasy realisation that despite all ... repression the verdict of the people of Kashmir will ... favour of accession to Pakistan.

There is not the slightest doubt that the whole ... of the accession of Kashmir to India was pre-planned

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cannot be justified on any constitutional or moral grounds. It is quite clear now that what the India Government are after is permanent occupation of Kashmir. They can maintain this unjust occupation only by liquidating the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir who are now suffering military repression in its worst form and who are struggling for their freedom and indeed for their very existence against heavy odds.

The India Government's whole conduct is based on 'might is right' and on the belief that Pakistan is unable to fight them. If the India Government is allowed to follow its imperialist land-grabbing policy this will have repercussions not only in Asia but throughout the world.

The fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations is to prevent might prevailing over right. The whole dispute should, therefore, be brought before the bar of international opinion. We are ready to request the U.N.O. immediately to appoint its representatives in Jammu and Kashmir States in order to put a stop to fighting and to the repression of Muslims in the State, to arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, set up an impartial administration of the State till a plebiscite is held and to undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession. We are prepared to accept a similar solution of the dispute regarding Manavadar and Junagadh."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan says in the preamble that his intention was to bring the whole situation before the bar of international opinion. He forgets to state that this peaceful attitude on his part was preceded by a completely different one, when his government covertly supported, on a lavish and thorough scale, a gigantic filibustering expedition, equipped with modern arms and transport vehicles, with the definite objective of annexing Kashmir by force. Having been foiled in this attempt he is now assuming an attitude of injured innocence. Regarding Junagadh his speech is full of mis-statements. If the Indian Union had acted as the Pakistanis had done in Kashmir, then the Junagadh drama would have come to a far quicker finale. And incidentally, Junagadh was not the first State to accede to Pakistan. He further calmly omits the aggressive moves of Junagadh with regard to the minor States in its locality, whom it tried to dragoon into subjugation to Pakistan by force.

He is very anxious that the forces of the Indian Union should withdraw immediately. But in the same breath he states clearly that "we made it clear that we had no control over the forces of the provisional Government of Kashmir *or the tribesmen engaged in fighting*." He forgets to add that about fifty thousand tribesmen equipped with modern arms were allowed to enter Kashmir after traversing about two hundred miles of Pakistan territories, and if the Indian forces withdrew these lawless tribals would have the entire country at their mercy as they would infiltrate into every corner of the State.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has no words of condemnation for these filthy and bestial raiders. Indeed he uses the term "so-called raiders" in his speech. He forgets to state that thousands of women Hindu *and Muslim* have been raped and abducted by these lawless barbarians and they have befouled every corner of the State to which they could penetrate. Having failed to obtain an *anschluss* by force Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan now wants to attain his objective by forcing a Hitlerian plebiscite. He abuses Sheikh Abdullah, who is the only Muslim leader in Kashmir with any record of sacrifice, and calls him a Quisling and forgets the days when he and his entire League prospered by acting as Quislings to the Imperial Government of India.

The Government of India must realize that false-propaganda flourishes in the absence of reliable news. The truth must be given to the world, without incitement or venom.

Frontier Premier Instigates Afghans against India

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, the Premier of the N.-W. F. P. called Sardar Patel a war-monger in a broadcast from the Peshawar station of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service.

The Premier accused the Indian Government and the Indian National Congress of saying one thing but doing another. He said Indian leaders were proclaiming loudly that the minorities should stay where they were and that every encouragement should be given to the displaced persons to return to their homes.

He said absolute peace now prevailed in the Frontier Province and despite the provocative incidents in Kashmir there has been no trouble of a communal nature. Nevertheless he regretted to observe that agents of the Government of India in the North-West Frontier Province were advising the Hindu minority to leave the province.

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan criticised the tone of Sardar Patel's recent speech at Junagadh, which he said was full of spite and hatred for the Mussalmans. Sardar Patel's explanation about the entry of Indian troops into Junagadh and Kashmir, he said, was ludicrous. He said Sardar Patel has stated that Indian troops had been invited into Junagadh by the people of the State: "But may I ask whether the Kashmir Muslims had invited them to go to Kashmir? Has Sardar Patel any answer to the question why the Indian Government is following one policy in Junagadh and quite another in Kashmir?"

The Frontier Premier was glad to observe that many Red Shirts had realised the futility of adopting an anti-Government policy and had decided to join the Muslim League and come under one flag. The Frontier Premier appealed to those who were still outside the League to be aware of the machinations of the enemies of Islam and to realise the gravity of the dangers ahead and come forward and join the Muslim League in order to strengthen the Musilm resistance to all kinds of onslaught.

The Frontier Premier warned "some fifth columnists in the Muslim League itself to mend their ways and not commit acts which might ultimately prove harmful to Pakistan." Otherwise he would have to use force against them.

Khan Abdul Qayum Khan expressed delight at the arrival in Karachi of the Afghan King's personal envoy,

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Sardar Nojib Ullah Khan and hoped that embassies would be exchanged between Kabul and Karachi in the near future. Khan Abdul Qayum Khan reiterated his earlier declaration that every threat to Pakistan was also a threat to Afghanistan and *vice versa*. The two Islamic countries had to stand or fall together. He reminded the Afghans of the decision taken at Somnath after the occupation of Junagadh by Indian forces. It was to restore the idol which an Afghan King, Mahmud of Ghazni had smashed 900 years ago. He said this exposed the mentality of those holding the reins of the Government in Delhi. The idol was deliberately restored to symbolise the prevailing hatred in India for Islam.

This statement was broadcast two days after the Pakistan Premier's statement issued from Lahore. The broadcast comes after bad news began to pour in from Kashmir. It is now thoroughly proved that the raiders organised by Pakistan, did not think it worth while to wait for an "invitation from the Muslims of Kashmir" and, after their entry into the State, under the leadership and guidance of Pakistani commanders, did not make much discrimination between Hindus and Muslims, or even the European nuns of the Baramula Convent, as objects of loot, murder and rape. Sheikh Abdullah has told the world that "they even dishonoured the Holy Quran and converted mosques into brothels."

We do not know what effect these crude lies would have on the Afghan Government. But in any case, it displays Pakistan's weakness all round. The Indian Union must not abate its determined effort at putting down the forces of evil, let loose on Kashmir through Pakistani machinations, on any consideration. Truth and right will prevail in the end, and Pakistan's attempts at intervention and incitement may recoil on its own head.

South Africa

The latest numbers of the *Indian Opinion* (October, 1947) of Phoenix, Natal, give us a picture of life and labour in South Africa where about 3 lakhs of men and women of Indian parentage earn their livelihood today. The country of which Field Marshal Smuts is Prime Minister is not a great country so far as population goes. There are about eight millions of native South Africans, the majority of them Bantus; there are two and a half million Europeans who constitute the ruling race whose determination to hold on to political power, by means of unfair discrimination against the majority of the land, forms the crux of the problem that has brought South Africa before the world's eye as the betrayer of the principles and policies of the United Nations Organization. But this condemnation has not affected in the least their principles and practices. When we remember that these were patterned after the words of the old Charter of the Church in Transvaal that "in Church and State" there could not be any equality between whites and non-whites, we are not surprised with what has been happening in South Africa. Field Marshal Smuts has maintained a theatrical attitude of pained surprise that the world should misunderstand and misjudge him and his people. In a recent speech of his made to his United Party rally on September 12 last he brought in Providence to adorn his tale—Providence Who had "decided that the two races, white and black, would remain in the land for all time," and his statesmanship was directed towards evolving "a certain measure of co-operation between the two races." He laid down the conditions of this co-operation, however.

> ....The native is needed in South Africa. The farmers need him. Industry needs him. It would be fatal to allow enmity to develop. The great majority of the non-Europeans were prepared to make their contribution without contesting the European right to leadership.

The world has not yet realized the full effects of the misuse of this "European right to leadership" on its affairs. Otherwise, the Anglo-Saxon leaders of the United Nations Organization would not have been allowed to defeat the contentions of India, submitted by Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, that this issue of racial and colour discrimination cannot be left on the caprices of a ruling junta in any particular country on the plea that it touches on the sovereignty of the member-States of the organization. The "one world" morality would have no meaning if South Africa's pettifogging arguments are accepted as valid. The United States and Britain have sinned against the spirit and Charter of the U. N. O. by the lead they gave towards sabotaging the Indian case. The same spirit animates the argument of the U.S.A. delegate with regard to the South-West Africa problem; he said that there was no "legal obligation" on South Africa to submit the draft of a Charter for a trusteeship for this area instead of the mandate under which South Africa had ruled it. Mr. Foster Dulles held forth on the "moral power" of the U. N. O. to which South Africa would have ultimately to submit. This argument appears to be of a piece with that advanced by Mr. Lawrence on behalf of the South African Government. With a view to understand it, we reproduce here the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the U. N. O. at its last session mildly critical of the attitude of South Africa to the problem of Indians resident there:

> The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and having considered the matter, is of opinion that: "The Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in particular on the ground of their race constitutes a denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and is contrary of the charter; the Union Government's policy in general and the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946 in particular have impaired friendly relations between the two member states, and unless a satisfactory settlement is arrived at immediately, these relations are likely to be further impaired."
>
> The General Assembly therefore considers that the Union Government should revise their general policy and their legislative and administrative measures affecting Asiatics in South Africa so as to bring them into conformity with the principles and purposes of the charter, and requests the Union Government to report at the next session of the General Assembly, the action taken by them in this regard.

Mr. Lawrence is said to have pleaded ignorance of "the implications of the General Assembly's resolution"

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he asked for light on these. But he appears to have overreached himself when he asked: "What are the human rights" which his Government are said to have denied to the coloured peoples of South Africa; he demanded a "definition" of these. He sought to confound the assembled delegates by instancing the denial to women of franchise right, of right to hold public offices, of guardianship over children, in many countries, and appeared to suggest that the discrimination against coloured peoples in his own country should be condoned in view of such denials in other progressive countries. The defenders of South Africa are said to have sought to exploit sentiment with regard to prejudice against the Negro prevalent in the U.S.A. And they have found a handle in the division of India on credal considerations, in the proposed partition of Palestine to justify the "bi-racial pattern" of their rule. With British and American support, the South African Government appears to have been able to evade a straight vote on their policy of racial conceit and arrogance. They and their supporters have done it with eyes open to the prospect that their tactics will "fatally undermine" the U. N. O. Those who have voted for South Africa must be presumed to understand the implications of the words of Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the Opposition in South Africa, addressed to the delegates to the Congress of the Nationalist Party on September 17 last:

> ". . . if non-Europeans were granted increasing educational facilities, social security, arms, as General Smuts has done (during the war), and the right to organize in trade unions—that was dynamite under White supremacy."

Partition of Palestine

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization have passed the resolution that Palestine should be divided into two States—one Jew and the other Arab. Jerusalem remains an *enclave* under international supervision. Britain, the mandatory Power that has ruled the country for about 25 years, has refused to be a party to implementing this resolution, and the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, differing in every conceivable political matter, have agreed in this resolution and thrown their weight on the side of partition. This has caused confusion to many an upholder of the Arab cause who has been banking on the hope that as the United States has been in favour of the Jews, the Soviet Union would line herself up behind the Arabs. Naturally enough the Arabs have taken up arms, and are openly declaring that all the Arab States would support them in what ultimately would be a Crescentade, a fight of the Muslim against the Jew. The Arabs of Palestine number more than 1,200,000 as against 600,000 of Jews, of whom 90 per cent arrived there after the promise of a "National Home" for the Jews was made in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. During the last 25 years the tax-payers of Britain had to spend more than 150 million pounds in this desert land, in a futile attempt to implement that promise. And the Labour Government in Britain has had to decide upon withdrawing from Palestine, in order to stop further loss of British money and British lives.

The Security Council of the U. N. O., the supreme executive of the organization, have appointed a commission of five of the little member-States—Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and Philippines—to supervise this partition business. The Secretary General of the U. N. O. has handed over the world's most difficult job of trying to enforce partition and maintain peace in Palestine when Britain withdraws. An American Negro, Dr. Ralph Bunche, has been appointed with the hope that being a "coloured man" and an "expert" on Palestine, he will be able to be impartial. But this arrangement is not likely to stop trouble. The Arab will fight and to millions in the Muslim world, he will be in the right. The Jew will fight with the zeal of a revivalist who has for two thousand years been dreaming of the return to Zion and to all that is associated with the names of Abraham and the "prophets." It is a strange case, this of a race returning to the home-land of its fathers and the "holy land" of its faith after two thousand years. During this period of their "Dispersion" men and women of a kindred race professing a different faith have been in possession; Palestine has become their "home-land" and "holy land" also. And there is no law in the human code that appears to justify or compel the Arabs to accommodate the Jews. So, the war drum has started to throb in Palestine and the battle-lines are being arrayed. And even the wisest among the United Nations Organization cannot visualize how the immediate future will shape itself. On behalf of India, the plan for some sort of a Federation of a Arab and a Jewish State was proposed. The "Pakistan" delegation is reported to have favoured it. The U. N. O. could not but have been amused by "Pakistani" eagerness for partition in India and for federation in Palestine. The Indian proposal does not appear to have been seriously considered. Britain has announced that she will withdraw her forces and administrative organisation by August 1, 1948, if not earlier. The next few months appear, therefore, to be pregnant with alarums. The leadership of the U. N. O. is on its trial.

Labour in the U.S.A.

The following press report on the latest phase of labour-management relations in the U.S.A., as given by the *USIS*, is all the more interesting to note.

Labour problems are looming bigger in the Indian Union today. It would be interesting therefore to study the legislation regarding labour in the foremost industrial country of the world of today.

There are 15,000,000 union members today, according to a U. S. Labour Department tabulation of union-membership statements. The largest union group is the American Federation of Labour, which reports a per capita membership in excess of 7,500,000. The Congress of Industrial Organizations reports it has about 6,00,000 members. Other unions, called 'independent' or 'unaffiliated' are estimated to have 1,750,000 members.

Union organization has greatly improved the status of the workman. The average work-week in 1880

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was 63 hours; in 1900 it was 56 hours. Today four million average work-week is 40 hours, with overtime premium pay for hours over this figure. Factory workers' average weekly take-home pay has increased. In 1939, the average was $23·77; in February, 1947, the average was $46·08.

The first labour organizations were not favoured by the public or by the courts. However, later unions such as the American Federation of Labour, founded in 1881, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, organized in 1935, grew to be dominant unions in the United States. The AFL organized labour on a craft basis, a union being composed entirely of wage-earners engaged in a particular trade. The CIO organized all of the workers in a particular industry.

The Wagner Labor Relations Act, passed by Congress in 1935, furnished the impetus for the rapid growth of these labour organizations. In six years, union membership trebled. The Wagner Act gave workers the legal right to join labour unions to bargain collectively. The Federal Labor Relations Board was established to settle questions about the methods to prevent unfair labour practice in plants and to arrange for elections to determine what union in an industrial plant should be the one to represent the workers.

During the war years, the National War Labor Board was established to halt the vicious cycle of rising prices and rising wages. The Board found that prices had advanced fifteen per cent by May, 1942, and declared workers eligible for a similar wage raise. Later, wages were officially held to the September 15, 1942, level. As a wartime measure, the labour unions agreed not to strike and largely limited their wage demands within the bounds of the nation's economic stabilization program.

On June 23, the United States entered upon a new phase in labour-management relations. On that day, after intense debate and a presidential veto, Congress overrode the veto and enacted into law the 'Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947,' also called the Taft-Hartley Act, after its sponsors.

This act is aimed at regulating the position of unions. It outlaws the closed shop, jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts; restricts the union shop, prohibits unfair labour practices by the unions as well as by management, makes unions responsible for breach of contract, and tends to limit union political activity.

Under the Act, unions must register with the expanded National Labor Relations Board or lose the benefits of most of its services, such as protection against unfair employer's practices. Unions must provide information regarding the compensation, etc., of the three principal officers, on dues, the way officers are chosen, strikes are authorized, money is collected and spent.

Regarding politics, unions are forbidden to make contributions in any national election. Moreover, no union may operate under the Act unless each officer signing that he is not a member of the Communist Party and does not advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

The strike regulations require a sixty-day notice between union and employer before seeking to end or change a contract. During this period a newly created Federal Mediation Service is called in. National strikes which threaten the national welfare can be put down by the United States Attorney-General by injunction for eighty days. If the dispute is not settled within this time the strike can be resumed legally. In this case, Congress would be given a full report and possibly recommend legislation.

The National Labor Relations Board has been enlarged to a five-man panel. This Board acts as a labour court while the administrative work passes to a new General Counsel, appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. He decides what labour cases are to be prosecuted.

Bhai Paramanand

The death of Bhai Paramanand removes from India's life one of the most forceful of personalities that were thrown up by the Arya Samaj. With a brilliant educational career, he chose the life of a missionary of the Arya Samaj early in his youth. In the pursuit of this mission he visited South Africa, South America and the United States. Something like the experience of racial and colour arrogance in the ruling classes, as happened in the case of Gandhi, must have afflicted Bhai Paramanand, and driven him into politics. When the first World War broke out, we found him helping the organization of the Ghadi Party, recruited from the Punjabees, resident in the United States and Canada, to fight for the freedom of India, taking advantage of Britain's adversity. He got implicated in conspiracies all directed towards enlisting German and Turkish help in the effort. When he returned to India, he was tried for this offence and sentenced to death. It was commuted to transportation for life and he was sent to the Andamans. He was released in 1920. He joined the non-co-operation movement with its slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity. During this period Bhaiji appeared to have passed through certain experiences that transformed his whole look-out. He became a consistent supporter of Hindu Sangathan, the self-organization of Hindus, to strengthen their powers of offence against anti-national forces. For reasons that are not wholly clear he seemed to think that the Muslim community was the more immediate enemy. And against him he devoted all the energies of his body and mind for 25 years and more. He failed to defeat him. But the persistence of his fight constituted the glory of his life. A difficult man to get on with, his leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha movement was so consistent that it created many difficulties in the path of success. He fought against every compromise with what he regarded as "appeasement" of the Muslim.

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NON-VIOLENCE FOR MODERN MAN

By BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY, M.D.

As a man of science and as a medical man, I have had ample opportunities of studying "Man" at close quarters, during health and sickness, in the East and in the West. I had also the rare privilege of observing men in groups, at the meetings of the United Nations Organisation, representatives of fifty-seven States of the world. I confess that my mind was filled with sadness and distress as I noticed that, in the so-called United Nations Organisation, men work in an atmosphere of misunderstanding, prejudice, suspicion and distrust. Selfishness, greed and lust for power reigned supreme. And I asked myself, "What is wrong with the world?" The world today has missed something. It is at crossroads, wondering which would be the correct path to follow, and who or what would be the correct guide out of the prevailing darkness, so that another war may be avoided, so that the future of our children and grandchildren may be secure and happy.

It seems to me that, while, in theory, the democracies and the totalitarian systems of administration profess to work for the "people," they have forgotten the "individual" and have installed institutions and groups in his place. The needs and the care of the individual have been drowned in those of the groups, and while every attempt has been made to develop science and technology in the interests of groups and institutions, the social concepts of such progress have never been stressed, so that man today is a chained victim, instead of a free soul—"a soul who sees himself in all and all in himself." This is the position in a nutshell.

Democratic Ideal Lost

We have been told that both the two world wars were fought to save "democracy" for the world—a democracy which would ensure sanity, freedom and progress of its people; a democracy which would, in the words of Gandhiji, develop in the individual "the impulse to be loyal to the best in himself"; a democracy which, while professing to have faith in freedom, would not deny freedom to any one; a democracy which could solve the moral problem of today, the problem of decent relations between individuals and communities and countries. To those who profess that such a democracy exists, Gandhiji would say, "Turn the searchlight inwards." And then we notice that confusion, greed, lust of power, selfishness, stalk the horizon.

A student of psychology and physiology knows that the human body works as a perfect machine on a system of checks and balances. The glands of internal secretion and their hormones activate and inhibit one another, the sympathetic and the parasympathetic systems of nerves guide and control each other, the mind controls the bodily funcitons, as much as they, in their turn, nourish the mind and make it function. It is only when there is an imbalance of this mechanism that disease prevails. Even so with the body politic. It can only function properly if a cultural balance prevails analogous to the biological balance in nature.

The West in achieving marvellous progress in science and technology, has neglected to emphasize development of the social and moral concepts of such progress, so that today this very progress has become a psychological barrier to understanding and goodwill among men. The West failed to realize that abnormal and unbalanced growth of one phase of human endeavour may result in "gigantism," but it leaves the whole system weak. The West failed to realize that a given scientific advance, say the development of the atomic bomb, may raise more problems than it solves.

The much vaunted modern democracy, so developed and such as we see in the West today, has to meet a great public challenge. Is it democratic for a few big States to decide the fate of small ones? Is it democratic for the major powers to seek their own security at the expense of the security of the smaller powers? Is the Big Power veto democratic? Is it right to stop the urge for freedom in or deny freedom to any country which yearns for it? Is "might is right" to be the guiding principle of democracy? Is it compatible with ideas of democracy for any such State to admit immigrants and then treat them as pariahs, denying to them democratic freedom? Is it democracy, if impelled by fear or prejudice, it denies or limits the franchise or other privileges to a portion of the community? Is it not a fact that democracy should function as an organic unit? Weakness or disease in one part of it, however small, will weaken or destroy the whole fabric as much as a weakness or a festering sore in one focus, in the human body, leaves it prey to disability and death.

Due to this cultural imbalance referred to above, certain attitudes have developed, in groups, in human society, *e.g.*, the attitude of the believer in democracy toward the believer in totalitarianism, the attitude of those who have achieved scientific and technological progress toward those who are backward in these. Such attitudes give rise to individual or group delusions, *e.g.*, the delusion underlying the doctrine of the white man's superiority over the colored peoples, the doctrine of the absolute national sovereignty, the doctrine of the imperialism practised by various countries in the world. The tragedy is that any group effort to resolve such group delusions results in creating more delusions.

To make matters worse, nations and individuals today, during war and in peace time, have developed the technique of "psychological" warfare, where open avowed propaganda is avoided but a whispering campaign and other subversive techniques are resorted to,

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creating more delusions and implanting a fear and suspicion among the adversaries. It is a known scientific truth, however, that such warfare darkens the minds of those against whom it is used, and equally of those who use it. It is almost impossible to delude others without developing delusions oneself.

It is clear that the prevalence of such widespread delusions makes people insane and paranoic, and these illusions of persecution, of prejudice and suspicion raise their ugly heads. Without the prevalence of such temporary insanity, one cannot explain how, during war, people usually kind, unselfish, considerate and endowed with many ethical virtues, plan, with absolute coolness, schemes for the annihilation of fellow men whom they loved and honored before and perhaps would again love and honor after the war is over; how, during war, mutual esteem, confidence, sanctity of promises given, are all forgotten by those who claim a high place in human society.

What is the solution? It has been suggested that growth of trade and commerce unhampered by barriers and restrictions might restore the equilibrium and create mutual confidence and goodwill, and that peoples of the world would, for their own interests, desist from disturbing such an equilibrium. But history tells us that most wars have been fought for economic reasons; control of oil and mineral deposits, ability to dump cheap products of one country into another, are the common causes given.

Armaments No Solution

Then again it is suggested that the development of newer and more destructive types of armaments, through progress of science, is an antidote for war and a guarantee for peace. It is said that if all the great nations are armed cap-a-pie, it will guarantee peace because the knowledge of the havoc and holocaust that can be caused by modern weapons will act as a deterrent. And yet the history of all wars is an eloquent testimony of the fact, that, in spite of the knowledge of the possession by the belligerents of powerful destructive weapons, in spite of the knowledge they possessed of the price of victory or the penalty of defeat, fighting continued.

To these problems the East has a solution to offer. The Indian, the Buddhist view, has been that one should never attempt to combat delusion by other delusions, that one can condemn delusions but not the deluded, who must not be punished or reproached for his delusions; the salt of reproof must not be rubbed into the wound of his error, he must be left to find his own way to truth. Gandhiji is prepared even to put moral pressure on the deluded one, but he is convinced that victory won by violence, even against the forces of delusion, is really a defeat—the delusion of the sword may not be opposed by the sword.

I am free to confess that the West will not accept this solution. Their argument would be that if, during the last war, the West had not mobilized a greater violence against Germany and Japan than they practised, and killed their madmen, there would have been nothing left but delusions in the world and no weapon would be left to combat it, not even the spiritual one. But let me ask in all seriousness—in combating Nazism has not the West been infected by it to a certain extent; in suppressing delusions violently, have not more delusions been engendered?

Therefore, I would repeat again, the only way to dispel delusions and to remove suspicion, hatred and fear in your opponents is not to give them ground or occasions for such delusions, and they will soon cease to fear, suspect or hate one another. A prominent American writer has declared: "The time may be near—if it has not arrived already—when we must seriously consider whether it is not the best thing for the democracies in the West to disarm, even unilaterally and to declare to the world that they would never, under any circumstances, resist aggression by force, whether the evils which armed resistance, even successful would bring on us, would not be worse than any possible consequences of surrender."

Gandhiji's Appeal Recalled

In these words one can almost hear the message of Gandhiji, that apostle of peace and humanity, the greatest prophetic soul living in the modern world. In 1940, he made a public appeal to every Briton to lay down arms, to invite Hitler and Mussolini to take what "earthly possessions" they wanted but never to yield their souls or minds. He asked Britons to refuse allegiance to them. Let me use Gandhiji's words explaining this message:

"If the enemy rob you of your earthly possessions," said he, "you will yield, because earthly possessions have nothing to do with your souls. They does not make you a bondsman or slave of Hitler or Mussolini. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because your conscience forbids you to do so. Nor will you yield your mind and succumb to temptation and be caught in the snares of greed or honeyed words, nor should you agree to owe allegiance to the enemy, because you cannot bow to the supremacy of the victor. You will not help him to attain his object. Thus will you maintain the dignity of your soul and your self-respect."

In his fight against British imperialism in India, he depended on "non-violence and truth" which he termed "eternal principles." To him both these terms are coterminous and complemental. One can only find "truth" through "non-violence," *i.e.*, through a process of adjustments, compromises and understanding. Even a scientific worker in a laboratory implicity follows this process. A new discovery today does not forcibly suppress but takes into account the truth found yesterday. A newer discovery tomorrow cannot ignore the truth discovered today.

Non-violence is not a mechanical process. In pursuing it, the central attitude of life of the individual and his environments are completely altered and his personality is changed also. "One does

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become non-violent," says Gandhiji, "simply by saying that he is so. It must be in his heart. There is then an upwelling of love and pity towards the wrongdoer which express themselves somehow and check the wrongdoer."

According to him, non-violence is self-acting. In my country today, non-violence under the guidance of Gandhiji acted well in Bengal and Delhi; it failed to suppress violence in the Punjab. But to my mind this only proves that the stock of non-violence is not sufficient to check violence; even as in the human body, if infection proceeds unchecked, it only proves the insufficiency of protective substances and antibodies. It does not disprove the fact that antibodies do counteract infective agents. Under such circumstances the devotee has to perfect his technique of non-violence. But to Gandhiji, non-violence is not merely a political technique, nor even an ethical doctrine, but a way of life.

Faith and Action

Bruce Atkinson, in a recent publication, has stated that the world needs today a man of faith and of action. He quotes Abraham Lincoln in this connection and considers Gandhiji as a spiritual leader only, a man of faith. If action means military maneuvers, Atkinson is right. But Gandhiji's fight against the British during the last twenty-five years and more, his whole public life, has been nothing but a record of action on the non-violent plane. History has recorded numerous instances of men of great faith, saints and prophets, who have preached this doctrine of non-violence because they had faith in it. But Gandhiji is the only leader of public thought and action who has tested the application of this doctrine on a mass scale and in public affairs, and obtained through it, independence of his country, in his lifetime. History must accept him as a man of action who successfully conducted a non-violent campaign against a powerful opponent.

While developing this technique, Gandhiji, starting with the usual weakness of an ordinary mortal, weighed down with fears and temptations, passions and prejudices, succeeded in changing his whole personality by years of rigorous concentration on a few simple emotionally significant ideas, years of strict self-discipline and intensive self-training. He has developed within himself a peace of mind, arising out of a total integration of all the elements of his personality, with a tremendous controlled reservoir of energy which he calls "soul force." Few men at the age of seventy-eight will trudge along, alone, for weeks, barefooted, on village paths, in order to promote communal harmony and to bring a message of hope, courage and goodwill among the warring communities. This energy he imparts to those who follow him. He trains them by action and by deeds, and not merely by precepts and dogmas. His individuality is so developed, he is so self-sufficient, so far as this type of non-violent warfare is concerned, that he often takes decisions and acts alone.

He started alone on the famous Dandi march in 1930, when he walked hundreds of miles to reach the seashore, where he intended to establish the rights of the poverty-stricken masses of India to manufacture salt out of sea water for their own consumption, which was being opposed by the authorities. He gave open and due notice to the Government of his intentions and started alone. Some laughed, some scoffed at the puerile idea but thousands soon followed him and the tremendous force released by this movement amazed, stunned and thwarted the mighty British government.

For Gandhiji, in a non-violent fight, "means" are bigger than the end. He does not believe in the dictum, "End justifies the means." "If the means are truthful," says he, "honest and non-violent, the end must be likewise. You cannot achieve an iniquitous end, you cannot commit a theft through truth and non-violence."

Also a Positive Philosophy

But Gandhiji's non-violence is not merely a negation of violence, physical or mental. It has many positive facets. To an abuse hurled to him, a devotee of non-violence does not hurl back an abuse in return. He restrains himself, because he knows that whenever one wants to return one evil by another, he could only do so by violence, which increases the evil. Violence can only be met by superior violence. Such a superior violence necessarily means restriction of freedom to others—freedom to think, to speak, to judge for himself, to maintain his dignity and self-respect. A denial of such freedom, by violent methods, hampers the growth of the individual; recognition of such freedom in others removes suspicion, misunderstanding and fear. A non-violent man, therefore, gives patient hearing to his opponent, reasons with him respectfully and, if needs be, combats enmity by non-violent resistance. In dealing with men, particularly those of different cult or way of thinking, he does not injure them but endures injury for himself, serves them without fear or unnaturalness, and thus the non-violent, non-co-operation technique succeeds.

The urgent need of the present day is to develop the individual, the Man. Modern individualism rests on what he "has" and not on what he "is". Gandhiji concentrates not on "taking" but on "giving," "doing" and in "being." Individualism for Gandhiji is the "maximum of freedom from external circumstances for the individual and the maximum development of his inner qualities. Therefore Gandhiji is a free man inside out." He calls upon every individual to be a free man by following his principles and adopting the "non-violent" way of life. He has declared that non-violence is the only salvation for mankind in the present juncture and a solution for the many baffling problems facing the world. Non-violence alone can create a bond of understanding between the victor and the vanquished, between the strong and the weak, between the big and the small, between the East and the West. To an American enquirer who asked him

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'why he considered that democracy could only be saved through non-violence,' Gandhiji gave the following reply :

"Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest will have the same opportunity as the strongest. No country in the world today shows any but patronizing regard for the weak. And it is to save such democracies that wars are being waged. Why is there any war if it is not for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils? India is trying to evolve true democracy, *i.e.*, without violence. Our weapons are those of Satyagraha—expressed through hand-loom (*charka*), the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, a non-violent organization of labour. If occasion arises, such a democracy will offer non-violent resistance to evil. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak, the aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiments can and will."

Asks Mutual Respect

I have tried, feebly and perhaps imperfectly, to place India's message, Gandhiji's message of "non-violence and truth" as I understand them, before a Western audience. I have been encouraged and emboldened to do so because, I have felt, after my extensive tours in this country during the last few weeks, where I met the American people, big and small, in towns and in villages, that, temperamentally, American people resemble ours. We have similar range of emotion and imagination, and we are both sensitive. I leave the understanding of this thesis to the temperamental kinship.

The world is tired of violence and there is a small voice in each one of us which asks, "When shall it all end, and how?" I suggest that we start today and take every step to restore the dignity and self-respect of Man, in every country and clime among the coloured and white races. Restore to him his individuality and let him be free even as Gandhiji is free through living a life of "non-violence and truth."

The present tangle can only be solved when free men and peoples restore to the world mutual self-respect, esteem and regard in the sincerity of opposing creeds and faiths. This only will remove distrust, jealousy and hatred, and restore the cultural equilibrium of the world. Thus only shall we avert another war. Then only shall we realize the dream of Wendell Willkie, namely, the establishment of "One World" of peace and progress, in which the progressive democracies of the West will, with enthusiasm and deliberation, include, "on the basis of cultural equality, those which they, in their supercillous ignorance, consider to be the political backwardness of Communistic Russia or the technological backwardness of Asia."*

* Address at the second session of the New York Herald Tribune Forum on October 21, 1947.

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SOUTH ASIA'S OPPORTUNITY

By HAROLD R. ISAACS*

In South Asia the nationalist dreams are coming true. India is virtually free of the British Raj, although at the price of tragic division. Burma is becoming an independent republic. In Indo-China and Indonesia, France and Holland are fighting bitter, brutal wars against armed peoples. But these are rearguard battles. The Republics of Viet Nam and Indonesia already exist. Their vitality far exceeds that of their former rulers. The end of the old colonialism is a fact acknowledged even by the colonial masters. The new British policy of adaptation and the French and Dutch wars are all essentially salvage operations in which the outgoing rulers are trying to rescue what they can of the old strategic and economic advantages of colonialism. But this salvage attempt is doomed to be self-defeating. Through the murk of conflict and violence, a new pattern is already discernible in South Asia. Despite enormous social and economic handicaps imposed by centuries of backwardness and foreign rule, these countries are at last winning their political independence. They are becoming, in some measure, masters of their own fate.

But this great historic change is subject to a grim historical paradox. The nationalist dreams of the decades have taken too long to come true. The subject countries have had to wage the battle for nationhood because it is the only means of finally ridding themselves of foreign rule. But they are reaching their goal in a time when nationhood, as such, is a blind alley. Nationalism is triumphing in Asia in an epoch when on a world scale nationalism is bankrupt. The colonies are winning the chance to substitute national economy for colonial economy when national economies, as such, are dying diseased things. They are winning national independence when independence alone no longer nourishes growth. The new nations of India, Pakistan, Burma, Viet Nam, and Indonesia will never enjoy freedom in the 19th century sense of unbridled national sovereignty. It is the stubbornly prolonged existence of nationhood in that sense which lies at the heart of the present crisis in human affairs. This is the dilemma of all the states on earth, from the smallest to the greatest. It is all the more acute for the new nations

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falteringly taking shape out of the debris of colonialism. It is now not a question of national communities but of a world community, not national economies but a world economy. The newly-independent countries of South Asia will as nations be no less stifled than they were as colonies. They can thrive not in a national order but only in a world order.

But there is no world order in sight. It is scarcely necessary to labor this point. The long history of wars between nations—in which Asia's colonies were pawns and victims—has reached its penultimate conclusion. From struggle for pieces of the earth, we have come to the eve of the final conflict for the earth itself. The globe as a whole has become the minimum unit of necessary social change, the smallest possible compass for a viable social order. The recent great war did not decide the issue of human progress but the identity of the main protagonists. It eliminated Germany and Japan as contenders for world power. It brought Russian national power and American national power to the final confrontation. The globe is crushed in helpless agony between these two super-nationalist entities and the future must wait upon the resolution of the conflict between them. The irony is that in so far as they represent different social and economic systems, the issue is fraudulent becuase neither is pregnant with any decent promise for mankind. The one offers capitalist anarchy, the other totalitarian thraldom. Between such a thesis and such an antithesis, the peoples of the earth are caught in a condition of permanent war. The immediate prospect is paralysis. The ultimate prospect, if the direction is not changed, is mutual destruction.

It is at such a juncture in history that the colonies of Asia are finally emerging as nations. They need a world order in which to grow but there is no world order in prospect. What, then, happens to them? What do they do? What *can* they do?

II

The leaders of South Asia have to carve an answer for themselves out of the realities that face them. These begin with a definition of South Asia's relation to the world power conflict. South Asia is in no way exempt from this struggle. We know now that there may be fringes of global conflict but there are no havens from it: Northern Asia—China, Japan, Korea—is already a Russian-American battleground. The lofty mountains that divide the continent north and south cannot, as we saw in 1941-45, serve as a barrier against the pressures of total war. South Asians have to consider the possibilities of the future in plain power-political terms.

If continental northern Asia passes largely into the Russian sphere, the present status of South Asia will change. If, for example, Russia's strategic frontier should move to the Great Wall and thence southward to the Yellow or Yangtze Rivers, South Asia would begin to form part of the outlying glacis of "security" in which Russia systematically seeks domination or effective control. India and Southeast Asia would become, far more than now, objects of rather intense Russian interest. By the same token, South Asia would shift from low-priority to high-priority status in Anglo-American calculations. The Anglo-Americans could then foresee a day when they might want South Asia to provide against Russia the defenses it failed to supply against Japan. These factors are already actively present in the shaping of British policy in the area where Britain acts, in effect, as America's deputy. It is not too difficult to imagine a coming time when we may be hearing as much about the North-West Frontier, as we have heard, for example, about Iran, or to imagine the discovery of similarities in the strategic significance of the Aegean peninsula and the peninsulas of South-east Asia. It could come to that.

But the important thing is that it has not come to that yet. This is South Asia's one great present advantage. This is the source of South Asia's opportunity. For the time being at least, it is not a primary theatre in the present phase of the Russian-American conflict. No country in South Asia faces the tragic plight of a Korea, bisected by a Russian-American strategic frontier, or of a China already split by a civil war that only thinly masks the underlying Russian-American struggle. Right now the countries of South Asia have to contend directly not with the two Great Powers but with the weakened and retreating imperialisms of Britain, France, and Holland. This is a tremendous asset if they know how to make use of it. It means they are presented with a gift of time, a crucially valuable interval of uncertain duration. In a very real political and moral sense, these countries are not bound to either of the two great power blocs. They have the chance, therefore, to work against the portents of disaster. They have the time to try to raise a new voice, speaking in new accents, in world councils. They have time, at least, in which to work for survival.

This is South Asia's opportunity. The ability to grasp it will be determined by South Asia's relation in the coming period to its former imperialist masters, to the United States, and to Russia. It will be determined above all by the immediate internal development in each of its countries and by the relationship they establish among themselves.

III

In the first place, South Asia can recognize no further claims upon it by its former masters. Its fight against imperialist rule anywhere and everywhere in the region must be carried through to its conclusion.

For one, two, and three centuries, the colonial powers yoked these countries to metropolitan needs. They bled them at the beginning for a large part of Europe's primary capital. They drew from them over the decades returns which repaid their investments many times over. The former colonial powers are today at the end of their tether, enfeebled and bankrupt. The ex-colonies now certainly are under no obligation to offer up their resources and their labor to save their onetime masters from collapse.

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As for alleged "cultural" bonds, it hardly seems necessary to dwell seriously upon the argument that the West has been a civilizing influence, that some touching bond of pupil to teacher still links slave to former master. The colonies are, in fact, left with a legacy of economic and social backwardness, of dislocation owing to a war not of their making, of illiteracy, internal divisions, and the deep psychological and moral scars of racial subjection. Let it be flatly understood : the day of the masters is done and the slaves owe them nothing.

The present object of the colonial powers is to retrieve what they can of the economic and strategic advantages they formerly enjoyed. For these, under heavy nationalist pressure, they are now willing to offer political concessions. The British, with a flexibility of which their confreres are evidently incapable, have finally yielded to the nationalist demand for full independence. They are gambling on the hope that in the looser frame of their commonwealth or even on the basis of direct treaty relations, they can still enjoy some of the advantages they formerly had within the tighter structure of empire. The proposed French "Union" and Dutch "Commonwealth" are, for their part, transparent devices for yielding some of the forms of political power while preserving the essence. They are so transparent and actually concede so little, that their creators are having to try to cram them down the throats of their recalcitrant ex-subjects. Hence the spectacle of the present French and Dutch efforts to divide and crush the nationalist oppositions and, through pliant puppets, to retain control of their colonial realms.

Any success they have will profit them little. It will not work. Effective new relations between the South Asian countries and their former rulers will have to be based on unqualified independence for the ex-colonies. The climate of these relations will be unavoidably influenced by the legacy from the past. It will hardly be improved by the ferocity with which Holland's American-trained commandos and France's ex-Nazi mercenaries are trying to force Dutch and French wishes upon their insurgent subjects. Despite this, the nationalist leaders of Viet Nam and Indonesia have up to now displayed a remarkable, and even excessive, willingness to compromise. They have tried to adapt their demands for full independence to the terms of "union" and "commonwealth" offered by the French and the Dutch. They signed agreements in good faith, in the belief they were conceding only in matters of form. But in each case, events have shown that the former rulers have had no intention of acknowledging the reality of independence. In each case, the French and the Dutch have resumed the use of brute force to bring their subjects to heel.

Indonesia and Viet Nam will from now on compromise at their own peril. South Asia will allow them to compromise only at its peril. As Nehru has so explicitly stated, South Asia shall not be free until the last imperialist troops are expelled and the last vestiges of imperialist rule wiped out. In the pre... operations, the French and Dutch are enjoying o... transient and limited military superiority. They ... acting out of desperation and profound weakness. T... are economically and morally bankrupt. They ca... sustain these wars of reconquest if the resis... continues. Time is on the side of the nationalists ... they can keep up a war of attrition, they must in ... end prevail. All of South Asia must help assure t... final victory.

IV

This raises, in its sharpest and most immed... form, the question of South Asia's relations with ... United States. The European powers were able ... regain access to their Asiatic colonies only by vi... of the American victory over Japan. They forced ... re-entry with Anglo-American help. The weapons ... being employed against the nationalists of Viet N... and Indonesia are in large part American weap... The ability of France and Holland to continue wag... these wars is due in no small measure to Ameri... loans, injected at intervals, like shots of adren... That they can wage these wars at all without effec... world protest is due in no small degree to Ameri... toleration of their acts. The matter can be framed ... a question that answers itself : is it conceivable th... France and Holland could wage war upon their colo... subjects if the United States really wanted to preve... them from doing so ?

South Asia has been learning that betw... American professions and American acts there is ... deep gulf in which every progressive impulse is ... terred. On the formal record, in diplomatic notes ... ceremonial public declarations, the United States ... spoken for honest self-determination, the four fr... doms, and international co-operation in the making ... a brave new world. In South Asia, as elsewhere, m... people identified American policy with these objectiv... In the past two years they have learned that Ameri... policy is what America does, not what America sa...

At best it might be said that the United St... piously hoped that changes would occur, but in ... framework of sweetly reasonable compromise. W... this was not forthcoming, the United States failed ... stand behind the forces of necessary change. In ... showdown in South Asia at the end of the war, ... supported not the nationalists but the colonial pow... It sententiously deplored the use of force and urg... all the parties to negotiate, but in practice it help... the imperialist aggressors. Nationalist appeals ... Washington, written under strafing and bombing ... American lend-lease planes, under fire by Ameri... lend-lease artillery, under attack by troops accou... with American equipment and brought from Eur... in American vessels, all went unheeded. The story ... this shoddy alliance of the early post-war months ... been told elsewhere in some detail.* Since th... American acts have followed the same pat...

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* See my *No Peace for Asia*, Macmillan, 1947

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Washington has been diplomatically indignant at French and Dutch stupidity in failing to make less costly settlements. But the French and Dutch have not been prevented from using their meagre resources, periodically replenished by American loans, to wage their colonial wars.

On the few occasions when colonial issues have been discussed before bodies of the UN, the United States has usually expressed its sympathy for nationalist goals and then generally voted with the colonial powers. When the issue of Holland's attack on Indonesia was placed before the UN Security Council by India and Australia last July, the United States played the role of half-bystander, half-advocate of the Dutch. It helped prolong the deliberations. When after four weeks it was finally agreed to send military observers to the spot to report on compliance with the UN cease-fire order, the American group was delayed four more weeks in getting there. All the while, Dutch forces were "mopping up" and cutting the territory of the Indonesian Republic into segments.

The official American reasoning seems to be that South Asia is not very important because it is not directly involved in the Russian problem. France and Holland are necessary to the building of a Western European bulwark against Russia. Hence they have to be shored up, even if it means giving *de facto* support to wars for colonial restoration. This goes by the name of realistic expediency. In fact, it testifies to the remarkable myopia that blocks the official American view of the world political scene. Official America seems unable to distinguish between real cause and real effect or between political assets and political liabilities. It seems wholly incapable of seriously applying democratic principles, in their profounder sense of individual and popular self-determination, to the making of policy. These principles are reserved, in holiday phrases, for ceremonial use only. In *realpolitik* thus conceived, they have no part. Hence American support of France and Holland in Asia. Hence American reliance upon the corrupt, reactionary and tyrannical regimes of Greece and China in the blind drive to erect what are regarded as defenses against Russia.

In a world that groans for lack of dynamic change, the United States has assumed the role of defender of capitalist conservatism. It looks with suspicious disfavor even upon the "socialists" of Western Europe, despite the fact that some of these are "socialists" capable of waging colonial wars! It looks askance at the nationalists of South Asia because they are upsetting apple-carts, because they are obliged by their own most urgent needs to be boldly radical. Within its own heaving economy, America remains at the mercy of its cash-and-carry capitalism. It is adrift in anarchy, clinging to its blind economic strength like a madman clings to his delusions.

That is why in world politics it acts like a muscle-bound idiot. It is dissipating its greatest political asset; the belief of millions all over the world that America stood for democratic change, for an end to an outworn and crumbling *status quo*, for a world order in place of world anarchy. It has surrendered to the Communist tools of Russian totalitarianism the role of catalyst in an age of change. The American people will have to pay heavily for this prodigal failure to bring to life a dream that might have been true. And so will the rest of the world.

From these facts, South Asia must draw harsh conclusions. It will have to count on its strength alone to finish the job of defeating imperialism. Once that is accomplished, South Asia will be able to "do business" with the United States. It will be able to hawk some of its resources in the dollar-dominated world market. It may even usefully attract some American capital. But it will be able to operate advantageously only if it first acquires full control of its own major economic assets. Even then, the advantages will be limited and sporadic. Some capital goods may be acquired and some few gains may be made. But no large-scale and rationally-planned reconstruction will be possible.

In terms of its broader political orientation, South Asia has to keep clear of the American world camp. The United States is not offering leadership in the creation of a new world order. It has chosen so far only to lead in the defense of a system that no longer works. Its destination along this road is the ultimate collapse. South Asia cannot wholly prevent itself from being dragged along. But it can try to avoid being pulled over the precipice.

V

The Russian model for the world order is totalitarian statism under Russian world leadership. Its method is the aggrandizement of Russian national power, at whatever cost to other peoples. Does this offer an alternative leadership that South Asia can follow?

Russia too, a little farther back in recent history, represented an immense dream for much of Asia. It supplied the example of a successful revolution in a huge, backward country. It stood for a new kind of dynamic internationalism. It scornfully repudiated the Czar's extortions from China. It lent support, direct and indirect, to the national movements that surged across Asia in the aftermath of World War I. But that Russia was buried long ago, in the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927, in the concentration camps, dungeons, and cemeteries of the Russian secret police. Its internationalist voices were stilled by the gunfire of its executioners. Its internationalist policies were replaced by an intensely narrow nationalism. For its own ends it manipulated popular movements abroad and by its attempt to win a breathing space for itself in the 'thirties, it brought on the crushing defeats in Germany, Spain, and France that were the prelude to World War II.

Today's Russia is the super-state, one of the two great national powers contending for world primacy. It is a monolithic, totalitarian police state. Its control of the whole national economy is vested in an all-

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powerful and self-perpetuating bureaucracy which is organized by Russia's the new ruling class. It has stifled all dissent and for its dissenters has created a vast system of forced labor in which literally millions are enslaved. This is the Russia which was allied with Hitler and with him plotted the division of the world's spoils. This is the Russia which was then allied to the West, which has invaded and absorbed huge territories, looted foreign industries, created pliant governments in its cordon of satellite states, and which has extracted territorial and military privileges from China. This is the Russia which stands today not for any kind of socialism but for super-state sovereignty as the prime weapon of power.

To this Russia, the colonies are simply pawns in the power struggle. It uses colonial issues to needle its Western rivals and to provide justification in reverse for its own depredations. Its sole criterion is the Russian national interest. Hence it is just for Russia to take the Kuriles, to hold Port Arthur, or to pressure Turkey or Iran but unjust for the United States to fortify its Pacific islands or bases in the Arctic. Where it is conjuncturally convenient to its purposes, Russia turns a colonial issue into a skirmish. Such was the Ukraine's move against Britain in the UN two years ago on the issue of the war in Java. But where it does not suit Russian purposes, other colonial issues are left severely alone.

Russia has, for example, remained officially silent on France's war against Viet Nam. Where France will fall in the power lottery is not yet clear. French strategic outposts in Asia might yet prove a Russian national asset. Hence Russia's satellite Communist Party in France guides itself accordingly. It has been remarked earlier that the United States could halt the colonial wars if it wished to do so. Similarly, the French Communist Party could stop France's war against Viet Nam. Not a gun, or a ship, or a man could move eastward from France if the French Communist Party willed it so. Instead, in the earlier stages of the conflict, French Communists tried to get the Vietnamese to check their revolt until Russia's wishes could be ascertained. When fighting broke out, the French Communists took a stand not unlike that of the United States. They have deplored the war. They have editorialized against it. In the French Assembly, Communist deputies abstained from a vote on war credits. In the cabinet, the Communist ministers voted along with the government. They have advocated "negotiations." But they have taken no preventive action.

Russia's professed concern for self-determination does not prevent it from turning all its satellites into servile tools, each one becoming in the Russian image a police state which imprisons and executes its dissidents. Russia is a great national power in a race for world mastery. It bids for the world not with a new freedom but with a new tyranny.

There are to be sure, some grounds for political affinity between South Asia and totalitarian Russia. Even some Indian industrialists have in the past been

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demonstration of what run dictatorship can accomplish in the industrialization a backward country. The Communist program destroying feudal and quasi-feudal land relations not yet been matched by any other political prog capable of achieving the same end without making part of a totalitarian system. And destruction feudal land relations is the prime political task in Asia. In China, even though the Communists turned their radical agrarianism on and off like a sp in accordance with Russia's changing policies revolutionary impulses of the peasants are placed the service of Russian totalitarianism.

There is in Asia's backwardness and thraldo deep reservoir for new kinds of tyranny. In e newly-independent country the question of inte power remains unresolved. Each is subject to the of reaction at both ends of the political and c spectrum. India could re-furbish the British con tration camps in the Andamans. Viet Nam co enlarge the French penal colony at Poulu Cond Sufficiently frustrated by prolonged and unrelie crisis and in the face of failure by its progress leaderships, South Asia could indeed take the path tyranny.

It could come to that. But here, again, t important thing is that it has not come to that p South Asia can try not to be dragged toward n catastrophes by American capitalism. But neither is compelled to take the road, behind Russia, toward new 20th century Byzantium in which economic pr gress is equated in a new way to human slavery. this indecisive interim, while the titans spar a skirmish, South Asia has the chance not to take sid It has the chance to gather together its own resour for survival. It even has the chance to begin to bu a world in some third image.

VI

The reference here throughout has been to So Asia as a whole. This is imposed, and by no ma accidentally, by the nature of the argument. All th general considerations affect the area as a whole. T transcend all the obvious and formidable particulari in the different countries. By the same token, great opportunity that now confronts South Asia is India's opportunity, nor Burma's, nor Viet Nam's, Indonesia's; it is *South Asia's* opportunity.

Consider South Asia as a physical fact. It embr perhaps a fifth of the world's surface. It contains of the richest resources in the world. Of some, p rubber, tin, jute, hemp, rice, it has the world's lar share. It has iron and coal and oil. It has great fores It has rich land. Its people number more than hal billion, one-fourth of the world's population. defined, South Asia is one of the major areas of t world, capable of immense production. The colon system imposed upon it a grotesquely distor economy in which its people could multiply but not thrive. In a rational world order, it could multiply and the world's wealth many times.

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It is deprived of that chance for now. But it still must edge its way in that general direction. This means that South Asia must make the leap from a state of colonial subjection to a new and dynamic kind of internationalism. Its countries have to find a way, even now before they are wholly shaped themselves, to function as a coherent political unit. That is their first and only defense against the anarchy of the rest of the world.

This is not soaring vision. This is hard politics. These countries cannot long enjoy their triumphant nationalism for it will soon crumble to pieces in their hands. Each has enormous unresolved internal problems. But it would be the utmost folly for any progressive South Asian nationalist to think that these problems postpone or preclude any regional organization. On the contrary, the existence of these problems is part of the pressure that dictates some such unity.

What kind of unity? There are blocs and blocs in the world. Each has a form that corresponds to its purpose and to the character of the countries that compose it. South Asia too must form a bloc, but a bloc like no other in the world and serving a purpose no less unique. South Asia has no interest in tying itself together in a string of knots to fly at the tail of some big power's kite. Nor will its needs be served by a loose mechanism like the Arab League, uniting bitterly rival feudal cliques on the strength of a few common political aims. South Asia must, within the limits of its own possibilities, aim at something that resembles what the world as a whole must become. It has to aim toward a federated union, a regional regime democratically functioning and with power to plan and to act.

No attempt can be made here to blueprint all the imponderables of such a union. These depend to such a profound degree on the social and political character of the regimes that finally emerge in command of the new South Asian nations, on the boldness and vision and clarity of the best of South Asia's leaders. They have to pool their interest and their wisdom to give such a union its ultimate shape. Meanwhile, there are certain common purposes already obvious, already dictating common action. Out of such action, the machinery of union can begin to be built.

The first of these is the need to bring to an end the colonial wars in Viet Nam and Indonesia. None of the new regimes in South Asia is so narrowly nationalist as not to recognise this fact. But they have to act. They can form a South Asian Council, which will sit in permanence in Delhi or Bangkok. This council can devise and direct the steps that can be taken. French and Dutch communications across South Asia can be broken. Arms can be shipped. On an unofficial basis even volunteers can be recruited. On the diplomatic front, no chance should be lost to cite France and Holland before the rest of the world. The action already taken on Indonesia must be followed by similar action on Viet Nam. Such action in the UN cannot be counted on for practical results in the war zones. But it can have considerable political effect and link South Asia to many of the smaller nations in other parts of the world. In the face of a bold diplomatic offensive, the Great Powers will be compelled to veer and tack to meet it. Accompanied by a vigorous propaganda campaign, especially in the United States, such an offensive would not be without result.

Other functions could be assumed by the South Asian Council. It can undertake a master inventory of the economic resources of the region. It can recommend master plants for food production and food transport and for mutually beneficial reconstruction projects for which material is available or can be secured. It can plan mutual educational programs. It can pool facilities for training technicians. It can devise the framework of a customs union and for rationalizing all transport and communications in the area. It can, indeed, move toward closer union and wider areas of common action just as fast as the participating members are prepared to go.

Any union, of course, is a product of its parts. Common action is by itself no virtue. It can be employed by the most reactionary forces and employed for the most reactionary purposes. The present world political jungle abounds with examples. The South Asian Union advocated here would be a union whose aim is to embrace neither tyranny nor anarchy but to seek some new combination for the secrets of progress. It would have to be composed of states militantly and dynamically trying to break with the bonds of the past. They would be vigorously demolishing the obsolete and oppressive systems of land tenure. They would be abolishing usury, rationalizing the marketing of rural produce, introducing modern farming methods. They would be establishing rational control over industry. They would be waging all-out war on illiteracy and preventable disease. They would be based on broad, democratically organized and freely functioning popular mass movements, rooted in the people and in the broadening of popular liberties. They would be vigorous, radical, revolutionary states trying to apply the best of socialist thinking and methods to the real problems of liberation.

Does South Asia contain these elements, or enough of them to prevail over landlordism and religious and political reaction? That remains to be seen. An organism that does not grow atrophies. Maybe it is far too much to hope that healthy bodies can still grow in this paretic world. Perhaps it is true that the effective political elements in this world can combine only to spawn monsters. Maybe it is a kind of desperate optimism to think that this might not yet be true of South Asia. Here, at any rate, is the challenge and the opportunity.

The proposition does not start from zero. The bare logic of events has given the idea of South Asian unity currency among all kinds of nationalist politicians. It is already widely discussed throughout South Asia and is already being projected in many different forms. It is part of the thinking of Nehru and even more so of the Indian Socialist Party. There are

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strong socialist currents in the leadership of both Viet Nam and Indonesia. This is already a sizable political bloc within the present guiding circles of South Asian nationalism. There are also, to be sure, Moslem conservatives, bourgeois reactionaries, princes and landlords, and religious fanatics. The issue lies between them. If some modified kind of socialism can still triumph in South Asia, if the best of South Asia's leaders are bold enough to work for it, they can create something new under the sun.

It is impossible for them to break through the bounds of narrow nationalism, then all of it is impossible. The triumphant nationalisms will each assume some new form of grotesque frustration. Each country of South Asia, pursuing its own course, will beat its brains out against the walls of world-wide futility. Far from possibly becoming a new dynamic factor in determining the fate of the world, the countries of South Asia will simply share its fate as passive victims.

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OBJECTS BEHIND THE INVASION OF KASHMIR

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

Important facts about the timing and tactics of the invasion of Kashmir, composition of the invading hordes, their equipment and leadership and reported complicity of Pakistan with the invaders are now well-known matters of history.

The cloud of controversy, charges and counter-charges about the invasion has somewhat distracted attention from the object behind this most singular invasion of the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu by organised marauders. In a communique, dated 30.10.47, the Pakistan Government states :

> "In the opinion of the Government of Pakistan, the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union is based on fraud and violence and as such can not be recognised," and that the use of Kashmir troops first to attack Muslims in Poonch and "later massacre of Muslims in Jammu, inflamed all the more Pathan feeling and made the raid on Kashmir inevitable."

What the Pakistan Government did to hasten and facilitate the inevitable is another matter but here is a declaration of the object of the raid made on behalf of the raiders by the Pakistan Government. The attack on the Muslims in Poonch and the massacre of the Muslims in Jammu inflamed the Pathan feeling and without waiting for Pakistan, the new bulwark of Islam on this side of the Hindukush, to take suitable action to obtain redress, the Waziris and Mashuds from a distance of 250 miles and the Afridis equipped with all modern military paraphernalia swooped upon Kashmir violating Pakistan territory. Their object was to avenge the attack on and massacre of Muslims in Poonch and Jammu.

Some details as to how the oppressed and massacred Muslims in Poonch and Jammu were avenged in the Kashmir valley have come to be known. The Head of the Emergency Administration in Kashmir has invited observers from all countries, especially Islamic countries, to come and see for themselves

> "what the invaders have done to destroy the home of those very Mussalmans for whose deliverance they pretended, they were coming in the name of Islam as friends from Pakistan."

Again,

> "This invasion has left deep wounds on our hearts. Our beautiful land lies despoiled with hundreds of villages and precious paddy of thousands of maunds reduced to ashes. Prosperous Pattan is nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins and beautiful Baramula has been freely looted by filthy hands."

To the above may be added the latest report that goods looted in Kashmir are being carried away in 500 trucks supplied by friends.

That besides the declared object there are other more weighty objects behind the invasion is coming to be known to the public little by little. Light is thrown on these objects by the disclosures made on the one hand by the Kashmiri leaders and on the other, by the attitude of the British Tory Press. It is rather unfortunate for the sympathisers with the *jehad* against the Kashmir Government by tribesmen that Muslim leaders of Kashmir, who are accredited representatives of their people, have come forward to make a number of disclosures about the undeclared objects behind the *jehad*.

In an interview to the *Hindustan Times* on 5.11.47, Sheikh Abdullah said that the inroad by raiders into Kashmir was the outcome of internal complications which Pakistan was unable to solve and the attack had been engineered to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from pressing internal problems.

> "The Government had to justify the establishment of Pakistan founded on the hymn of hate by bringing peace and plenty to the people, for negative slogans could no longer provide emotional food for the Muslim masses. This called for a policy of reconstruction which the Pakistan Government could not formulate and, to avoid pessimism in the people, it had launched a policy of jingoism to keep up public enthusiasm."

Again,

> "A counter move, preferably aggressive, was needed to kill the Pathanistan movement in the Frontier launched by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Pakistan could not afford to feed the Pathans from

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their central exchequer like the British ; so by helping the tribal people to plunder Kashmir Pakistan hoped to solve the economic problem of the Pathans for the time being."

Sheikh Abdullah added that Kashmir had been made a scapegoat to make Pakistan strong and successful.

At Amirkadal a speech was delivered by Maulvi Muhammad Sayeed Masoodi, General Secretary of the National Conference. In this speech he analysed the genesis of the invasion and said that with the establishment of Pakistan,

> "Movements for *Azad Baluchistan* and *Azad Pathanistan* began to grow stronger, and what is more, tribesmen whose indifference to Indian politics was bought by the old British Government with bribes and hush money to the tune of four crores of rupees (in 1947) began to grow impatient giving constant headache to Pakistan leadership, particularly to the Frontier League Government. All these difficulties are pregnant with a grave danger to the stability of the newly founded Pakistan itself. What was the solution? The invasion of Kashmir was the ready though a short-sighted solution of all these problems. The invasion has for the time being isolated non-communal movements for *Azad Baluchistan* and *Azad Pathanistan*."

Again,

> "Tribesmen have been promised rich prospects of plunder and loot in the famous valley of Kashmir. Indeed their evil designs go farther. They are all out to settle lakhs of their tribesmen in the lovely valley of Kashmir. This has naturally proved a strong lure to these barbarous hordes, dwelling in the barren hills of the tribal areas where they live a life of poverty and semi-starvation."

It is evident that the leaders of the Kashmiri people do not want the tribesmen in their country either as deliverers or as settlers. More than that ; they are fighting to repel the attack on their country by the *jehadi* tribesmen and they are condemning Pakistan for having let loose these looters on their country.

The attitude of the British Tory Press also throws light on the undeclared objects of the invasion. The Tory attitude may have two reasons behind it ; it may be that the diehard section think that Pakistan has a real claim to Kashmir and they think that they can still afford to play in the role of arbitrator. Pakistan's claim to Kashmir is based on the fact that 78 per cent of the population of the valley are Muslims. This claim holds good, it is to be supposed, though the Ruler and the majority of the people may repudiate the claim. Now that the tactics adopted to assert the claim have not succeeded, Tory circles have suggested a division of the territories of the Maharaja.

The London representative of a Calcutta newspaper reports on 5.11.47 that "Tory circles in the Houses of Parliament give tacit support to Jinnah's tactics in Kashmir." The *Economist* discourages the idea of holding a referendum and puts forth a suggestion for the solution of the tangle :

> "A solution might be to separate Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh remaining with the former and Gilgit region with the latter."

Tory India experts want Jammu and Ladakh to remain with India and Kashmir and Gilgit to go to Pakistan. After the success of Sheikh Abdullah's administration the objection to referendum is not unexpected. Now one comes to the second reason behind the Tory attitude. How the case for partition is being built up may be noted.

The London representative of a paper writes that a warning was conveyed by the Pakistan Governor-General to Mr. Attlee through a Conservative M.P. that

> "If the British Labour Government does not come to the aid of Pakistan against India, Russia would 'in accord with Pandit Nehru' rule the Indian sub-continent."

The *Sunday Observer's* special commissioner has told the British public that

> "Pakistan would remain within the British Commonwealth, Pakistan leaders are pro-British and anti-Soviet and Britain would gain by supporting them against Indian leaders."

He also throws out a hint that a third party might step into the Indian imbroglio. This hint is made clear by the *Times* which, referring to the report of the occupation of Gilgit by tribesmen writes :

> "*Gilgit is so close to the Afghan border with the Soviet Russia just beyond* that the inflammable potentialities of the situation are clear."

It is by holding up the old Russian bogey in the context of preparations of the third world war that Pakistan hopes to secure British support for its scheme of annexation of Kashmir. Again, it is this bogey which is responsible for the extraordinary suggestion for division of the Kashmir territories after relinquishment of power by the British Government in British India.

It may be mentioned in this connection that before the Amritsar treaty was concluded between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, in the Lahore treaty between the Lahore State and the British Government both the high contracting parties jointly recognised the independent sovereignty of the Maharaja in the territories formally transferred to him by the later Amritsar treaty. Of these territories Baltistan, Ladakh and territories under feudal chiefs included in the Jammu province had been acquired by Maharaja Gulab Singh by conquest before 1840. Kashmir was thus encircled several years before it was transferred to him by the treaty of Amritsar. It was sold by the British Government before the Sikh power had collapsed and when it never thought that it might collapse so soon. The naive candour of the suggestion coming a century after the treaties of Lahore and Amritsar and after withdrawal of the British from India for the partition of the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu acquired by conquest and purchase would be refreshing but for its mischievous potentialities.

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To return to the Russian bogey which is behind it. The Russian bogey is associated with the question of the possession of the strategic post of Gilgit. After the whole matter is carefully considered a doubt arises whether the British have ever sincerely believed that the Russian menace might really come from that side or their intention was simply to deprive the Hindus of the only strategic post under their control by making use of this bogey.

Gilgit is about 239 miles from Srinagar and it takes about 23 marches to reach it, the route starting from north of the Wular Lake *via* Bandipur. The distance is shortened by 8 miles by a second route from Gurez. Along the route there are four passes, the Rajdingan Pass (11,800), the Kamri Pass (13,160), the Hatu Pir Pass (10,000) and the Dorikun Pass (13,500), the last a few miles below Burzil, which have to be negotiated. The road is closed by snow for six months, from the middle of November to the middle of May. From Jagrot to Minawar, the road is difficult even for unloaded ponies. The Indus has to be crossed between Bawanji and Gilgit.

Beyond the Gilgit village and fort the Maharaja's territory extends for about 25 miles to Gakuja which is owned by the Raja of Punial, a tributary to the Maharaja. Huper is the last point after which begins the territory of the Yasin Chief. From Gilgit to Yasin the distance is about 80 miles.

Between the Afghan and Russian territories and Gilgit intervene the territories of the Rulers of Yasin, Mastuj and Chitral. The 15,380 feet Darkot Pass has to be negotiated before the Baroghill saddle (12,460) where the watersheds of the Oxus and Indus meet, is reached. Down this saddle the road goes to Sarhard on the Oxus from where through the Wakhjir Pass one turns to the Chinese Pamir. The road to Wakhan strikes off from the main valley of the Mastuj river. From Chitral one enters Badakhshan and Kafiristan by a number of passes. From Chitral one enters Badakhshan and Kafiiristan by a number of passes. A very difficult route passes from the westernmost Hunza valley to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

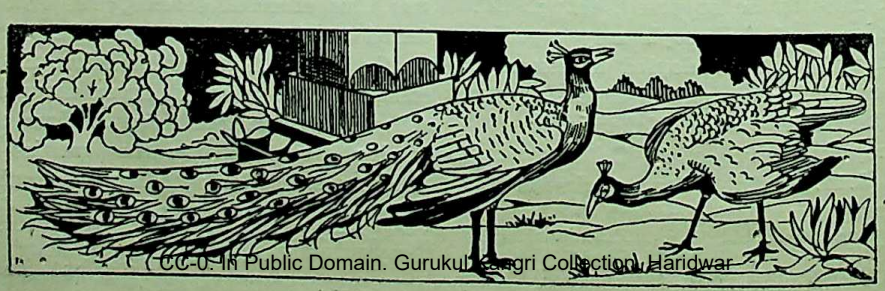
In descending from the upper Hindukush, the road from Chitral, Dir, Swat and through the Malkhand Pass to Hazara or through Kunar, Bajaur, and Swat looks more attractive than the very difficult route through Chitral, Mastuj, Yasin and Gilgit between which and the Kashmir valley lie rolling masses of enormous rocks with snow-capped ridges rising to more than 25,000 ft. and glaciers. Gilgit is not closer to the Afghan border with Soviet Russia just beyond than Chitral, Mastuj and Yasin which together with Hunza and Nagar are reported to have joined Pakistan and which form a block as safe from the British point of view as the tribal belt which lies between Afghanistan and N.-W. F. Province. Inflammable potentialities in so far as Gilgit is concerned evidently arise from the fact that Gilgit is owned by the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir.

Pakistan holds all the strategic posts in the north, the Khyber, Kurrum, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan. The accession of Yasin, Mastuj and Chitral gives it the control of the passes in the Hindukush, leading to the Afghan, Russian and Chinese territories. India can hardly be expected to give up the only strategic post in the north at Gilgit which is to serve her a small window for keeping a watch on Central Asia and completely cut itself off from its northern neighbours. How this strategic post can be used against Kashmir is proved by the reports of occupation of Gilgit by tribesmen from Swat and adjoining parts of N.-W. F. Province and tribal areas and by the latest report that the raiders have infiltrated into Kashmir from the north as far down as Astor. The report adds:

> "The possibility of raiders infiltrating into the valley of Kashmir even during winter months is not altogether ruled out."

The Durranis, who occupied Kashmir, planted small colonies of tribesmen there. Kashmir has just escaped the danger of occupation and mass colonisation through India's intervention and a repetition of the W. Punjab tragedy for 22 per cent non-Muslim minority has been prevented. The majority of the people of the State of Kashmir and Jammu are Muslims but the Kashmiri, Balti and Dardi Muslims of the State are in race, language, tradition and culture quite different from their fanatic, Mollah and Pir-ridden co-religionists of the N.-W. F. Province and tribal areas.

Kashmir will have to keep a strict watch not against Russia, Afghanistan and China but against those whose undeclared objects of invasion have been exposed by the Kashmiri leaders. She should quickly develop her life line, the Pathankot-Kathua road north of Amritsar, and India should keep open the small window set in the walls of the northern mountains opening out to the Central Asian hills, plateaus, deserts and steppes.



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THE INCOME AND STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE RURAL POPULATION IN BENGAL

A Regional Approach

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKHERJEE, M.A.

7044

The present study is confined to the period between 1908 and 1944 and covers the thrice-surveyed district of Faridpur alone. A complete census of the economic conditions of the cultivating and non-cultivating population of the district was made by Major J. C. Jack, I.C.S., as the first Settlement Officer, between 1906-1910. The Revised Settlement and Survey operations were carried on during 1940-42, when family budgets of about 3,000 agricultural units were collected. The author of this note has resurveyed the district first-hand during 1944-45 with a view to showing the kind of results—social and economic—that are likely to be obtained through the statistical method of random sampling. The questionnaire is not reproduced here; again, the results of enquiries affecting only 592 families alone are utilised in the following paragraphs.

The Occupational Classes

The district comprises an area of 2,821 sq. miles with a population of 2,888 thousand as per census of 1941. Of these, only 36 thousand persons live in towns, the rest are rural inhabitants. The numerical proportion of different communities is—Muslim 64·8 per cent, Scheduled Caste 18·2 per cent, Caste Hindu 16·2 per cent and others 0·4 per cent. The occupational distribution of the population in different periods has been as follows:

Table I

	1908[1]	1931[2]	1941[3]
Agriculture	78%	70·39%	73·3%
Rent-receivers	3%	6%	6%
Industry, Trade, Transport, Fishing	11%	15·2%	12·5%
Liberal Arts, Domestic Service			
Unproductive Others	8%	8·1%	7%
	..	·42%	1·22
Total	100	100	100

Progressive Derangement of Economic Life

The economic condition of the people of the district appears to have sharply and progressively deteriorated between 1908 and 1944. The figures of the following table as percentages of the total number of families in the district, will prove this contention:

Table II

Classification of the living condition of families[4]	Major Jack's Economic Survey[5] Agricultural families 1908	Major Jack's Economic Survey[5] Non-agricultural families 1908	Mr. Burrow's Enquiry[6] 1927	Revised Settlement Operations[7] 1940-42	Author's Sample Survey[8] 1944
In comfort	49·5%	47%	34·1%	27·8%	4·7%
Below comfort	28·5%	27%	18·2%	28·2%	5·9%
Above want	18·0%	20·4%	22·9%	20·6%	17·2%
In want	4·0%	5·6%	24·8%	23·4%	72·1%

From the above it follows that considerable inequality in the distribution of wealth prevails, and that after the famine the proportion of families which are very poor has become unduly large.

Jack's Estimate of Income of Different Classes of People

Jack has estimated the average annual income of different classes of people of the district as shown in the following table:

Table III

Average Annual Income of different classes[9]

Of families classified as living	In the population as a whole: Per family Rs.	In the population as a whole: Per head Rs.	Amongst cultivators only[13]: Per head Rs.	Amongst Non-cultivators only[14]: Per head Rs.
In comfort	365	65	60[10]	80
Below comfort	233	43	43	42
Above want	166	32	34	31
In want	115	26	27[10]	24
Average of all classes	282	52	50[11]	58[12]

1 Compiled from Chapters II and III of *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by J. C. Jack (1916) and Jack's *Final Report on Settlement Operations in Faridpur* (1904-14).

2 Vide *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V.

3 Vide *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. IV.

4 The standard is adopted from Jack's *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 73 and pp. 145 et seq.

5 Vide *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

6 Vide Burrow's *Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* (1927), Vol. IV (Evidence) of the Report.

7 Unpublished figures supplied to the author from the Settlement Office at Faridpur.

8 592 families alone are included here.

9 Jack: *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 154.

10 The averages are, however, shown as Rs. 50 and Rs. 20 in the 'model' budgets for comfort and extreme indigence. Vide *Ibid*, p. 83.

11 The average cultivated area per cultivator family (consisting of 5.6 persons) was Rs. 280. Vide *Ibid*, p. 79.

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Income and Expenditure of an Average Agricultural Family

As the district is mainly agricultural, it will be useful as well as interesting to compare the income and expenditure of an average agricultural family in different periods, with a view to ascertaining, as far as possible, the changes, if any, in their material condition. We should hasten to add, however, that the material condition of life is not capable of being fully interpreted in terms of cash income and expenditure. But it will have to be remembered that other things being equal, a higher income or a larger monetary expenditure does indicate an improvement in the standard of living. Among these "other things" price is an important factor; so also is the degree of availability of the common objects of enjoyment, and so on and so forth. Statistics are not available on the second factor. Again, prices of all the commodities sold or purchased by an average family, especially of manufactured goods, are not available covering the region with which we are concerned here. The prices of the main agricultural products in the respective periods are, however, given. But in the absence of further statistical material needed, our comparison of income and expenditure of an average cultivator family over a term of years, must necessarily be imperfect. The following table shows the variation in figures of income and expenditure in different periods :

Table IV

The Income and Expenditure of an Average C vator family (in Rupees.)

Head	Jack's survey	Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry[17]		Revi settle operat
	1908	1928	1933	194
Income	280[15]	207	105	417
Expenditure	250[16]	198	118	468
Surplus+ & Deficit—	+30	+9	—13	—9

Reducing the number of members of the family to uniform figure of 5, we get the above table rewritten as follows :

Table V

Income	250	152·2	77·2	260
Expenditure	250	145·6	86·8	290
Surplus+ & Deficit—	0	+6·6	—9·6	—30

From the table above it will be seen that in comparison with 1908, the family income in 1928 and fell by 39 per cent and 69 per cent respectively, but it by 4·2 per cent in 1940-42. With reference to the respective periods in view, the differences in the prices and total gross output of jute and paddy—the only two important agricultural products of the district, that is, the two important sources of income for an average cultivator family—are shown in the following table :

Table VI

Year	Total estimated gross out-put in maunds		Harvest price in Rs. per maund as given in Season & Crop Reports of Bengal		Total probable cash receipts (gross) in Rs.	
	Jute[19]	Rice[20]	Jute	Rice	Jute	Rice
1908	25·6 lakhs (Net)	85 lakhs	8·0[21]	3·5[21]	205 lakhs	297·5 lakhs (Net)
1928-29	35·1 lakhs	105 lakhs	8·25	6·6	251 lakhs	695·6 lakhs
1933-34	21·7 lakhs	93 lakhs	3·25	3·6	70 lakhs	337·1 lakhs
1942-43	28·7 lakhs	102·5 lakhs	8·8[22]	4·5[22]	253 lakhs	461·0 lakhs

From the study of the figures of the table above, it seems surprising that the income in 1928-29 (which substantially means 1928) is shown to have at all fallen in comparison with the income derived in 1908. The difference of incomes shown in columns II and III of table V above seems to be absurd and is impossible to explain. The diminution of income in 1933 and its increase in 1942 are, however, capable of rational explanation and some degree of approximation.

Family Budget of an Average Cultivator Family

The expenditure side of a model family budget of average cultivator family in the district in two different periods (1908 and 1942) is illustrated in the following table :

12 The average annual income per non-cultivator family was Rs. 293. Vide *Ibid*, p. 80.

13 The average cultivator family consisted of 5.6 persons, as noted in foot-note 11 above.

14 The average non-cultivator family consisted of 5 persons.

15 The figure of income is for a family of 5.6 persons.

16 The figure indicates a family of 5 persons living 'in comfort' as distinct from a family living 'in indigence', whose annual expenditure has been calculated as Rs. 100. Vide 'Model Budget' in *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* by J. C. Jack, p. 59.

17 The family referred to consists of 6.48 persons. Vide table VII, p. 8, *Bulletin on Faridpur*, 1934.

18 The average family consists of 8 members.

19 Figures are compiled from Jack's *Final Report* and *Season Crop Reports of Bengal* of the respective years.

20 Seed requirements of cultivators in the respective years are ignored. Calculations are made from *Season and Crop Reports of Bengal*.

21 Vide Jack's *Final Report*, p. 35. Paddy priced at Rs. 5-4 converted into rice at Rs. 3-8 per maund.

22 Figures supplied from District Settlement Office, however, show prices of Jute and Rice during the period to have been Rs. 7 and Rs. 4-2 to Rs. 5 per maund respectively.

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TABLE VII

Items of expenditure	Amount spent annually by a family in comfort 1908[23] Rs. a. p.	Amount spent annually by a family in extreme indigence 1908[23] Rs. a. p.	Amount spent annually by an average family 1942[24] Rs. a. p.
Rice	120 0 0	60 0 0	266 0 0
Other articles of food	25 8 0	8 8 0	61 0 0
Kerosene	2 0 0	1 0 0	5 0 0
Tobacco, betelnut, etc.	5 0 0	1 12 0	10 0 0
Clothes, etc.	25 0 0	9 0 0	32 0 0
Utensil & furniture	4 0 0	2 8 0	2 8 0
Petty house-repairs	5 0 0	1 8 0	5 8 0
Erection of new house	8 0 0	3 12 0	5 0 0
Purchase of cattle	8 0 0	1 8 0	5 8 0
Purchase of boat, cart, etc.	1 0 0	—	3 8 0
Rent	25 0 0	4 8 0	5 8 0
Taxes	1 8 0	0 12 0	1 6 0
Domestic festivals, etc.	5 0 0	3 12 0	19 0 0
Wages of household servant	—	—	10 0 0
Purchase of seed, fodder, etc.	—	—	2 8 0
Payment of agricultural wages	—	—	15 0 0
Interest paid on debt	—	—	0 2 0
Education	—	—	9 0 0
Medical treatment	5 0 0	1 8 0	—
Total[25]	250 0 0	100 0 0	458 8 0 or 286 9 0 for a family of 5 members

From table V it will be noticed that (except in 1928) the budget of the average cultivator family is always without any favourable balance, the scale weighing mostly on the side of deficit. To keep a family of 8 members (or 6·5 adults), as represented by column 4 of table VII barely physically fit, the quality of rice needed per annum would alone be about 5 maunds on the basis of daily subsistence as laid down by the Famine Commission, *viz.*, an average of three-fourth seer per head per day. This is roughly about what the family of the said size actually consumes as will be seen from the expenditure of Rs. 266 under head, rice, at the prevailing price of about Rs. 4-10 per maund. Having only 3·7 acres of land[26], the family cannot apparently grow even its own requirements of rice. Salt, oil, kerosene, spices and clothes have to be purchased even if it be assumed that the family has always its own milk, fish and vegetables. Rent and taxes have to be paid ; and cost of social ceremonies, medicines, erection and repairs of houses, litigation, interest on debt, etc., has to be met. Had it not been for the fact that most families derive some additinoal income from subsidiary sources like the sale of surplus milk, fish, vegetables and poultry, sale of live-stock, wages earned by rendering agricultural labour, plying boat or carts or ploughs on hire, small-scale trading in paddy, jute and sundry, other agricultural crops, and the sale of products of cottage industries like mat-weaving, pottery, bamboo work, etc., living condition would certainly have been worse and the extent of indebtedness much greater.

FAMILY DEBTS

Jack mentions that in the district of Faridpur, indebtedness is a "most important factor" affecting the prosperity of the cultivator[27]. The total amount of borrowing, as it stood in 1908, was Rs. 14,359,494 or 23 per cent of the net earnings of the agricultural classes. The debt per average family in the district in 1908 was as follows :

TABLE VIII

Year	Debt per average family of— All classes	Agricultural classes	Non-agricultural classes
1908	Rs. 59[28]	Rs. 121[29]	Rs. 258

The debt position has varied in different periods and the direct money burden of the debt has continued to increase from period to period, as is shown in the following table :

TABLE IX

	1908	1927[30]	1928[31]	1933[32]	1944[33]
Debt per average family	59[28]	135	146	217	..
Debt per average indebted family	121[29]	214	..	262	290

23 Vide *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 59, by Jack. The reference is to the 'model' family budget prepared out of 2000 representative family budgets of cultivator families collected by Jack. The family consisted of 5 persons.

24 The average family consisted of roughly 8 members. The budget is the model arrived at out of enquiries made into nearly 3000 agricultural families of the district in connection with the Revised Settlement and survey operations in the district during 1940-42.

25 It has been claimed that the statistics of col. IV have been prepared on the basis of normal pre-war prices. The prices of some of the main agricultural products in the district in terms of the said "normal pre-war prices" are given in the following table side by side with their prices per maund in 1908 :

	1908	1942
Paddy	Rs. 2-8	Rs. 2-2 to 3-4 or Rs. 2-11 (mean)
Jute	Rs. 8	Rs. 5 13 to 7-15 or Rs. 6-14 (mean)
Cereals	?	Rs. 5-6 to 6-8 or Rs. 5-15 (mean)

26 According to the economic enquiries made during Revised Settlement Operations of the district (1940-42), the size of holdings of an average agricultural family was 3.7 acres.

27 Vide Jack's *Final Report*, pp. 36-38.

28 Vide Jack : *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 99. The reference is to the average of all families, not debted and indebted.

29 Vide *Ibid*, p. 98. The reference is to an average indebted agricultural family.

30 Vide Paragraph VII of the Notes on an Economic Survey of the Talma village, 1927, by L. B. Burrow, the then District Officer of Faridpur in his *Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Report* (Evidence), Vol. IV, p. 489.

31 Vide *Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry Bulletin on Faridpur*, p. 8.

32 Vide *Ibid*, p. 4.

33 Author's Sample Survey of 592 families in the district.

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THE POETRY OF W. B. YEATS

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By N. N. BANERJI, M.A.

As the 19th century draws its close with the pale converging streams of decadent and semi-decadent poetry and prose in the higher spheres of creative activity, and the cultivation of the "style" for its own sake with Wilde, Ernest Dowson, George Moore and Arthur Symons and in the lower sphere, the doctrine of action and mystical imperialism rattled forth in the schoolboy jingoism of Rudyard Kipling, W. B. Yeats towers above all others as the greatest poet of his age. Yeats was unique in his generation in deliberately rejecting the scientific approach and the stoical scepticism which it fostered. The Irish Literary Revival coincided with the growth of the Irish Nationalist Movement, although Yeats himself turned away in scorn from the conflicts and passions of his time to the dim twilight lands of Celtic folklore, to theosophy, astrology and crystal-gazing. In his early youth he was deprived of his religion by his father. He substituted this by a mixture of Celtic legend, Hindu philosophy and sheer superstition which stood him well.

His early verse drew largely upon Irish myth and folklore as upon the verse and the theory of the French Symbolists. It is peopled with supernatural figures out of Celtic legends and with images of fantastic creatures, like the boar without bristles signifying winter and death, and the hound with one ear who pursues the deer with no horns signifying sexual desire. His verse took flame from the intellectual fire of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, but Yeats was too wise to lapse as Shelley sometimes did into flat allegory. His study of the symbolic books of Blake and of the philosophy of the Hindu mystics helped to nourish in other ways his faith in the miracle-working image, the living invigorating symbol which the poet takes from his people and from the genius of his native place. Many of his later poems express a philosophy which developed out of the doctrine of the Oriental sages. The symbols here differ from those of the early lyrics : the sun and the changing moon, the hawk's blind logic and butterfly that is the soul, the gyre and the tower, replace the rose and the graves and the Druid imagery. These are difficult poems for one unprepared to accept Yeats's archaic system, with its Zodiacal signs and the Byzantine remoteness. But they are instinct with a vitality which saves them from dry abstraction, and they are rich with a wisdom found nowhere else, unless it be in Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. The thoughts which fill them are thoughts of Blake :

Energy is eternal Delight
The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom
Improvement makes strait roads ; but crooked roads
Without improvement are roads of genius,
One law for the Lion and the Ox is oppression.

A dreamer and a visionary, he has confessed that he does not always understand his own imaginings, nor always interpret them in the same way. If the poet is puzzled about the meaning of the poem, it is not surprising that his reader should be so, [illegible] like Yeats he deals with medieval magic and [illegible] philosophy. He gives emotional credence to ideas [illegible] his reason rejects. Hostile to reason, though [illegible] nimble wit and an acute intelligence Yeats's [illegible] cannot interpret this age to itself. But the very [illegible] of myth and symbol which has stood like a [illegible] between him and his more tough-minded [illegible] temporaries has lifted his poetry to a height to [illegible] burdened by brute fact and confused by the dis[illegible] of the moment they could not climb.

He has drawn sustenance from a native tra[illegible] which satisfied his ineradicable mysticism, and [illegible] a native landscape which has offered to his more [illegible] imagination the equivalent of what the Lake land[illegible] offered to Wordsworth.

The mystic has been defined as one who be[illegible] in the spiritual apprehension of truths beyond [illegible] understanding whereas the metaphysical poet bl[illegible] the sensuous with the mystic charging his creations [illegible] warmth and pictorial quality. If he is a mystic, [illegible] not seldom the case, his work is the very utteranc[illegible] the intellectual love of God. If not, it still expr[illegible] an intellectual love, but this time a love of all [illegible] makes man lament his mortality. Both notes [illegible] sounded in the poetry of Yeats.

His poetry is great because, to employ a distin[illegible] as valuable as it is venerable, it is the product [illegible] Fancy, but of Imagination. Hardy is an imagin[illegible] poet but in Yeats the modifying, unifying energ[illegible] more powerful, ranges more easily back and [illegible] between the physical and the ideal world. One fin[illegible] in his early love lyrics, overwrought though they [illegible] with elaborate symbol and dim with cloudy [illegible] phor. One finds it more clearly at work after the [illegible] tired of the rich romantic colouring which he had [illegible] used, began deliberately as he tells us, to remod[illegible] style trying to make verse that should be

as cold
And passionate as the dawn.

The poem called *The Fisherman*, in which he [illegible] cribes his altered mood in the changed manner, [illegible] consummate example of that coldness, as of s[illegible] stone, and of that passion, as of a lighted sky. [illegible] of his poetry of his middle and old age is thus [illegible] and passionate, a conjunction of attributes whi[illegible] incredible until one examines the work in which [illegible] exist together. The union of opposites is what [illegible] Yeats a metaphysical poet, in the sense that Don[illegible] such. He has not Donne's curiosity about [illegible] ideas. He has Donne's energy and his wit, his int[illegible] and his self-awareness. He is like him, too, in [illegible] yoked together two parts of a personality which [illegible] seem two selves : the mystical and the practica[illegible] attentive Platonist and the active patriot. For [illegible] wealth of Celtic mythology and Irish folklore co[illegible] Yeats for the barenness and the sordidness of [illegible]

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urban life, he recognized early that any dream of a free and united Ireland would bear no fruits unless it were manured by practical politics.

He has been a scrupulous craftsman and that is a great advantage with him, whether he is turning a savage epigram, whispering a love song, naming over to himself friends and enemies among political martyrs or dreaming a waking dream in a haunted tower, he writes a poem utterly self-contained. He is neither a sentimentalist nor a rhetorician, so that even when one cannot accept his vision of reality one is persuaded into a willing suspension of disbelief by the force of his art. His claim to greatness lies both in the vigour and integrity of his personality and the high skill with which he expresses his response to life. But it is something beyond these—a combination of energy and vision and technical competence that allows him to ply unhampered between the two worlds denoted by Santayana as the realm of matter and the realm of essence.

——:O:——

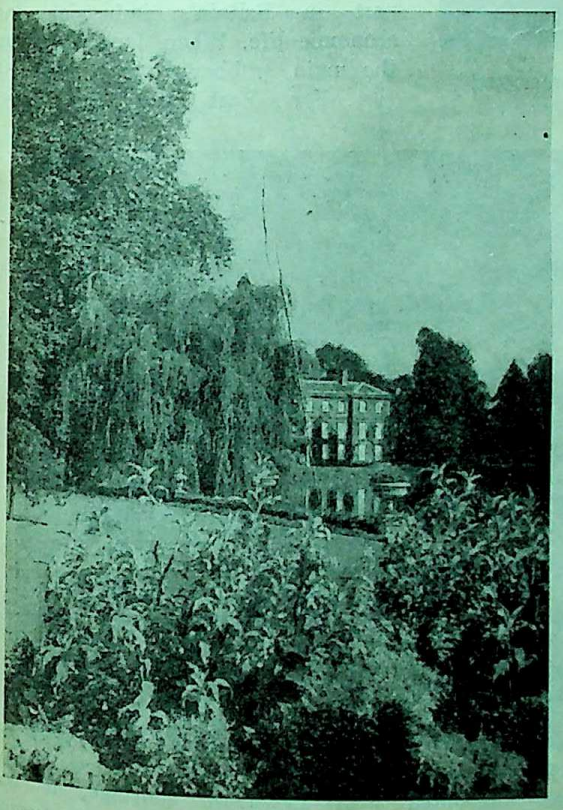
THE KEW GARDENS

Foundation of Rubber Industry

By PHYLLIS LOVELL

With wide, gracious lawns set with a vista of tall trees, and flowers in lovely profusion, bed, border and rookery gay with colour nearly all the year round, the "Wonder Garden of the British Empire" lies a few miles out of London, on the River Thames. Officially it is named the Royal Botanic Gardens, but Londoners call it simply "Kew Gardens."

Kew Gardens, a few miles away from London, is dear and familiar to the British. They take their children to spend happy days wandering through the 285 acres of woods and lawns. They sit on the grass perhaps beneath a tree that came as a tiny seedling, from China or Asia, but which has now become inured to Britain's climate. They learn the names of flowers they hope to grow in their own gardens, and marvel over the exotic blooms and perfumes in the great hothouses.



The cost of the main museum, built in 1857, was borne by the India Office

Exhibits in one of Kew's museums show economic uses of various kinds of fibres, leaves and yarns

To Kew Gardens comes also the student. Four museums set in the grounds show the many domestic

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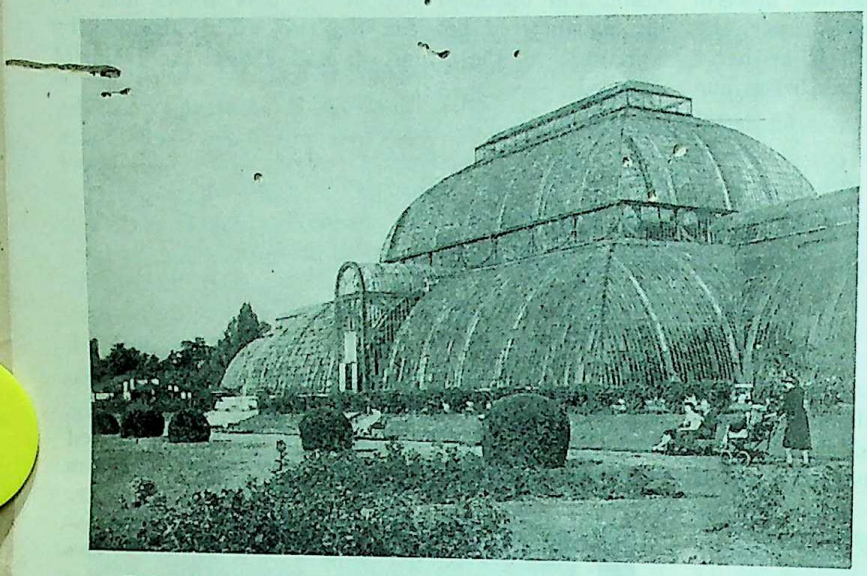
and industrial activities which result from the study of botany. Huge logs of beautifully grained wood from every continent are arranged side by side with a finished article—a screen, a table—even pictures fashioned by the skilful use of different shades and colours of woods.



Palm House at Kew, with the rose-garden in the foreground

Scientific research developed during World War II is featured there. A potato is surrounded by dozens of test tubes, each containing a different product made from the vegetable, from the simple dehydrated version for kitchen use to industrial alcohol. And one showcase, the glass always smeared by the rubbing of small hands and noses, contains coconuts—now no longer imported into Britain—and the various processes which lead to the making of enticing sweetmeats.

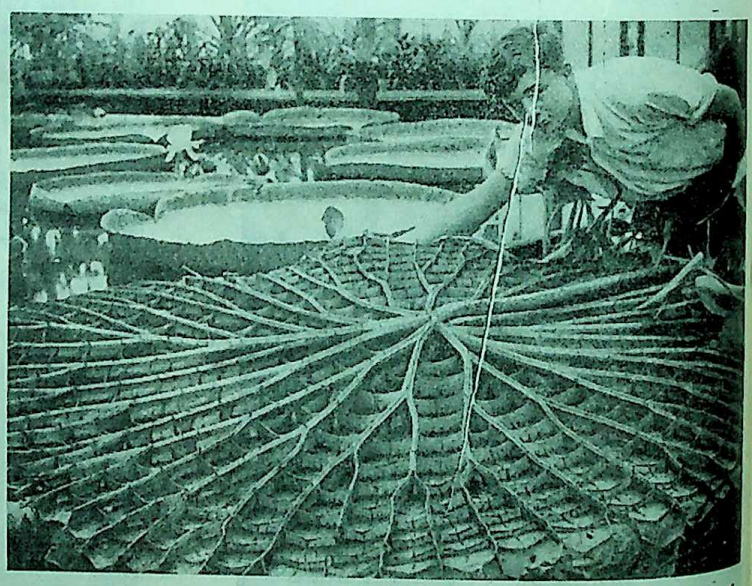
Much scientific research has been carried out at Kew Gardens. It was as a result of the work done there that bread-fruit and quinine were introduced generally to the British Empire. The same experts cheapened the production of tea, making it a popular drink instead of a luxury, and developed the cultivation of cocoa, cloves, bananas, camphor and sisal hemp.

But perhaps the most historic and far-reaching enterprise in the history of the Royal Botanic Gardens was a dash half across the world which led to the foundation of the modern rubber industry.

Para-rubber trees grew in South America, but production was small and prices high. It was seen that the climates of Ceylon and of Malaya were ideal for the development of rubber. It was in the 1870's and difficulty was to get the plants from one side the world to the other at a time when transport slow and cumbersome. The seeds of the Para-rubber tree lose their vitality in seven weeks, and, if plan after that, will not grow.

Henry Wickham, one of Kew Gardens' experts that date, went out to So America, collected 70,000 of t seeds and began his famous jour back to England. It was a jour full of adventure and of mishap, b he arrived just in time. The gl houses in the Gardens were strip of their other plants and flow and the whole staff were set to t task of sowing the precious see Two weeks later 1,700 rubber pla were growing at Kew. It was fr these plants, sent out to Ceyl and Malaya in 1873, that has de loped the industry which has s provided huge quantities of ch rubber for the world.

Today, Kew Gardens still play part in Britain's industrial a economic life. When Japan over the main rubber-growing areas the Far East and the Al



The most popular exhibit in the tropical department is Victoria Regia, the giant water lily from Guiana

were confronted with an acute shortage, it to Kew Gardens officials that Britain's experts turn for help. Vitally important work has been done th where the great industry was first initiated, in find alternative supplies and substitutes for rubber.

Valuable work has been done also in produc drugs from British flowers and plants and in deve ing home-grown foodstuffs for cattle and poul Before World War II these commodities were all p ported from abroad, and the research done in t

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direction has been of tremendous help in saving much needed shipping space.

It was the Kew Gardens experts who discovered the important health-giving Vitamin C in the hips (or berries) of rose bushes, when shipping could not be spared to bring to Britain's shores the oranges the British used to eat all the year round. Now their children have regular supplies of a pleasant, sweet rose-hip syrup. The home production of vegetables has been increased by fine strains of seeds developed at Kew Gardens. And from the common stinging-nettle, a weed found everywhere in Britain, a high-class paper, particularly useful in the construction of electrical equipment, has been developed, while its leaves have been made to yield a much-needed pigment, supplies of which formerly were always imported.

For a long time Kew Gardens has been the training centre for students who become botanists and skilled, specialist gardeners. After their training many of them work in other countries, and spread the knowledge they gained in this pleasant garden by the River Thames.

But for the people of Britain Kew Gardens means primarily that it is a centre of gentle beauty, where parents sit among the trees and flowers they love and let their children wander freely across the grass. A place of escape and peace, apart from the hurry of life in the metropolis.

———:O:———

THE SHRINE OF SRI VITHOBA AT PANDHARPUR

By M. B. S. RAO

The 'fast unto death' undertaken by Sri Sane Guruji is an epoch-making event in the history of the Harijans of Maharashtra, which in its wake has brought the famous shrine of Sri Vithoba at Pandharpur into limelight. Starting his career as a teacher on obtaining his M.A. degree, Sane Guruji was for many years known for his versatile Marathi writings advocating the uplift of the masses. Since 1930, he has been an important figure as a Congress Socialist worker and has undergone incarceration more than once. After his release in 1945, he devoted himself to the service of the Untouchables and other down-trodden classes of the province.

The shrine of Pandharpur is the holy of holies to the masses of Maharashtra, and a galaxy of poet-saints have sung the glories and praises of the divine couple of Sri Vithoba and Rukhmai whose images are installed therein. Sane Guruji made a tour round Maharashtra to rouse the conscience of the upper-class Hindu society and to persuade the Badves or temple authorities to throw open the doors of this shrine to the Harijans. In November last year, he was about to start a hunger-strike to achieve this purpose, but was prevailed upon by his followers to postpone the ordeal for six months. Failing, however, to see any change of heart in the Badves even after six months, Sane Guruji started on the morning of the first of May his epic 'fast unto death' before the temple of Vithoba. His unshakable resolve and the certainty of his death if the fast was prolonged at last induced the Badves to announce publicly their readiness to throw the temple open to the Harijans. They made a declaration to this effect on the 10th of May before the District Court under the Temple Entry Act of 1938, and on the night of this memorable day at eight o'clock Sane Guruji ended his great fast to the immense relief and joy of Harijans and other suppressed classes of Maharashtra.

On the banks of the River Chandrabhaga

Lying in the Southern Maharatta country on the bank of the Chandrabhaga River in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency, Pandharpur is situated 33 miles from Kurdwadi on the Bombay-Madras line of the M. & S. M. Railway and is easily reached by the Barsi Light Railway.

Pilgrims flock to this place on the *Ekadashi* days and Kartik to pay their

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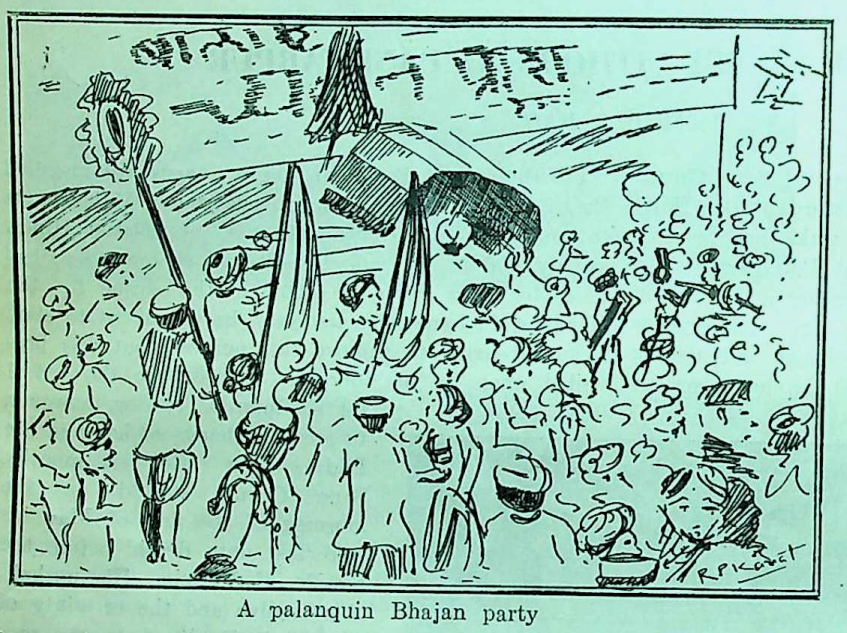
homage to the deities of Sri Vithoba and Rukmini. Sri Vithoba is an incarnation of the God Vishnu, one of the trinity Gods of Hindu Mythology. And there is a legend behind it which is interesting. The worship of Sri Vithoba started during the 14th century and originated with the Saint Pundalik. This saint was in his early days a rebellious youth who neglected his duty towards his old parents. But later in life, coming into contact with a great sage he took to the service of his old parents as the noblest act to attain salvation or *moksha* in life. So taking his parents in a *kavadi** he went on a round of pilgrimage to all the holy places of India. The story runs that once whilst Pundalik was busy bathing in the Chandrabhaga River, the God Vishnu pleased with his parental devotion paid him a visit. Being busy attending to his parents Pundalik



A palanquin Bhajan party

threw a brick to the divine guest asking him to wait till he finished his duties to his old parents. And when he came to worship Him, Vishnu blessed him, And it is the belief from that time that Sri Vishnu is standing there and blesses his devotees on every *Ekadashi* day. From that time he is known as Vithoba, as *Vit* in Marathi means brick and Vithoba means 'one standing on a *Vit* or brick.'

On the *Ashad Ekadashi* day (June-July) the God Vithoba is said to retire with Rukmini to take a long period of rest and to return on the *Kartik Ekadashi* day (Nov.-Dec.). And these two days of *Ekadashi* are considered as the most auspicious ones when, Vithoba responds fully to the prayers of his devotees and offers them his greatest blessings. So on these two days *Yatras* are held at Pandharpur. Many days before this *Yatra*, pilgrims arrive at Pandharpur by bullock-carts, buses and special trains from nearby villages and far-off places in India. Some believe that greatest benefit is derived by travelling to this shrine on foot. So, many days ahead they start in batches called *Varis* by a *Bhuva* or Holy Man ; and travelling by day and resting by night in the villages on the wayside they reach this holy place. Whilst trudging this long distance they pray and sing *Bhajans* to the accompaniment of cymbals and dancing and lessen the weariness of their journey.

The *Yatras* last for five days each time. And on these days of fasting and prayers all the rest-houses (or Dharmashalas) and shady spots on the banks of the river and nearby fields are occupied by the pilgrims. And on the *Ekadashi* day the pilgrims observe complete fasting with the name of the deity of Sri Vithoba on their lips. From dawn to dusk on the great day of fasting and prayers all the paths to the Chandrabhaga River and the shrine of Vithoba are crowded to their full. And as they meet at various crossings the great crowd swells and a din of noise is created due to the beating of the drums, blowing of trumpets, ringing of cymbals accompanied with songs and cries of "Jai, Jai Vittal" to which the pilgrims dance in emotion. And all along the paths are picturesque old buildings where the local residents and their pilgrim guests wait, occupying all places of vantage to watch and pray as the batches or *Varis* pass bearing palanquins of the images of Vithoba's feet singing *Bhajan* songs as they dance to the ringing of cymbals.

Taking their purifying baths in the river the pilgrims pay their homage to the river-god by throwing their offerings of cocoanuts and coins in the river-bed and performing certain rites. After this they visit the shrine of Sri Vithoba to worship Him. Entering the inner precincts of the temple is a great problem on the days of *Yatras*. For, you will have to wait in two queues, one beieng for men and the other for women. And when your turn comes you are escorted by the controlling police into the temple. Offering your *dakshina* or cash offerings to the *Badve* or priest you garland the image of Sri Vithoba and fall at His feet and pay your homage to this deity, thus finishing the great purpose of your visit.

The pilgrims during the five days of the *Yatra* spend their time in meditation, in singing *Bhajans* and in hearing *Kirtans* of the lives of the past devotees of Sri Vithova amongst whom are a galaxy of noble saints and educationists. They also visit the various memorials raised to the noted devotees of the Great Deity, whose fame has been in existence since the 14th century. These memorials are found scattered around Pandharpur and are preserved in safety to the very present times. The pilgrims after

* Two baskets hung on either ends of a pole and carried on the shoulders.

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this, break their fasts on *Dwadashi* day that follows the holy day of *Ekadashi*. And taking a sumptuous meal which is the *prasad* (food offering) of the God Vithoba they disburse to their homes.

Now amongst the various sages that have been famous for their devotion to Sri Vithoba are many whose careers are of importance for their spiritual thoughts and philosophic insight. Of whom mention may be made of Sri Chokamela, Namdev and Tukaram. In the beginning of the 14th century there lived at Anagod near Pandharpur a pious couple Mukta Bai and Sudama belonging to the *Mhar* or untouchable community. They were noted for their piety, and being the owners of nearly half the cultivable land in this village, were considered to lead a happy life. But one sorrow troubled them very much and that

Pilgrims cooking a sumptuous meal on the *Dwadashi* day

was that they had no issue in spite of their visit to the shrine of Sri Vithoba many times. And it is stated that once whilst Mukta Bai was conveying mangoes from their land to be offered to the Governor of Bedar, an old Brahmin accosted her and asked her to give him five mangoes as he was dying of hunger. At first the honest Mukta Bai disagreed, but when the old man said he would die at her feet if not fed, she offered him five mangoes. Taking these mangoes the old man blessed Mukta Bai with five children and disappeared. Some months after, a son was born to this pious couple who was Chokamela the Sage noted for his poetic wisdom and saintly life.

Having been brought up under the tutelage of pious parents Chokamela led a saintly life and went to Pandharpur to offer his worship to Sri Vithoba. But being an untouchable he was not allowed to enter the temple. And some of the orthodox devotees began to scoff at him, so relates Mahipati, a verse-writer of those times. But not heeding to this criticism the wise and saintly Chokamela replied as quoted in a few verses translated from Marathi by a writer which run thus :

"The sun, though parted by unnumbered miles,
Still on the lotus sheds his radiant smiles ;
The moon, though high and higher still she soar,
Spurns not the passion of the fond chiker.
So too, High Heaven's Lord may yet incline
Hope of the helpless, to this prayer of mine.
From far the mother runs her young to save,
From far He sees and shrinks not from the slave."

These few lines which were the few available ones published, can be easily made out and are as melodious as any other poems in Marathi. But in spite of his greatness as a saint, Chokamela's death was a tragic one. Having been ordered by the governor of Bedar to build a wall around the town of Mangalvedi, Chokamela was also asked to help his Mhar mates. Whilst the wall was being constructed a part of it fell down and crushed under it the labourers of whom Chokamela was one. For long the bones of these unfortunate ones were not traced amidst the debris of the fallen wall. But when Namdev, the tailor saint and devotee of Sri Vithoba, was inspired by a message from God, he went and removed the bones of Chokamela from the ruins and took them to Pandharpur, where, till today they are found preserved in honour within a structure constructed over them and worshipped by the untouchables.

Many of our readers may have seen the great and famous film *Tukaram* depicting the spiritual career of the great sage of Dehu who is a devoted worshipper of Sri Vithoba of Pandharpur. This sage was noted as a great poet whose *abhangs* are to this very day sung throughout Maharashtra and are noted for their spiritual thoughts on the divine incarnation of Vishnu and his devotees. Bred amidst poverty and bereavement his life was a great struggle for attaining superhuman heights in this very life and he did achieve this great aim. Of him Prof. Ranade says :

"There is a sort of Hegelian dialectic (Hegel's idealism of logical argument) in Tukaram's soul. In the first stage of his career, he seems to have resolved to withdraw himself from the life of the world with a determined effort to win spiritual knowledge. This is the stage of positive affirmation. Then comes the stage of negation, the dark night of Tukaram's soul, a stage when Tukaram was warring with his own self. Finally, there is the stage of new affirmation, namely, the cancellation of the original determination and the middle negation into a final vision of godhead which supersedes both."

Beginning his career as an orphan and his elder

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family fell on Tukaram's shoulders. In the famine that raged in this part of the country he lost his son and wife. And he was married later to a girl from Poona who was a veritable shrew. Besides this, out of envy of Tukaram's fame the *Patel* or Head of the village and a Brahmin, Ramashastri by name, conspired to drive him out of the village and to throw his manuscript verses in the river. Embittered at this Tukaram sat meditating on the bank of the river for fourteen days, on the last day of which the manuscripts came to him floating from the bed of the river. After this miracle he was honoured as a great saint, and those who had scoffed at him till then began to pray and became his disciples. After his death a tomb-like structure was built in front of the temple of Sri Vithoba in the inner side of which is a bust of the Poet Saint wearing the old type of Mahratta turban (*pugri*) still seen at Dehu, a village about 20 miles from Poona.

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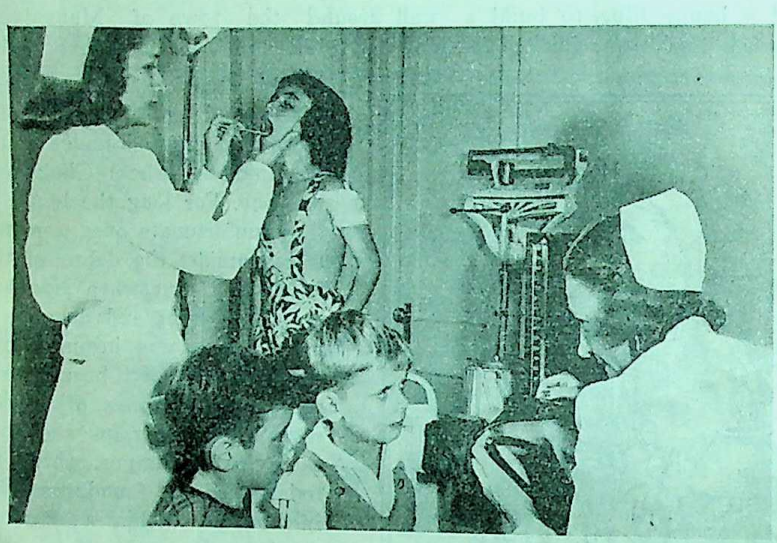
U. S. NURSERY SCHOOLS

THE nursery school has won for itself a permanent place in the educational system of the United States.



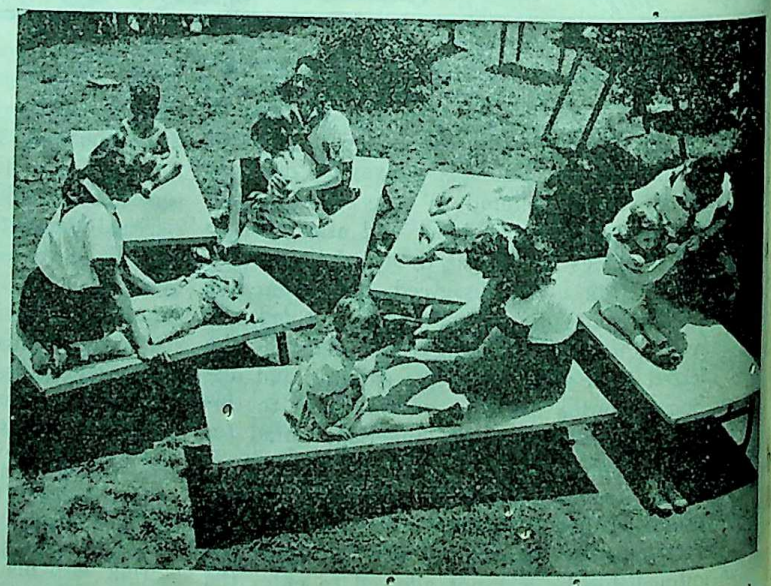
A physical check-up on arrival each morning sets the mother's mind at rest about the health of her child

Education for children of three to five years of age is now regarded in the United States as the coming responsibility of the public education system. Recent policy statements issued by the United States Office of Education and by the National Education Association review wartime extension of educational services to young children and recommend a post-war program which will increase community responsibility in this area.

While important legislative, financial and organizational problems will require solution, the goal has been clearly set and the road charted which will ultimately bring increased protection and better educational development to the youngest citizens of the nation.

The social philosophy underlying the practice of extending educational services to children of three and four includes the now familiar idea that young children experience during their early years strongly affects their value to themselves and to society. Relating this concept to the necessary disciplines of a democratic culture, the National Education Association, in a pamphlet issued recently, says: "The initiation, growth, and development of democratic disciplines constitute an essential part of education." Such ideas as respect for others, co-operative effort, appreciation of differing values, fair play, rational thinking, self-reliance, individual freedom and responsibility require continuous education, not waiting upon the compulsory school age of six years.

There are probably more than fourteen million children under six years of age in the United States of whom at least half are in rural areas. Varying in national, racial, religious, economic and cultural backgrounds, they require educa-



A post-luncheon nap in the sun for an hour or two is scheduled for the children

tional services of many types. The public school ... important function of

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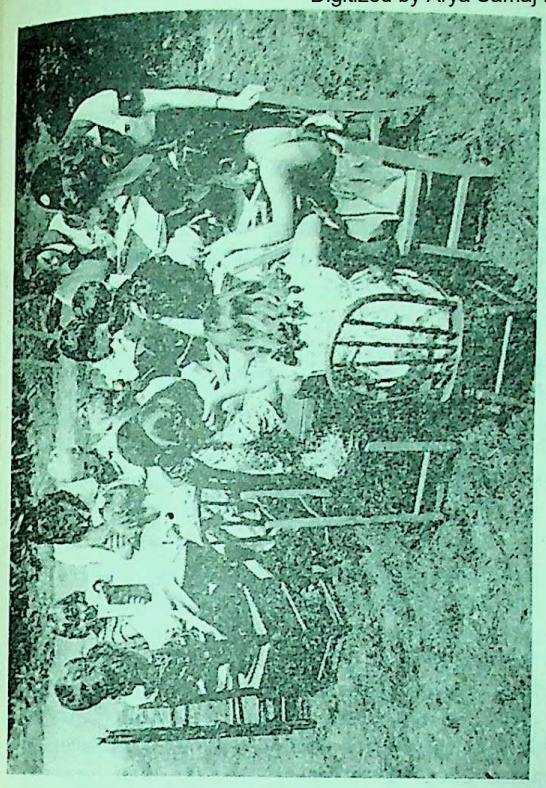
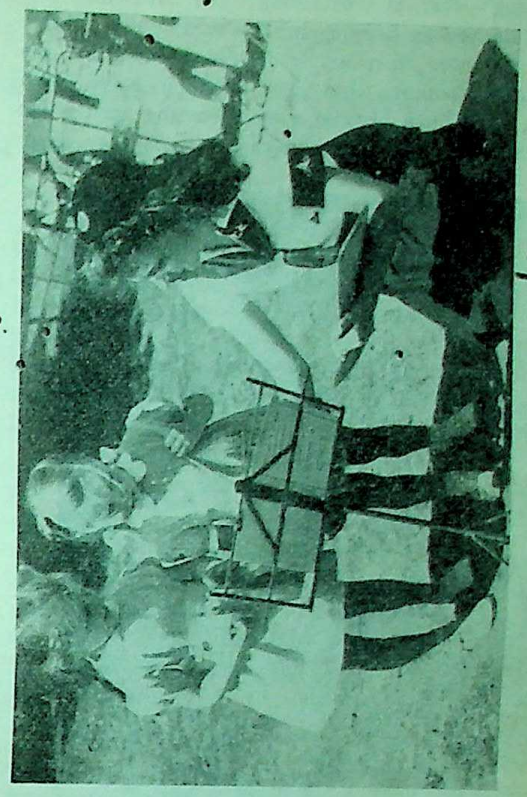
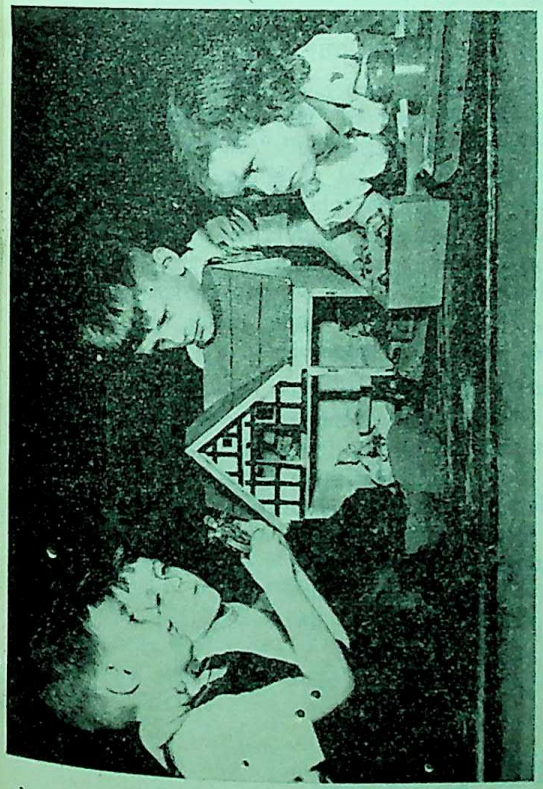


The nursery schools do not teach reading, writing and arithmetic, but the children are supplied with picture-books



The children are taught like grown-up band-players to play in the nursery school rythm ban



The girls prefer dolls but the boys like to handle mechanical toys

The children are encouraged to learn painting which is one of the best forms of self-expression

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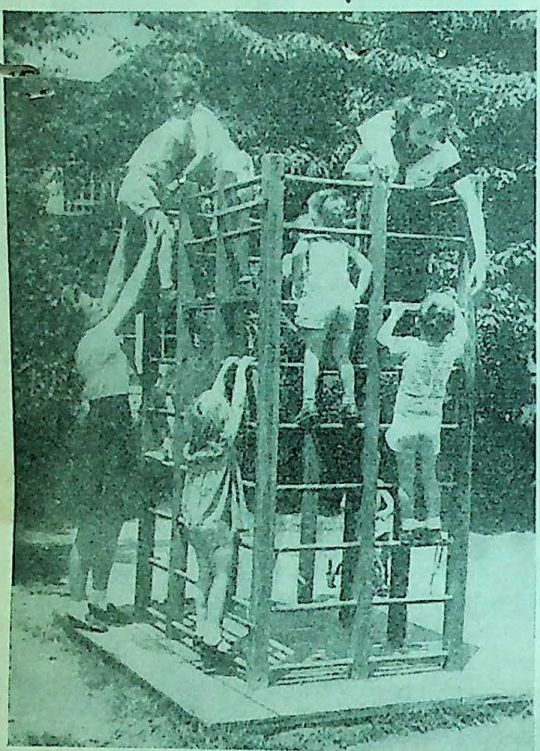
accounting"—that is, gathering and recording the basic data for each child in the community. Some schools do more than supply factual items about the community's children and plan for their entry into school ; they have become a co-ordinating agency for community programs of child care.



There is a "Jungle Gym" or some similar play equipment outdoors for fine weather and indoors for rainy days at most U. S. nursery schools

In New York City, the Bank Street School, one of the earliest of this type of center in America, was started many years before the war by Harriet Johnson. Teachers' College, a part of Columbia University, has an excellent nursery school, and Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, conducts a model one in connection with its department of Home Economics.

Some schools also have been bringing together children of two to six years of age for the purpose of supervised play. These children assemble in groups at regular intervals once, twice, or three times a week under the guidance of a qualified nursery school teacher.

The public nursery school, serving primarily th and four-year-olds is the most significant develop of recent years in helping to insure good medi physical and nutritional care for young children as well as in providing a good environment for w play and adventure. Work with and through the ho and providing parent education as an integral part the program, the nursery school has experienced accelerated development during the war years as means of meeting problems of child care intensified the employment of mothers outside the home and t absence of fathers in the armed forces.

The children in the nursery school are divi into age groups and are taken outdoors alternati on this basis. For example, the older children go o after the morning physical examination while young ones do modelling, painting, music and so forth. Th go out to play while the elder ones work on sc project.

At 10 o'clock, crackers and milk are served tables. In the latter part of the morning, there is part of restful activity, such as singing or story-tell until it is time for the children to get ready for lun Lunch is a hearty meal consisting of meat, two veg tables, salad, dessert and plenty of milk. Arou 1 o'clock the children are ready to rest and sleep little canvas cots. They sleep for an hour or tw depending on their ages. They are served fruit jui and cookies before going on a "project tour" or wal to places of interest, such as those which have be subjects in their school projects.

On their return, each child does whatever activi he has personally selected. This is followed by supp 4-30 o'clock or a substantial "snack" although th child usually gets a meal at home before going bed. Walks and outdoor play depend on the weath The "Jungle Gym," a ladderlike affair on wh young ones imitate circus animals, is in the yard an also indoors, so that it can be used in good or in b weather. Even the tiny tots climb all over th apparatus under close supervision.

Almost no effort is made to start a child on f formal education. At some of the schools, however there are jigsaw puzzles in which simple words a part of the picture. The same thing is also done wi numerals and elementary addition. If a child ha learned to read at home, he is encouraged to continu at the nursery school.—*USIS.*

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for October, 1947, "The Problem of Water Fertility in Fish Culture": Page 3 column 2, paragraph 5, line 4 : *for* "Rohu and Katla" *read* "Sole and Chitol." Then the line will re ". . . such as *Sole* and *Chitol* feed on."

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MOTORWAYS FOR BRITAIN

By Sir WILLIAM ROOTES, K.B.E.

Britain's roads are but the development through the centuries of the old Roman roads, the medieval pilgrims' tracks and the coaching highways of bygone days. Through the centuries they have been relaid countless times, but their path has rarely been deflected from that which they followed in the earliest days.

It was G. K. Chesterton who wrote that it was "the rolling English drunkard who made the rolling English road." This has raised a serious problem which the British Road Federation is planning to solve. Britain's highways today, despite their excellence, are quite inadequate to carry Britain's ever-increasing industrial and passenger traffic, and the British Road Federation has already produced a plan, formulated by Britain's leading traffic experts, surveyors and landscape architects, which is designed to give Britain a new system of trunk roads, capable of meeting these growing demands.

That such a plan is essential to the well-being of Britain was foreseen no fewer than 46 years ago by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Balfour, who on May 11, 1900, spoke the following words in the House of Commons :

> "I sometimes dream that, in addition to railways and tramways, we shall see great highways constructed for rapid motor transport and confined to motor traffic, which will have the immense advantage of taking the workmen from door to door, which no tramcar and no railway can do."

That Mr. Balfour should have foreseen the pressing need for an orderly road-buildnig plan for Britain at a time when motorists were still considered daring pioneers and crazy inventors, only accentuates the greater need for that plan today, for in the 46 years that have elapsed little provision for this growth of motor traffic has been made.

This plan was originally put forward in 1938, and was sponsored by the County Surveyors Society. By its development by the British Road Federation it provides for the construction of seven new motor roads, five leading direct from London. Thus, by this plan, the capital will be linked direct by major trunk roads, which will by-pass all large towns, with Newcastle, Carlisle, South Wales, Southampton and Portsmouth, all of which are large industrial areas or sea ports.

The plan also includes the construction of three new motor roads connecting Manchester with Hull, Glasgow with Darlington, and Bristol with Sheffield. Although this only means the construction of 1,000 miles of new roads, it will bring about an immediate speeding up of motor traffic between these important centres, and greatly facilitate transport of manufactured goods from the factory to the ports.

This plan, although seemingly on such a small scale, will greatly benefit producers, distributors and the consuming public, both in Britain and abroad. It will stimulate trade by facilitating faster transport; it will reduce the cost of food, essential commodities and manufactured articles by a considerable reduction in transport costs. This is proved by one fact alone, that the transport delays in the London area alone cost well over £20,000,000 a year in pre-war years.

The plan will also relieve congestion on local and other roads, and be greatly instrumental in preventing accidents which are caused by trunk roads passing through villages and towns, and by the mingling of fast and slow traffic.

That is the practical side of the plan, but it does not ignore artistic demands. Too often in the past, both in Britain and abroad, new roads have been pushed across the country without any regard for its natural beauty and scenery. The whole world has known the evils of ribbon development and the ugliness which it brings in its wake. Our plan is for the roads to conform with the landscape. They will follow the courses of streams and rivers where practicable. They will skirt the hills, following the natural folds of the land. The plan insists on the beauty of the British countryside being preserved by preserving historic towns and picturesque old villages.

The cost will be immense, but quite justifiable, for it will bring benefits to all. These major trunk roads which we have designed will be 100 feet wide throughout, and will consist of two 30 feet carriage-ways divided by a laid-out grass centre strip planted with flowering trees and shrubs. At intersections where a considerable amount of the present transport delays are caused, the crossings will be effected by cloverleaf junctions, such as are already in use in America, but not yet introduced in Britain.

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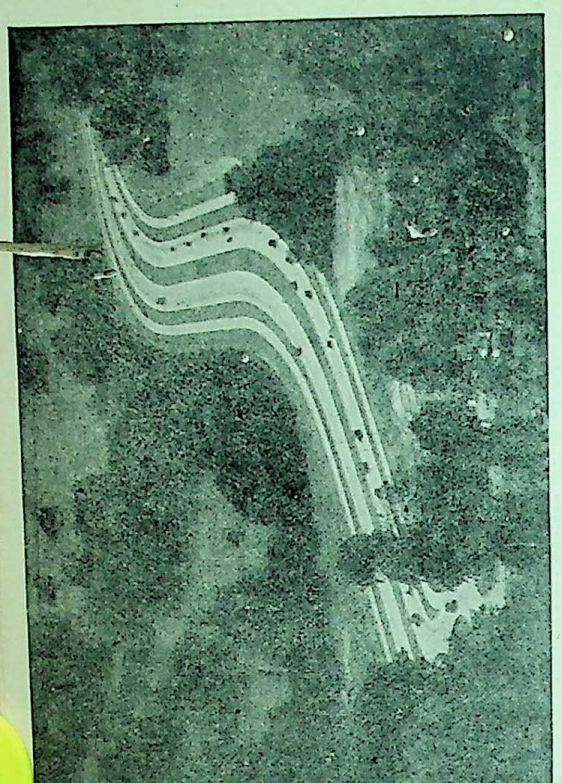
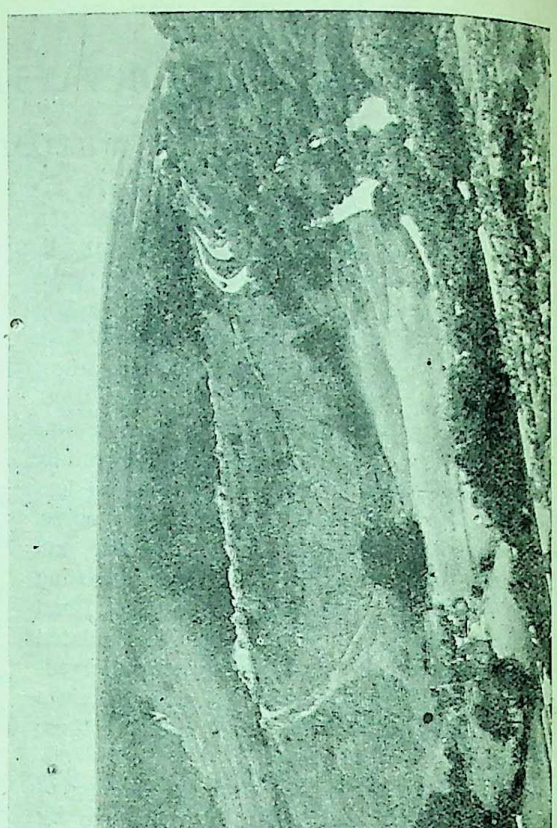
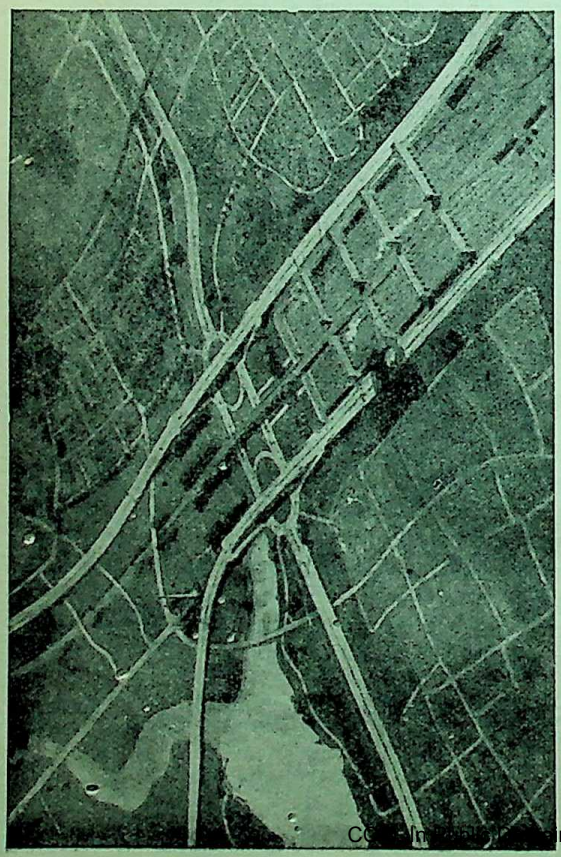


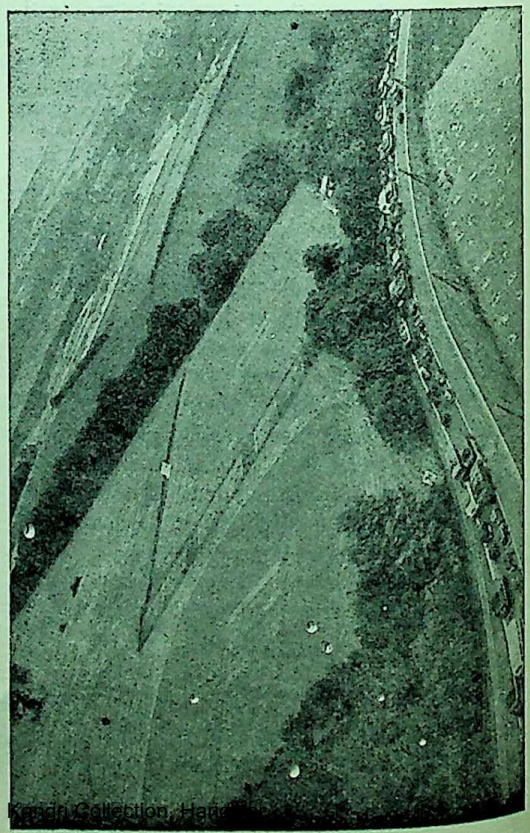
A typical road which the British Road Federation's plan intends to construct throughout Britain



The picture show how the roads proposed by the British Road Federation's plan will follow the contours of the land, thus preventing any



This plan shows three of the major motor roads which it is proposed to construct in Britain



This picture shows the very thing which the B. R. F.'s plan intends to stop a major road through the country

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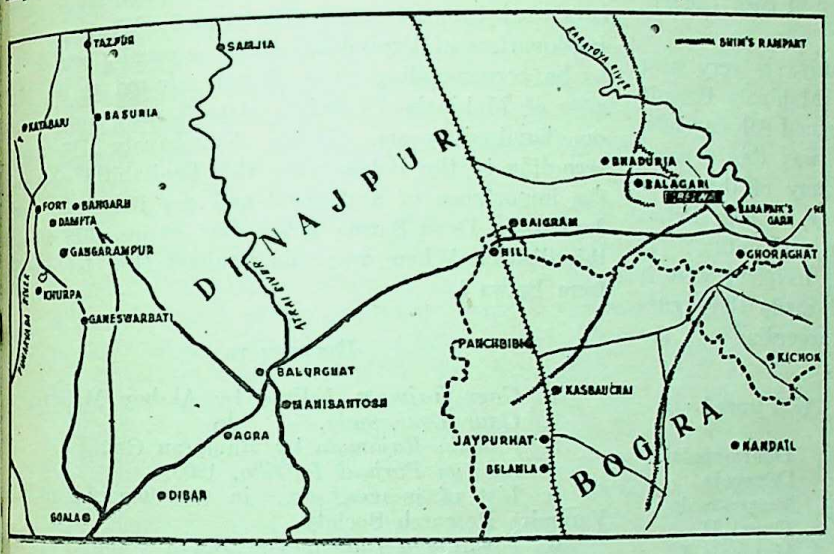
BELWA WHERE THE RAMPARTS OF BHIM CONVERGE

By MONORANJON GUPTA, B.SC.

In the July, 1947, issue of *The Modern Review* I have given a short description of the village Belwa where the two Copper Plates of Mahipala I and Bigrahapala III have been discovered. A study of the plates has brought out several interesting points for research. One of the most prominent points is the importance of Belwa itself.



Belwa is not only the abode of Jayananda Devasarman, the recipient of the gifts from Vigrahapala III, but it appears to be the village still containing lakes and temples gifted by Mahipala I. Mahipala's plate also mentions an allowance* of land for the Kaibarta tribe. This tribe later (about 100 years after), during the reign of Mahipala II, drove the Pal Dynasty out of Bengal under the leadership of Dibyak, a Kaibarta chief of North Bengal. Dibyak was succeeded by his nephew Bhim, and Bhim's ramparts are still to be found in the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Rajshahi.

When searching for the peculiarities of Belwa, we have come across the following facts:

(*a*) Several ramparts of Bhim converge in the neighbourhood of Belwa.

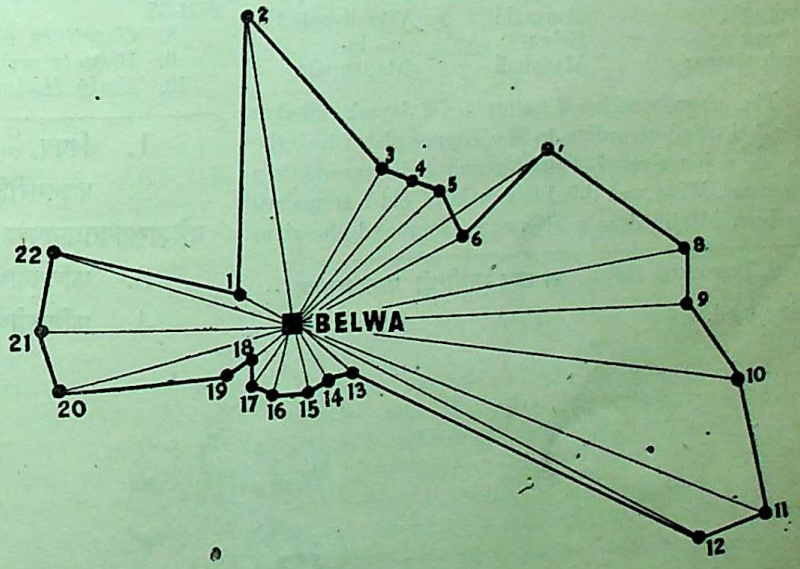
(*b*) It is link in the chain of the old relics of that age that have already been found in this part of the country.

(*c*) A chain of 22 villages the names of which all end in *gari* exists surrounding the village of Belwa.

The above-mentioned points (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) are clarified in the following lines:

(*i*) A map of the ramparts (locally known as Jangals) which now exist as low earthen embankments is given herewith. It raises the question: 'What was the importance of Belwa so that it was given such extra protection?'

(*ii*) According to the map, Bangarh (a copper-plate of Mahipala was found in this village), Dibardighi (Dibyak's pillar is found in this lake), Mahisantosh (many old relics are found in this village), Agra (a mound preserved by the Archaeological Department) and Belamla (Chandi, Surja and Basudeva images discovered in this village are preserved in the Varendra Research Society's museum). are situated in the west of the E. B. Rly. line. They have all been discussed before by several workers.



DISTANCES FROM BELWA

1. Kanagari—1 mile, 2. Balagari—5 miles, 3. Binnagari—3 miles, 4. Jigagari—3 miles, 5. Saudgari—3 miles, 6. Kasigari—3 miles, 7. Singhigari—5 miles, 8. Nikatgari—7 miles, 9. Kishoregari—7 miles, 10. Chopagari—8 miles, 11. Hijolgari—9 miles, 12. Jorgari—8 miles, 13. Puagari—1 mile, 14. Dhananjoygari—1 mile, 15. Palogari—1 mile, 16. Solagari—1 mile, 17. Nedaigari—1 mile, 18. Pachagari—½ mile, 19. Kuchilagari—1 mile, 20. Bhutgari—4 miles, 21. Deuagari—4 miles, 22. Amlagari—4 miles.

* वृत्ति

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Villages east of the railway line, namely, Baigram (a copper plate and Shiva temple have been unearthed at this place), Kasbauchai (a very big Buddha metal image and 'Sree' metal image have been found here) and Ghoraghat (once a forest-fort of Hindu kings but subsequently taken over by Gazi Ismail and a city was built there) have also attracted attention. Belwa is a village situated between Baigram and Ghoraghat.

(*iii*) A plan of the village Belwa with 22 villages, names of which all end with *gari* is given. The distances of these villages from Belwa are from one mile to nine miles. This appears to be peculiar. But what is the reason? What is the meaning of *gari*? Is it a derivative of *garh* (fort)?

The old bed of the river Karotoya is very near and the *Jayaskandhabar* from which Mahipala I made a gift of this Belwa copper-plate is named Sahasaganda, situated near a big river.* Where was this Sahasaganda? Its name did not occur in any of the other plates, etc., of the Pala kings. It may be near Belwa or far from Belwa. But what is the probability? It would have been convenient for the recipient were it near Belwa. The Pala kings had made their gifts already from the following places, according to the plates, etc., discovered.

Jayaskandhabar near	*Description of plates, etc.*	*Gift from kings*
Pataliputra	Khalimpur	Dharmapala
Mudgagiri	Monghyr	Devapala
Mudgagiri	Bhagalpur	Narayanpala
Bataparbatika	Jazipur	Gopal II
Bilaspur	Bangarh	Mahipala I
Sahasaganda	Belwa	Mahipala I
Mudgagiri	Amgachi	Vigrahapala III
Bilaspur	Belwa	-do-
Rambatinagar	Manahali	Madanpala

The above-mentioned sites of Jayaskandhabar are all situated according to the copper-plates by the side of a big river Bhagirathi, and Sahasaganda is a new name. What was this Bhagirathi of old? Ramabati has been identified as a city near Gaur and the river near it is the Padma and not the river now k[illegible] as the Bhagirathi. Was the word Bhagirathi used [illegible] broad sense meaning a big river? Could the B[illegible]rathi be the Karotoya in the case of Sahasaganda? 'garh' a derivative of 'ganda'?

Belwa is of interest from another point of view [illegible] Baigram, according to the Baigram plate, is situ[illegible] in Panchanagari district[1] of the Gupta kings, [illegible] preceded the Pala dynasty in Bengal. A part of [illegible] gifts of Mahipala I (Belwa) recorded about 300 y[illegible] after, is also contained in this Panchanagari distr[illegible] What was the capital of this district which might [illegible] continued to exist over 300 years? What was [illegible] headquarters of Fanitabithi (*bithi* is usually consid[illegible] to be corresponding to a thana) referred to in [illegible] gifts of Mahipala I's Belwa plate?[3] And after ab[illegible] one hundred years, during Vigrahapala III's re[illegible] according to the Belwa plate this Fanitabithi assu[illegible] the importance of a district[4] and our Belwa Bra[illegible] Jayananda Deva Sarma got a part of his gifts wi[illegible] this district. Where was this Fanita? How far wa[illegible] from Belwa?

* The usual *sloka* स खलु भागीरथी पथप्रवर्त्तमान··· being used.

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3. *Prachin Rajamala* by Rampran Gupta.
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6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI.
7. *Archaeological Survey of India : Annual Re[illegible]* 1934-35.
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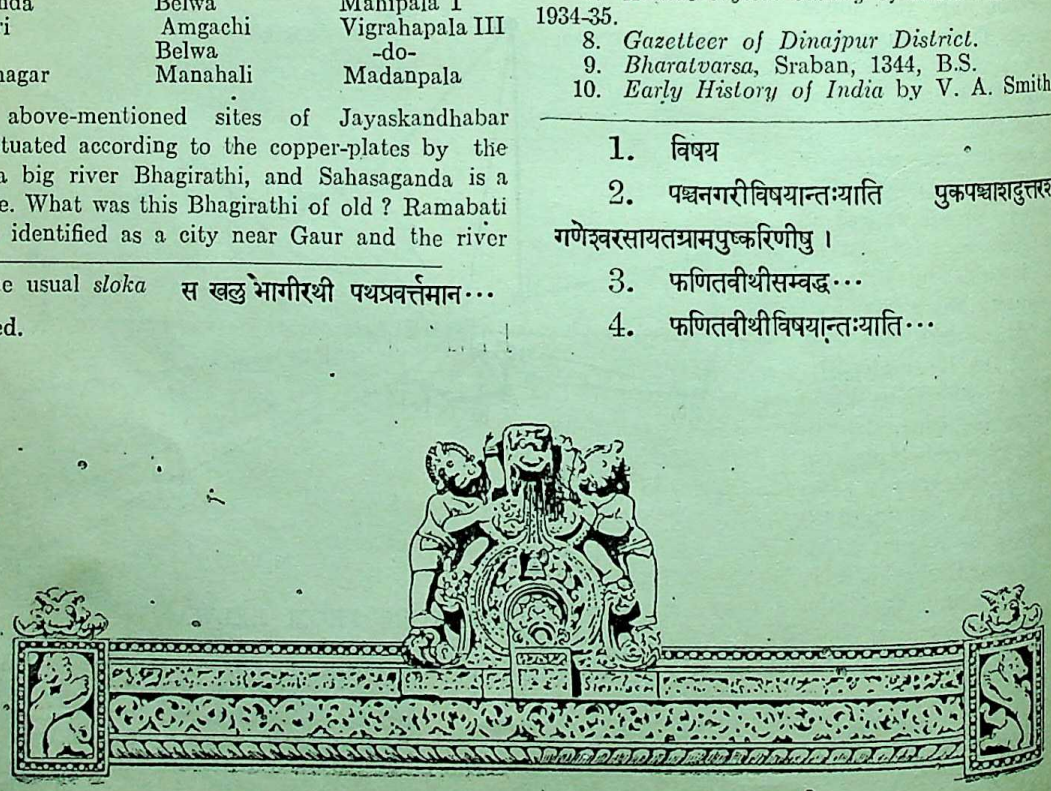
1. विषय
2. पञ्चनगरीविषयान्तःयाति पुकपञ्चाशदुत्तरशत[illegible] गणेश्वरसायतग्रामपुष्करिणीषु ।
3. फणितवीथीसम्वद्ध···
4. फणितवीथीविषयान्तःयाति···



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PROBLEMS OF ART SCHOOLS IN INDIA

By DEVI PROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY, M.B.E.,
Principal, Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras

Any cultural pursuit, initiated by progressive outlook, needs a directive to a greater ideal than what has ceased to function. It is the law of evolution, because no achievement is ever exhaustive. Art functions to this end.

What art reveals in its graphic form is a theme of expression which interprets harmony and rhythm through a pattern, discovered from the vast reserve of nature. The quest has a joy of its own in the midst of struggle, and the discovery is essentially an individual's concern.

The process underlying the quest needs patience and determination to encounter difficult problems that arise out of intriguing experiments. It is an evolution of science invented out of necessity which minimises creeping exhaustion while groping in the dark. The project is constructive provided the aid does not succumb to the fascination of dead accuracy. In the circumstances, medium and expression have to be on each other's guard and reciprocate to respective demand to reach a very high standard that an ideal claims. Co-operation of the two is, therefore, indispensable since the whole process is progressive.

Here we are faced with problems which vitally concern the educational centre of art in our country. The objective of the institutions is not only to afford facilities to advance draughtsmanship but also to encourage creative faculties by guiding the draughtsman who can harness the acquired skill to a greater cause; and that is self-deliverance, no matter which path he follows—be it traditional or occidental, so long as the deliverance is able to withstand the charge of truth and sincerity.

It is a severe test which has to pass through many ordeals. The question of effortless expression arises only then when technique works in obedience to the dictation of the artist. The result of such manoeuvres displays a playful act on the surface but in reality the achievement is the record of life's struggle.

Let us first deal with the points of ideal. The ideal accepted by the masses is often affected by a dominating fashion.

The present fad is ultra-modernism introduced by the West. Tracing the origin, we find it is the outcome of a great upheaval within for a greater quest. The initiative is not designed to disown cultural heritage but to assert on self-acquired gains. The individual, strong enough to take the consequences of his conviction, deserves a fair trial to exercise his powers to reach the ambitious goal. He is entitled to the privilege, since he is possessed by a creative urge which seeks immediate release. Hence, he has neither time nor patience to be armed with borrowed fineries to present his canvas with a respectable appearance. He is in the raw and he is not ashamed to be taken as what he is. The rebel has an honour of his own.

What is going on here is not a search to satisfy the inner urge but an unreserved submission to a contagious fashion. It is an amazing skill of adaptability. No one of the group seems to know the limitations of a borrowed capital nor is concerned when it is exhausted. The directive comes from vested interests which aim at a gain thrust by vicious propaganda. The result unfortunately does not help the cause for which art stands. It is tragic that a seeker of truth should have fallen a victim to the feverish passion to enter into a conspiracy of self-deception. It is an amusing project that baffles reason.

This is one aspect of the tide and the other is a blind estimation of tradition. The point needs clarification.

The manifestation of art in its true form does not confine itself with a specific limitation, as the scope of expression is unlimited and so is the pattern. Nor can it be harnessed to meet a certain objective in accordance with the masses' demand. To substantiate the point, I must say that millions and millions of people talk one language, but do they improve the language on grounds of masses following or the support of the hoary age of the medium? It does not. And why, I should make it clear. Contribution to the wealth of language, I mean pure literature, comes from an independent thinker, namely, the poet or the author.

The progress of the expressive vehicle is built up by spontaneous experiments in course of releasing tense and uncontrollable emotions by one who has the gift to convey his message home. Masses also feel but their expression is not exhaustive enough to convey their thoughts because they do not know the science of expression. The same principle applies to all other aspects of art. Development of art in any form, therefore, depends on individual contribution and not by the demand extended by sentimental appeal. In the circumstances, I do not see why traditional patterns only should be privileged to attract the attention of the artist or to put it right, the artist should be obliged to follow the dictation that comes from a patriotic motive.

Let us now examine the origin of tradition. Tradition, as such, is strictly speaking, following certain given patterns discovered by an individual. The pursuit, when accepted by unquestioning admirers, becomes a fashion within a group—call it a school if it suited better. The submission eventually paves an easy path to be followed by those who take up the

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course as religion. It is a question of blind faith which gets deeply rooted on account of its virtue.

In our country it happened to be a source of perennial joy, not only to the faithful but also to those who could share the joy by contacting the beautiful. It was due to constant and closer association between religion and art. There is no denying that faith is a source of energy, but it functions so long it is not questioned or exhausted.

The case is identical with a buried treasure. The treasure might have had its intrinsic value. The same is never lost but it is not counted as equal to current coins because of its isolation and withdrawal from use.

The intrinsic value in the case of lost treasure or dead tradition serves no other purpose than a grand consolation.

Our tradition is facing this crisis. The question of revival of tradition, therefore, is not so important as is the reinforcement of the vitality of the expressive vehicle ; since whatever school is followed it must be intelligible and at the same time assertive to declare what it stands for. Giving due consideration to the subjective side of art, we cannot but accommodate the present conditions of life which unfortunately do not yield to the expectations of the past. The change has come to stay and art is not divorced from its prevailing environment ; therefore, there is no other alternative than to welcome the situation and make the best of it.

Religion of the masses or the artist today is not always a sincere pursuit of the divine but a struggle for sheer existence through speed, machine and distrust. The motivating force of inspiration is, therefore, likely to be inclined towards matter of fact things, and what is achieved by this pursuit is a revelation of beauty born of chaos, struggle and hope—hope for a better living.

Let this not be misunderstood that the representation of facts of life has always a materialistic fervour. Subjects are only a means to an end which might reflect on anything according to the mood of the receptive agent.

Coming hurriedly to the conclusion, I approach the authorities concerned to consider seriously how best the guidance could be effected. Should we fall back to the tradition which is divorced from its vitality, or must we submit to a conspiracy of modernfaddism jealously guarded by disguised sincerity? Wisdom bent upon encouraging childish follies as sincerity is nothing else but self-deception. This is the culture the conspirers aim at. Coming back to the revival of traditional patterns, I am afraid, such attempts would create discord simply because they do not fit in the present environment.

Grand ruins of historic importance may have a sentimental appeal but it does not provide a healthy environment to live in. A tomb of the dead with its grandeur and great architectural beauty is no substitute for a dwelling house. Therefore, it is time the authorities devised means to save the contributions of the gifted artist of today from a suicidal end.—*A. I. R.*

———:O:———

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Dr. Miss Meenakshi Sen Gupta stood first among all the successful candidates in the M.B. examination, 1945, of the Calcutta University and was awarded at the last University Convocation the following medals :

(1) Rai Dr. Soorj Coomar Sarbadhikari Bahadur Gold Medal

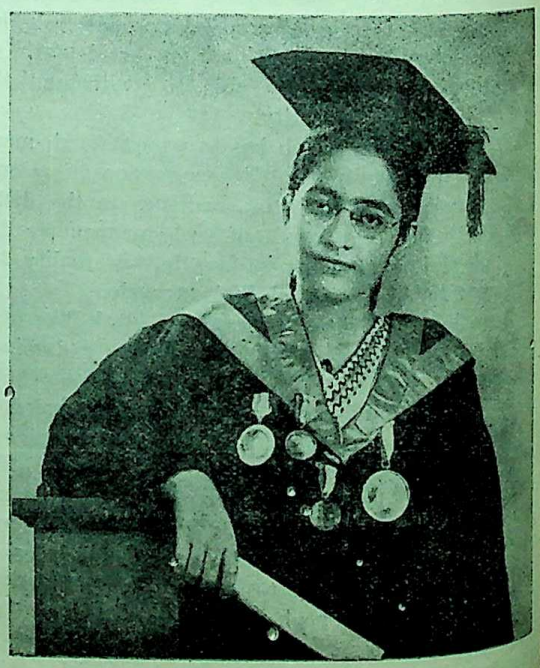
(2) Midwifery Gold Medal

(3) Dr. Mahendra Nath Ganguli Gold-rimmed Medal

(4) Roma Medal

She was also given the certificate of Honours in Hygiene and Public Health.

She is the second daughter of Mr. B. P. Sen Gupta, Advocate, and Mrs. Sushama Sen Gupta, Principal and Secretary, Lake School for Girls.



Dr. Miss Meenakshi Sen Gupta

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WALT WHITMAN

An Indian Appreciation

By A. D. MODDIE

Rarely do we find an opportunity for an appreciation of a poet in one work alone. Walt Whitman offers such a unique instance, where a poet throws his heart and soul, casts all his physical, philosophical and psychical experience with a bold, imaginative, sweeping abandon into one poem, one egoistic outburst, the "Song of Myself":

"I loaf and invite my soul."

Some may acclaim him America's national poet; some, the poet of Liberty and Democracy, the "Chanter of Personality." But his powerful voice travels beyond these limited bounds, and moves the waters of age-long yet age-less, deathless, deep and vital philosophies, not merely of all time and all men, but of Time, absolute and limitless, of Being and Becoming in the universe of all existence. The poet not only stands upon a pedestal of the modern world as the champion and singer of the "Modern Man," but his genius, intuition, powers, call it what you may, also stirs deep springs; springs not unfamiliar to the Indian mind which has drunk from these in millenniums past. In both aspects, ancient and modern, Walt Whitman has an appeal for the Indian reader. It pleases him to find in this democrat and rebel of the nineteenth century, something of the deep sublime wisdom, yet active, seeking, comprehending spirit of the Indo-Aryan *Rishis* of old:

"Both in and out of the game and watching and wondering at it."

Like Tagore, Whitman's basic faith, the very breath of his life, is his universality of outlook and sympathy, his immense fellowship and feeling for men and nature. He lived in a century, the most liberal spirits of which proclaimed the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and Walt Whitman affirms it in deep faith:

"And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers,
And the women my sisters and lovers,
And that a Kelson of the creation is love . . ."

Not for him merely to state an empty poetic ideal, couched in beautiful words and left at that. The boundless sympathies of his prolific soul pour forth innumerable manifestations of life:

"And of these one and all I weave the song of myself."

He looks at a babe in its cradle, and silently brushes away the flies that may disturb it. He sees the suicide sprawled on the bloody floor. He hears the hurrahs of crowds and the fury of mobs. He hears the groans of the sunstruck, or those in fits; and the exclamations of women hurrying home to give birth to babes. He minds all these as a spectator.

But now he is off and plunges into the lives of others too, as an eager participant. Alone in the wild mountains he kindles the fire, cooks the "fresh killed" game, and falls asleep with his dog and gun beside him. Next, he becomes a happy member of the crew of a yankee clipper. Back again in the land of huntsmen, he is an observant guest at the marriage of a trapper. A runaway slave "in sweated body and bruised feet" comes to his house, and he gives him succour. He enjoys the repartee and shuffle of the butcher-boy, and follows the movements of the blacksmiths "with their massive arms,"—"they do not hasten, each man hits in his place." The Negro coachman—"I behold the picturesque giant and love him"—oxen with expressive eyes, the moose of the North, the cat on the house still, the prairie dog, the litter of the grunting sow, and the brood of the turkey hen, men from the oceans and the woods, the lunatic, the printer, the maimed, the prostitute—

"I do not laugh at your oaths nor jeer you"; the President with his great Secretaries of State, young and old, "a child as well as a man," of every hue and caste, of every rank and religion; they are all part of his being and he is part of theirs.

"In me the Caresser of life wherever moving,
Absorbing all to myself and for this song."

The wide range of his sympathies and his fellowship with all beings is startling. The most trivial, seemingly unpoetical objects find a place in his manly, humane heart, and he knows that the same law of life rules him, as it does them. The poet rises to the very heights of admiration and wonder in contemplating the works of God and Nature. He believes, "A leaf of grass is no less than the journey work of the stars." He sees perfection in a grain of sand or the egg of a wren. So marvellous is the work of God, that for him "the narrowest hinge of my hand puts to scorn all machinery"; and "a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels."

Large universal sentiments towards all God's creation is but a part of the poet's amazing conception of the limitless universe and space itself,

"A few quadrillions of eras, a few octillions of cubic leagues, do not hazard the span or make it impatient,
They are but parts, anything is but a part.
See ever so far, there is the limitless space outside of that,
Count ever so much, there is limitless space around that."

Perhaps Walt Whitman is gazing through the telescope of Galileo or Jeans, but then it might have been a verse from the mouth of any one of a thousand

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philosophical thinkers in India in the past four thousand years; it might have been from the Vedanta or Upanishad, from Ramakrishna Paramahansa, or a nameless *rishi* on Kailash. The same technique of demonstrating immensity without beginning or end, by means of astronomical multiplications or minute mathematical divisions is illustrated in Svetasvatara Upanishad.

"That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of hair, divided a hundred times, and yet it is to be infinite."

And despite the parts, subdivisions, and variations of that immensity, the infinite, there is a unity that embraces and transcends all, a unity in Time, in Space, and in Being.

In India a man possessing a profound insight into the problems of life and death, and one who, knowing these, can rise above them with calm, dispassionate discernment, is called a *Mahatma*, a great soul. The wisdom of Whitman and the thoughts of Indian philosophers bear a marked likeness, and find common ground above the plane of mortal life, beyond the doors of death.

"The smallest sprout shows there is really no death,
And if ever there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the end to arrest it,
And ceased the moment life appeared."
"All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses,
And to die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier."

Birth and death are no limitations to him, he proudly proclaims:

"I pass death with the dying and birth with the new-washed babe,
And am not contained between my hat and boots."

And here is a piece worthy of the most subtle Hindu metaphysician:

"All truths wait in all things,
They neither hasten their own delivery nor resist it,
They do not need the obstetric forceps of the surgeon,
The insignificant is as big to me as any,
(What is less or more "than a touch?)"

The Mahatma in the soul of Walt Whitman—for he is not wholly a Mahatma but also an average sensuous, fighting mortal—is remarkably Gandhian, not merely a sympathiser in grief, but one with the griever:

"Agonies are one of my changes of garments,
I do not ask the wounded person how he feels,
I myself become the wounded person,
My hurts turn livid upon me as I lean on a cane and observe."

It might have been Gandhi speaking poignantly of the sufferings of Noakhali or Bihar. The very "cane" might have been Gandhi's too!

The universalism of Tagore and the deep compassion of Gandhi are happy discoveries in this "habitant of the Alleganies" but yet undreamt of fruits, familiar and long stored in the Indo-Aryan mind, are to be eagerly found in the wide and variegated fields of Walt Whitman's mind and soul. Who do we here? An approach to the ancient *Dvaita* or Dual Philosophy of Kapila* himself? Let us read.

"There was never any more inception that there is now.
Nor any more youth or age that there is now, . . .
Urge and urge and urge,
Always the procreant urge of the world,
Out of the dimness opposite equals advance, always substance and increase, always sex,
Always a knit of identity, always a distinction, always a breed of life."

Was this the poet's unknowing reference to *Prakriti*, the creating, destroying, modifying, ever evolving forces of nature?

"Urge and urge and urge,
Always the procreant urge of the world."

And the *Purusha*, the embodiment of all living beings, being good or evil according to the interacting forces of *Prakriti* and *Purusha*.

"Always substance, always increase, always sex, always identity and distinction, "always a breed of life." It is hard to unravel. "To elaborate is no avail," as the poet himself admits. Only a suspicion of the similarity of *Dvaita* thought is pointed out, when lo! a trace of the *Advaita*† appears. The song-writer accepts "Time absolutely," and "Reality" he does not question. Above the reasonings of positive science, above the findings of lexicographer, chemist, grammarian, mariner, geologist and mathematician, about the interplay of the laws of nature, of *Prakriti* and *Purusha*, he enters to "an area" of his own dwelling, the Absolute. The supreme ecstasy of that moment, known to some others in forest or mountain, or on river bank, is not unknown to him:

"Swiftly rose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all the argument of the earth."

How near Walt Whitman approaches and gives expression to thoughts anciently familiar to us! The Law of Karma, of cause and effect, is propounded in a didactic philosophical style, rather than the language of poetry: "Every condition promulges not only itself, it promulges what grows after and out of itself." Reference to "the wheel'd universe" brings out the same imagery as the *Dharma Chakra*, or Wheel of Life. The cycle of existence, the round of birth, growth, decay, death and rebirth has been inculcated since Buddha's time. The Wheel or *chakra* is perhaps one of the commonest portrayals of Indian sculpture. How firm is Whitman's belief in his own reincarnation:

"And as to you, Life, I reckon you are the leavings of many deaths,
No doubt I have died myself ten thousand times before."

So near does the spirit of Walt Whitman approach our age-old thoughts and ideals, so many are the

* *Dvaita* or the Dualistic philosophy of Kapila described the universe as the result of interaction of two forces, *Prakriti* or evolving nature, and *Purusha* or the desires and actions of life.

† *Advaita*: The Monistic philosophy, as propounded by Sankara the 10th Century, laid down the Absolute Oneness of all existence the Indivisible Truth and Centre, God.

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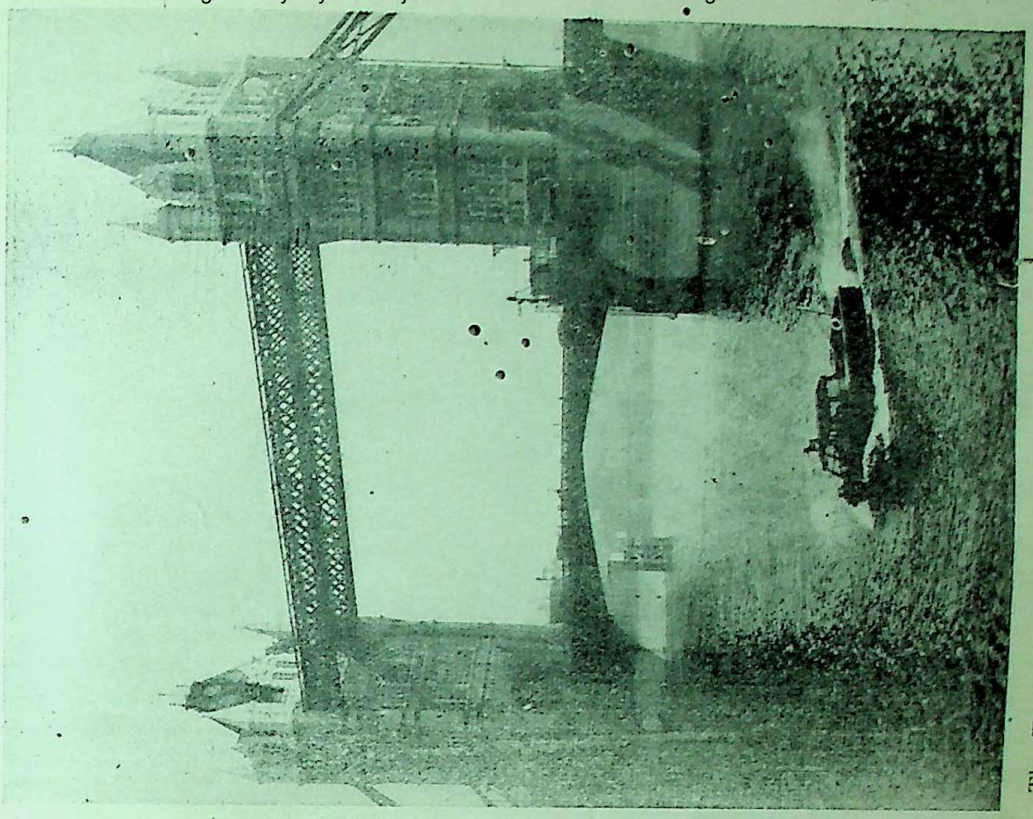
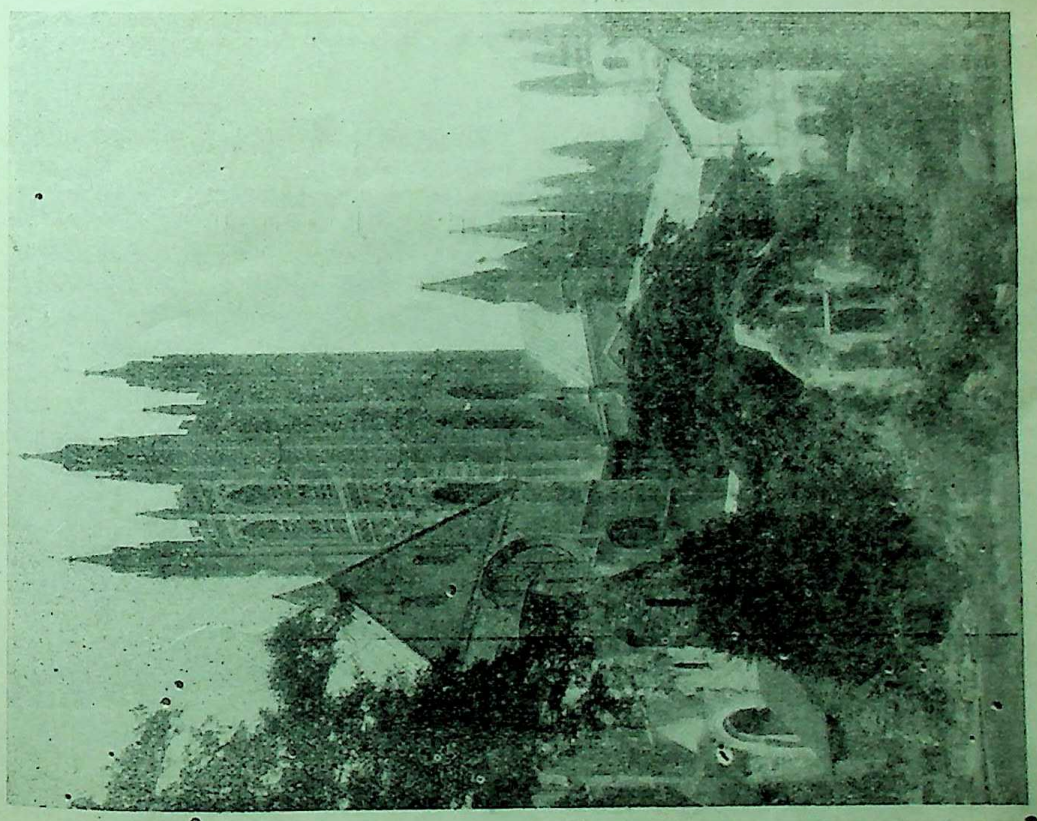


The Tower Bridge, the last of the 21 bridges across the Thames, in London



The Tower of Canterbury Cathedral in Kent where the ruins of the old monastery can still be seen

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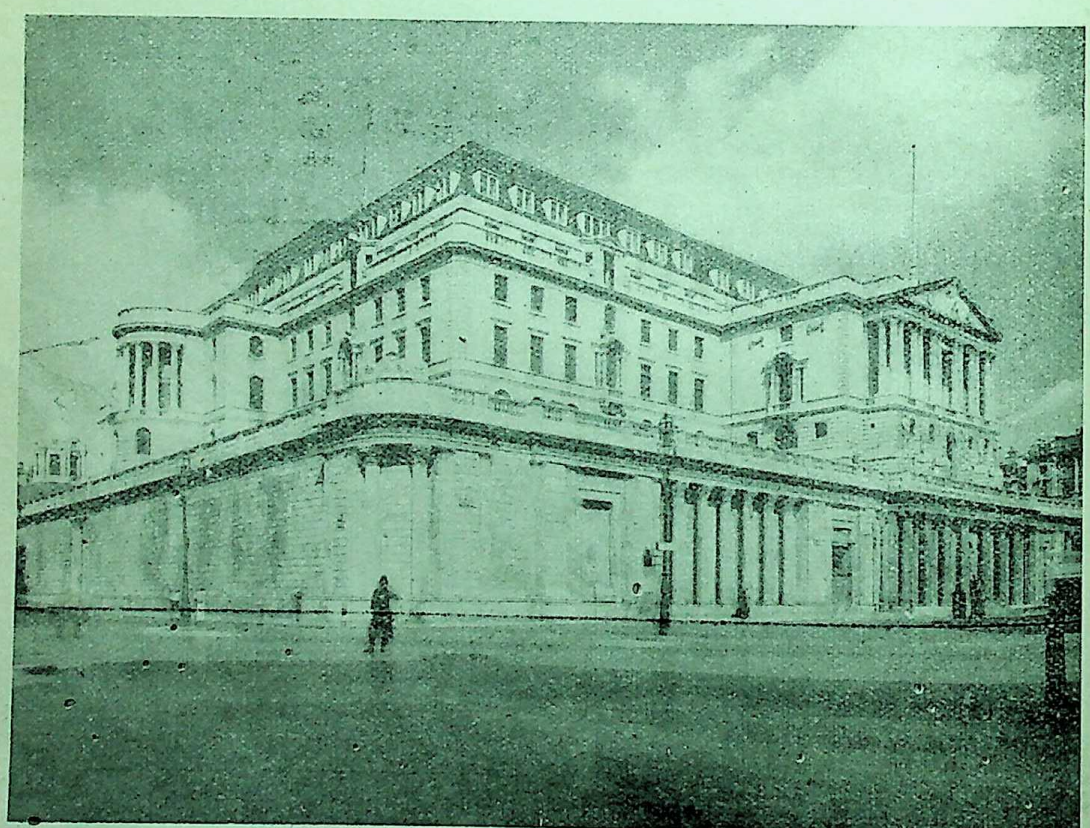
The ancient castle of Dover, one of the most important of the five Cinque ports on the south coast of England



The Bank of England, the public bank of Great Britain, was founded in 1694

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points of contact between our folk and his comparatively recent seekings to lighten sparks of recognition between the two. Yet he is a robust modern, avowedly so, with all his passionate attachment to material, and even sensual things, enjoying to the full all aspects of a free and active human life:

"Storming, enjoying, planning, loving, cautioning,—"

Then bravely :

"I believe in the flesh and the appetites,
Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles . . ."

though in the very next line in paradoxical egoism he claims divinity "inside and out."

Sublime or sensual, divine or mortal, ancient or modern,—what is he ? His own answer is that he is each and all. The many-sidedness of his character and the multi-colours of his soul both fascinate and intrigue. At one moment he speaks with the sublime detachment of a *Rishi* :

"And I say to mankind, Be not curious about God,
For I who am curious about each am not curious about God,
No array of terms can say how much I am at peace about God and about Death."

And a moment later, he continues with the same devoutness, but now speaks in the more matter-of-fact terms of the west. He sees God in each hour of the twenty-four, in the faces of men and women, in his own face in the glass ; and he picks up letters from God in the street, everyone of them signed by God's name. The seeker in both passages is the same. But whereas the one seems to sit in the Himalaya, the other speaks from a street-corner in an American town.

Walt Whitman, a singer of the "Modern Man," a rebel, the champion of the common and the down-trodden, the loud trumpeter of liberty, cannot fail to appeal to the modern too. In fact, he must, for he is a child of the modern mind in its multifarious aspects. He is a citizen of the city, and no more speculator in metaphysical affairs.

"Whatever interests the rest interests me, politics, wars, markets, newspapers, schools,
The Mayor and councils, banks, tariffs, steamships, factories, stocks, stores, real estate and personal estate."

A proud and true patriot, he relates the tales of America's fighting heroes struggling against heavy odds, against the enemies of his country and its traditions. First, the struggle of the four hundred and twelve men, the glory of the race of rangers, matchless with horse, rifle, song, supper and courtship ; young, handsome, generous and brave. They capitulated honourably, but were foully massacred on a beautiful summer's day.

"Would you hear of an old-time sea-fight ?"

He proceeds to tell of a "serene little captain," who though battered and sinking, came out the victor.

"His eyes give more light to us than our battle-lanterns."

Then the trumpeter of liberty blows his blast, to bring encouragement, hope and inspiration to all the lowly, despised and the oppressed :

"I speak the pass-word primeval,
I give the sign of democracy,
By God ! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Through him the voices of prisoners and slaves, of the diseased and despairing, of thieves and dwarfs, of the deformed, the foolish, and the despised,—all find free and powerful expression. He is to them as Arjuna's* Bow and the shepherd of the flock that is lost and rejected. Behold the first Khaksar !†

"I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love,
If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles."

Walt Whitman's final appeal to the modern is as a rational seeker, and as one with a confident belief that the spirit of man will not rest content upon the fringes of the earth, or the boundaries of the universe. It will irresistibly pass on to seek newer worlds beyond, even when "we become the enfolders of those orbs, and the pleasure and knowledge of everything in them." Upon a hill, before dawn, as he looked at the "crowded heaven" this conviction came to him, that the spirit of man would know no resting place or frontier. It would venture into the illimitable spaces beyond opened up by the igenuity, reason and intuition of the human mind.

Patriot, democrat, humanitarian, seer, "embracer of all life,"—what more could a mortal poet aspire to be. But in the grand consummation, in the depths of his being there emerges a soul of more than mortal dimensions and powers, the embodiment of things past, present and future ; and it grandiloquently proclaims :

"I am the acme of things accomplished, and I am an encloser of things to be."

This soul speaks of itself as a "Kosmos"; no individual, mark, no matter how exalted. Far down the dim ages of the beginning, through the "lethargic mist" of Time, it sees itself emerging from "the huge first Nothing." In the arms of the Infinite, from the earliest beginnings, "Long I was hugged close—long and long." A child of eternity !

Still it grows and evolves, it "mounts and mounts," and now it is a veritable *Avatar*—Walt Whitman is no more—launching all men and women forward into the Unknown.

"My faith is the greatest of faiths,
Enclosing worship ancient and modern,
Believing I shall come again upon the earth after five thousand years,
Waiting responses from oracles, honouring the gods, saluting the sun . . ."

The *Avatar* speaks of itself as "waiting my time to be one of the supremes." It is confident of its

* Arjuna was the chief of the five famous Pandava brothers, who, in the Mahabharata, defeated in battle the hosts of the Kurus with Lord Krishna's aid.

† Khaksar : Literally means 'one with the dust': a sect of party in India professing service to the poorest and lowest of men.

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exalted mission. But wait, it wishes to say more, but a germ of doubt troubles its vastness. "There is that in me—I do not know—what it is—but I know it is in me." It is nameless, without utterance, no dictionary has it. The soul, once Walt Whitman, sleeps: it sleeps long. And now it wakes from its slumbers, resolving the germ of doubt.

"Do you see, O my brothers and sisters? It is not chaos or death—it is form, union, plan—it is eternal life—it is Happiness."

At last the *Avatar* conceives a plan, a union, Happiness, which is eternal; above chaos and de in *Brahmaloka**!

In this great consummation where can we now f Walt Whitman, a son of Manhattan? Search, and encouraged in the seeking, for:

"Missing me one place search another,
I stop somewhere waiting for you."

* *Brahmaloka*: A state where the soul has ascended to be born die no more: a heaven, a place of the gods.

———:O:———

THIS UNDECLARED WAR IN KASHMIR

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
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The unprovoked invasion of Kashmir by a well-armed, well-equipped and well-organised army from the North-West Frontier Province is still being referred to as a tribal raid, though the facts relating to this invasion leave no room for doubt that it is a regular military offensive planned by the fascist war-mongers and politicians of Pakistan. It is therefore not a little surprising that the Government of India is still hesitating to take direct diplomatic action against the Pakistan Government, even though the latter has violated in a most reprehensible manner all rules of conduct recognised in international relations. The Indian Union is thus needlessly exposing its own action in Kashmir to a most vicious misrepresentation by the Pakistan leaders. The 'kid glove' diplomacy of the Indian Union Government and its idealistic and ostrich-like refusal to face the plain facts are causing a justifiable indignation all round, for the public feeling in India has been badly outraged by the manner in which massacre, loot, arson and rape have spread havoc in the fair valley of Kashmir.

That the invaders have 'missed the bus' in Kashmir is now clear, and that they are now mostly on the run is also an established fact, but the trouble is far from being over, and it will take months and months before Kashmir can be fully cleared of the invaders. While the Indian army and the Indian air force have done splendid work in fighting the enemy, yet the fact remains that the difficulties of weather, transport, communications and terrain are impeding the progress of patrol activity and mopping-up operations.

When the full story of the defence of Kashmir is written, four facts will predominate therein. The first is the heroic defence of the Kashmir State Forces without whose gallant opposition the advance of the invaders could not have been slowed down. The timely decision of the Government of India to accept the accession of Kashmir and stand by it in its hour of mortal peril is the second factor. If this decision had even been slightly delayed, Srinagar would not have escaped the fate of Baramula. The third factor is the leadership of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, head of the emergency administration in Kashm who has worked wonders in rallying the saner elements his country. The last but not the least among the fact is of course the unity and patriotism of the people of communities. Through their sufferings and sacrifices emerged almost overnight a popular militia which is goi to be the backbone of national defence hereafter.

While there can be no two opinions about the gallan of the defenders, the complicity of the Pakistan lead in this undeclared war is clear beyond all possibility doubt in the same way. Firstly, the way this invasion h been organised and executed reflects a specialised a thorough planning, no less than a trained military lead ship which could never have been available to mere tri raiders. Secondly, the large invading army could n have penetrated into Kashmir through several hund miles of Pakistan territory without official assistan Thirdly, the huge resources which the invading army known to be using could not have dropped from the sk and they could have been supplied only by official agenc Fourthly, the official and semi-official statements a speeches of the Pakistan leaders with regard to Kash are so bellicose, provocative and transparently one-si that one can easily see which way their sympathies l Fifthly, the connection subsisting between the so-call Azad Kashmir party and the Muslim League of Pakist is too obvious to be mistaken any longer. Sixthly, the p paganda carried on by the Pakistan Radio in favour of t invading army and against the Kashmir Durbar and t Indian Union clearly betrays Pakistan's complicity this treacherous attack on Kashmir. Seventhly, the ca ture of some of the invading troops with their equipme and belongings has led to the discovery of evidence wh would serve to reveal Pakistan's hand in the invasi Eightly, the disclosures made by certain arrested prison equally confirm Pakistan's war guilt. Lastly, the g misrepresentation by Pakistan of India's action in m ing the enemy attack is so palpably false and mischie cannot help noticing its war mentality which given rise to this mad adventure of violence and rapine

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A number of theories have been put forward to explain Pakistan's coup against Kashmir. The home front of Pakistan is said to be so perilous that the authorities needed some popular and glorious diversion to catch the imagination of the disgruntled masses. The Azad Pathanistan movement in the North-West Frontier Province has also been a very disturbing feature which could be countered only by a campaign of loot and massacre directed against a Hindu state. The Muslim League population of Kashmir seemed an inviting element on which to base an aggressive design on the Hindu ruler of Kashmir. The strategic position of Kashmir further makes it invaluable to Pakistan. Its accession to the Indian Union is considered to be detrimental to the security of Pakistan. Besides, the growing Muslim disillusionment with the actual results of Pakistan called for a quick and sensational achievemeit which might drown all discontent and reinforce the public morale. The attack on Kashmir may also have been engineered as a step preliminary to an eventual offensive against India as a whole. It was an easy affair to stir up the cupidity of the tribal people by raising before them the prospects of unlimited loot and plunder. The fanaticism of the tribesmen of the border country could be easily inflamed in the name of religion and with the cry of a religious crusade against the Hindus of Kashmir. Acting on the principle that possession is nine points in law, the politicians of Pakistan may also have believed that a forcible coup would procure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan.

Though it may not be difficult to account for Pakistan's military adventure in Kashmir, one cannot find the least shred of justification, much less an apology, for this. Far from being apologetic, the Pakistan leaders have put up an attitude of injured and sanctimonious innocence and have threatened an appeal to the UNO against what they call India's unjustified violence and *coup d'etat*. The patience and forbearance with which the Government of India have put up with these wild accusations and malicious threats are almost angelic in their generosity. The Government of India has not only not returned the accusations, but has also not issued notes of warning on a diplomatic level against what is a deliberate complicity in a shameless assault without declaration of war. There is yet no threat of even economic sanctions to bring Pakistan to its senses. There is yet no mention of an appeal to the UNO against an undeclared war of a truly Nazi fashion. The hollow pretence put up by the Pakistan authorities that they have nothing to do with this invasion still goes officially unchallenged. and the Indian Union authorities are yet apparently basing their diplomatic attitude on the flimsy assumption that the fight is not with Pakistan, but with unauthorised raiders from the N.-W. Frontier. A lack of firmness at this juncture is bound to be harmful to the ultimate interests of India. It is high time that the Pakistani bluff is called, and the world is told the whole truth about the machinations which have led to the rape of Kashmir.

This undeclared war in Kashmir is, however, not an unmixed evil. With all its inhuman savagery, it has come as a timely and useful corrective to the growing sense of smug and idealistic complacency in India after August 15. It is a warning which no sentimental slogans can obscure, and it is a portent which even the blind can see through. The army of a free India has had to fight for the first time without European leadership, and it has acquired an experience which would be invaluable in future. The virtual reconquest of the whole of Kashmir which this invasion has entailed is going to strengthen the military defence of India in the long run. It will surely frustrate the sinister designs that Pakistan may have entertained against India. The brutalities committed by the invaders have so horrified even the Muslims of Kashmir that all their former sympathies for Pakistan seem to have wholly disappeared. The failure of the invasion is bound to strengthen India's internal situation. It has been a good warning to the pro-League elements in states like Hyderabad. Pakistan's frustration is so complete that it will take a long time to get over the aftermath of failure and disappointment. The loyalty of the Pathans to Pakistan is bound to be adversely affected, and the move for Pathanistan will gain an added impetus from the turn of events in Kashmir. The prestige of India has gone up considerably, and the manner in which it is fighting to restore order in Kashmir has evoked the admiration of all disinterested observers.

If this undeclared war in Kashmir forced India to be alert, it served a useful purpose. It has in any case taught a valuable lesson that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

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EDUCATION IN INDIA
Its Past, Present and Future

By P. NARASIMHAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Education as a Vital Human Need

Man is human, only because he has a reason by which he can educate himself above the level of brute creation. The sages of the Upanishads declared, *Vidyaya amritam asnute.* 'By knowledge and education, man reaches his true and immortal fulfilment.' The *Vidya* which is the duty and the birth-right of man is not mere religious knowledge but an enlightenment of the whole life, physical, mental, and social as well as spiritual. Education is not a remote or a special need of a few gifted individuals but a vital and universal need of humanity. In the age-old traditional teaching of India, the main purposes of life are classified and set out in the ideals of *dharma, artha, kama* and *moksha;* the right of social life, economic life, happiness and spiritual good. From yet another view-point, human life has been set out in that teaching in three or four stages,—disciplined education in youth (*brahmacharya*), the practical life of a citizen and householder (*garhastya*), and finally the life of self-renouncing service (*Avadhuta, Vanaprastha,* etc.). Education continues throughout life. Only its emphasis may be said to shift from one aspect to another according to the ages or capacities of the individuals. But the main aspects of education are the same for all. They are intrinsic to man as such,—man as an individual and social being. These common aspects are the objectives of all education. Professor A. N. Whitehead would define them in the following words: "The life of man is founded on technology, science, art and religion. All four are interconnected and issued from his total mentality." The full personality of an individual is made up of his professional life, his scientific knowledge, his emotional and creative life, and last but not least, his inner anchorage of ideal standards and values. Education does not consist solely in the reading of books, intellectual pursuits or scholarship, but comprehends the full equipment of a human personality which is able to meet the varied needs of outer and inner life. Anything less than this falls short of the full scope and standard of education. The Director of the Department of Education at Oxford, Dr. Jacks, therefore, urges that education if it is to be truly worthy of the name should be *total* education,—total *i.e.* comprehensive of all sides of personality, all age-levels, and all grades of society and capacity.*

Its National Need

When we pass from the stand-point of personal life to that of the nation, the need of education becomes not a whit less vital. As a wise Chinese proverb has it, "Plant grain, if you are planning for a year; plant trees, if you are planning for ten years; plant men, if you would plan wisely for a hundred years."

In modern times, among European nations, the va of education has been emphasised with tireless repetitio A British statesman of Victorian England, referring to conditions of the time, said, "Upon the education of people of this country, the fate of this country depend As still further proof,—if proof were needed,—we h the phenomenon of the British Parliament's enactmen the Education Act of the year 1944 at the time of World War.

Education is the lamp by which the individual and nation live and guide their foot-steps. The ideal of ev patriot, philanthropist, religious reformer and poli leader should be a wide and well-balanced system of ed cation. It is the first essential of individual and natio well-being.

The Past in Indian Education

It is recognised on all hands that there is an urgent n in our country for a reformed and modern system of edu tion. Our present educational system, like so many our other institutions, lags behind modern standards. F one thing, it is still too bookish, theoretical or academic and predominantly cultural in its methods and conte There is too little of practical and professional traini particularly in the application of the sciences to the s vice of man. The vast achievements of the modern wo during the last two hundred years may be summed up the advance of scientific knowledge of nature and application to serve the needs of man. These achievemen *viz.,* modern science and its mechanical inventions, h brought about a new order in the life of the human ra fraught with some evil perhaps but also with an immen amount of good and happiness.

There is no doubt that we in India have been slow very slow indeed—in assimilating this new knowledge putting it to use.

We are one-fifth of the world's population today, further we are not without a history of glorious achie ments in the sciences and arts, commerce and indus What this history was may still be seen in the ruins remains of these which are strewn all over the country overseas in countries like Sumatra and Java; in the serv indigenous systems of medicine which can even now a point or two as regards the art of healing; in old i pillars and other metal castings which stand in vario parts of the country immune for ages against the ravages climate; and a hundred other remarkable monuments. valiant wooden ships of these early times carried colon and merchants across the seas; and our fast wooden chari sped across the country in the service of war and peac And our merchandise of all kinds was eagerly sought a in foreign markets, while foreign scholars came to I as to a school of learning and civilisation.

* Vide *Total Education* 1946, M. L. Jacks.

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All this past achievement presupposes, without doubt, an adequate and efficient system of education. Without an efficient educational organisation comprehending both research and teaching in arts and technology, such sustained achievement as that of ancient India or that of modern Europe is impossible. The pursuit of knowledge and the imparting of it have always been held in high honour among the Indian people. The scholar and the teacher have been treated with special veneration. As the Hartog Education Committee Report (quoting Dr. F. W. Thomas, the distinguished Indologist) points out:

> "Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence."

But all this, or most of this, is of the past. At some time in our early history, a blight fell on the educational system, and progress in knowledge was arrested in all directions. Though the old sciences and crafts lingered on, the impulse to their progress steadily decayed and dragged down the life of the people to that of the backward people of the world. The castes which were not only social but also educational units,—since they specialised in various lines of technical knowledge, *viz.*, agriculture, animal husbandry, carpentry, smithy, trade, engineering, etc.—missed the vital impulse to progress even in their own special fields. A general stagnation set in and even the unique, specialised social system, *viz.*, the hereditary caste system, failed to hold and develop the sciences and crafts. It is a sad story, and historians and archaeologists will no doubt some day reconstruct in detail the causes and the steps of this unfortunate and progressive decay.

The Recent Past and the Present

However our present task is to build up a nation-wide educational system on modern lines to suit our present conditions. Piece-meal attempts have been made during the last half-a-century or more to establish modern educational institutions in the country. Modern sciences have been placed in the school curricula; modern methods of teaching have been followed; public education has been separated from religious education, and all communities have been given free access to it irrespective of religious and social differences; modern institutions of higher learning, *viz.*, the Universities, have been founded and developed in various parts of the country; modern knowledge of the sciences and humanities has been broadcast all over the country not only through schools and colleges but also through newspapers and journals, lectures and libraries, the radio and the cinema, modern political institutions and various other modern agencies. Western literatures too have come to be widely read through the medium of the English language and this has been a deep and wide channel for the inflow of new social, political, economic and cultural ideas. In word, a complete reorganisation of national education and the educational system has been slowly taking place for about a century.

All this is good, but unfortunately the educational fabric that has been thus being built up has all the features of a rapid improvisation. It is loosely knit, and seems a conglomerate of diverse patches while in some parts, it is too rigid and narrow. In consequence the country is most behindhand in respect of education among all the civilised countries of the world, the percentage of illiteracy being as high as 85 per cent. Our expenditure on education is 60 times less per individual than, say, in England. There is hardly any widespread popular desire even for primary education. Of all the children of the school-going age, hardly 30 per cent go to school and learn the essential three R's. 70 per cent of the children grow up in ignorance and illiteracy and swell the vast flood of unskilled labour or the idle and the delinquent. And even of these 30 per cent who come to schools, only one-eighth, *i.e.*, about 40 per cent stay on and complete their elementary or primary education. This means an enormous wastage of effort and public funds. If 52 lakhs of children join the first year of the Primary Schools, hardly seven lakhs continue to the last (the 5th) year of these schools. Half of the teachers are untrained, and since women teachers are not available, male teachers have to be employed even in girls' schools and in almost all primary schools. Only a small percentage of the Primary-School-leavers, the children who have finished primary school education, continue their studies in high schools, and still fewer in Universities. The scholarships available even for this small percentage are fewer and less well-organised than in any other modern progressive country. For the education of handicapped children, the institutions are few and far between and the methods in vogue, such as the grouping together of all kinds of defectives, are out-of-date and unsatisfactory. For the education of mentally defective children, the imbeciles etc., there are hardly more than 2 or 3 schools in the whole country. 'Educated unemployment" is another of the sore points of our educational picture. The 'discontented B.A.' has become a by-word. Furthermore, there is hardly any systematic organisation of adult education at its various levels. And so on. To cut a long story short, the Indian educational fabric is full of gaps, loose threads and dark patches, indeed.

It is no wonder that efforts at reform commenced very early and steadily increased in volume and extent. Leaders and educationists all over the country have tried to effect improvements in some part or other of this immense fabric. To refer only to a few instances, Gopala-krishna Gokhale, with his wise and far-sighted statesmanship, attempted to introduce the system of compulsory elementary education. Other leaders founded new institutions for the combination of religious with modern secular education. The Gurukul at Hardwar, the Anglo-Vedic Colleges founded under the inspiration of Dayanand Saraswati, the schools and colleges founded by Mrs. Besant of the Theosophical Society and the National Education Trust, and the denominational Universities of Benares and Aligarh are some of the outstanding examples of efforts in this direction. Other leaders wishing to improve the technique and atmosphere of modern schools, founded residential schools characterised by a close contact between the teacher and the taught and embodying the spirit of the

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old indigenous Gurukula, of which the modern national system is an adaptation. To this class belong the schools founded at Bolpur by Rabindranath Tagore, the institutions at Hardwar and other places. In the field of University education, various reforms have been introduced in the curricula, the technique of teaching and other aspects. For instance, the system of a two years Intermediate course followed by a two years Degree course has been replaced in one or two Universities by an improved high school course followed by a 3 years degree course. Greater provision too has been made for professional training, such as legal, medical, engineering, teaching, commercial, etc., wherever possible, at the high school as well as at the University stage.

Pressing Needs

But all these developments and reforms together have not succeeded in effecting a substantial improvement in the main fabric. For one thing the efforts have been in some cases sporadic and feeble; and for another, no vigorous and sustained effort has been made to improve the Indian educational system as a whole,—to build a well-co-ordinated system ranging from Nursery education to the highest cultural and technological education in the Universities and Research Institutes. It was inevitable that many of these piece-meal reforms should fail to produce their best results and in some cases any results at all. For instance, Compulsory Primary education failed to make appreciable progress in the areas where it was tried. But neither the causes of this failure were explored nor remedies devised and tried. The result is the worst percentage of illiteracy and of unskilled labour and unemployment in the country.

To take another instance, vocational schools like the agriculture, commercial, industrial, and other schools have been created in spurts of enthusiasm. But they have not systematically developed or become co-ordinated, with the result that neither the rural nor the industrial life of the country has appreciably been benefited by them.

The same may be said of University reforms. For instance, the re-organisation of first-degree courses, the 3-years curriculum was tried by one South Indian Unversity but abandoned before its best results could be produced.

To take yet another instance, several enthusiastic attempts have been made for improving the Indian languages, the 'vernaculars'. But, so sporadic and perhaps also ill-guided have these efforts been that the languages still remain undeveloped, lacking in modern literature, scientific nomenclature and a living and growing vocabulary.

Further instances could be drawn from other aspects of the educational system. There is altogether a lack of organic and living system in the educational field and the need is therefore urgent for a well-co-ordinated and a complete or "total" system.

The C. A. B. Scheme

The scheme put forward by the Central Advisory Board of Education (shortly known as the Sargent Scheme) makes an earnest attempt to gather up the many threads of past experience, recent reforms and contemporary opinion in India and abroad. It ranges over the whole ground and gives a brief but well-co-ordinated and [illegible] scheme of education.

A

Among its main features are such reforms as immediate improvement of the teachers, in regard to conditions of service, their training and their emoluments. It is an old and still fashionable dictum that the child's curricula, his syllabuses and text-books, are the most important part of his education. The present scheme breaks down this myth and exalts the teacher to his rightful place at the centre of the system. The observations of the Board's Sub-Committee on this aspect are frank and realistic, and are as follows:

> "The teacher is the central factor in every educational system and every scheme for educational reform ; and in their (the Sub-committee's) view, no system or scheme can be either effective or efficient unless it provides for a sufficient number of properly qualified teachers selected on grounds of merit alone and unless those teachers are adequately remunerated, have a recognised status, adequate leisure as well as opportunities for research or for self-improvement and security of tenure, and enjoy such other conditions of service as may preserve their independence and self-respect. The Committee regretfully admits that the teaching profession is at the present time far from possessing all these things ; it does not enjoy universally the status which it ought to have and by reason of its undue subjection in many instances to bodies of laymen often ignorant of educational matters and regarding teachers as their servants or employees rather than their partners in the cause of education, it lacks the intellectual and academic freedom without which it cannot give of its best. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the profession does not always attract recruits of a proper quality. All educational reform must begin with the teachers and their conditions of service."

B

Another notable feature of the Scheme is the recognition of the value of women teachers in the elementary grades of education. In the teaching of young boys as well of girls, the intuitive gifts of women are of especial importance. It is a distinct misfortune of Indian education that social prejudices of various kinds stand against women coming forward in greater numbers to take their proper place in a national system of education.

C

Yet another part of the Scheme—indeed a vital part of it—is the complete range of technical education and training planned by it. There is an urgent need for an enormous drive for building up and co-ordinating a vast system of vocational schools, professional colleges, monotechnics, polytechnics and every other grade of technological or craft-education institutions. Machines and technicians are necessary even for village improvement. No labour-saving machinery can be freely used in rural India, because of the lack of trained technicians for making even the simplest repairs. It is no wonder therefore that rural life drags on in its ancient and narrow grooves, and the agriculturist and the village-workman and producer find their output meagre and unmarketable. The village form 80 per cent of the country; and one of the es-

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factors in their improvement will be a new system of craft education or technical schools.

D

Yet another distinctive feature of the Scheme, a feature which is the basis of all education, the foundation of the whole system, is primary "Basic" learning. Sponsored by Gandhiji and developed by the Nayee Talim (the Wardha New Education Movement) the Basic system tries successfully to combine elementary craft education with the first psychological need of all human beings for doing some creative work or other with the hands.

The C. A. B. Scheme recommends such system of primary education as compulsory for every normal boy and girl for a period of 8 years. This compulsory Basic education should commence at the 5th or 6th year of childhood and continue till the age of 14, *i.e.*, till the end of the Middle School period; and should be free for all. This involves a large financial provision, but the results are worth the cost many times over. The children of the nation would then acquire the three R's and other elementary knowledge in an atmosphere of joyous creative activities. This new technique and curriculm will get rid of the old passive bookishness and provide scope for practical skill, craft work, and active imagination and invention.

During the last three years of the course, the boys and girls could be given some special training in a selected craft, and they would leave school at the end of it, equipped for some simple craft or labour.

When such a useful, creative, and stimulating system of primary education is given free, it should spread widely in the country. It would perhaps be eagerly sought for and pursued, and then the ugly phenomenon of "wastage" which we noted earlier—of boys and girls coming into schools for merely a few years and then dropping away after finding it merely literary—will cease. It may be hoped that compulsion would not be necessary for spreading such practical education. Pupils should flock to schools as soon as the advantages are realised and it is free.

E

Secondary education also, under the scheme, will breathe the same spirit of practical or vocational work, and at its climax touch and incorporate an extra year from the University. Briefly, the present High School will be a Higher School.

F

University education under the scheme will concentrate among others on an intensive three-year course for the Bachelor's Degree, and tutorial work. It urges further that University centres should no longer be merely examining centres but set up as early as possible teaching and research work of high standard so as to be an example and inspiration to the affiliated colleges. A University which is a mere examining body is disapproved by the Scheme.

G

Other notable parts of the scheme are the provision of a separate Medical Service for at least the Primary and High School students; a mid-day meal on healthy social lines; a system of well-graded games and other forms of recreation and social service for boys and girls at school; a system of recreation and social service for boys and girls who have left school and are in employment or in search of it and are below the age of 20 years; a system of nursery schools, especially for children of the labour classes in urban and factory areas; a generous system of schools and other institutions for the physically handicapped children like the deaf, dumb, blind, the chronically diseased and others, and the mentally handicapped like the imbecile, the dull and others. It is true there are private institutions of various kinds, founded and conducted by public-spirited men and women in several parts of the country for various educational or recreational purposes. No one can be oblivious of the great work done by the Christian Missionary sicieties, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Sri Ramkrishna Mission, Muslim Education Society, and a number of others. But while paying due tribute to these noble organisations, the Scheme points out the need for filling in the gaps, the need for co-ordination, and the need too of better organisation and cautious guidance.

H

The Scheme is altogether an attempt to give a 'total' national education, a complete and well-co-ordinated fabric. Critics have sometimes tried to deny it the title of a 'national' scheme of education. The simple reply to such criticism is that a scheme of its scope and its objective of educational progress is nothing if not national. It is true that many details need to be worked out in the course of the actual implementation of the scheme. The Vernaculars (the Indian languages) need to be more and more developed before they can be perfect media of modern education in High Schools and Universities. The details of Art education, Religious education, etc., have also to be determined. Above all, the financial provision for the whole scheme has to be secured. But all these do not obscure the fact that it tries to meet the urgent educational problems of India and solve them in the light of the best modern experience and research.

The Necessity of an Inter-Provincial or Central Organisation

Inter-provincial co-operation too is now more than ever necessary. For the exchange of experience, and for careful planning of the lines of future development, it is necessary to have an inter-provincial or central organisation. For the foundation and development also of advanced Institutes of Research and Teaching in Arts, Science and Technology, inter-provincial co-operation is essential. Also, some of the smaller provinces would not be able to afford these costly institutions, except in co-operation with other provinces. Furthermore, the confusion in the standards of studies, degrees, their nomenclature, etc., which now exists among various provinces calls for some central co-ordinating and authoritative body. There are, besides, other common purposes of the provinces for which inter-provincial co-operation is necessary. Altogether, a well-co-ordinated and planned All-India drive on the entire educational front is our best hope for the future.

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NEW YORK CELEBRATES INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

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By PROBODH MITTRA, M.A.,
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Celebrations of India's Independence day took place in various places of New York. Besides creating unprecedented enthusiasm among the Indian residents of New York, it brought around a number of greetings to Indians from hundreds of Americans, in a formal or an informal manner. As I passed through the various avenues of the city, through sub-ways, buses, taxi cabs and suburban railways, with the ribbon flag of India on the collar of my coat, faces beeming with smiles greeted me from different quarters. Unknown persons of various nationalities went out of their way to come near me, to say a word of halo, a shake of hand, and then 'it indeed is a great day for you." The same expressions I heard from men who run the elevators, drivers of taxi cabs and fellow passengers in a bus or sub-way. Even the British Assistant Secretary General of the Economic Affairs Department, David Owen of the United Nations, could find out time from his flying in Shanghai and Geneva to attend the function celebrating India's Independence. Among many hands that joined my palm in greeting, at one moment I found the little hand of David Owen, this most informal and popular top-ranking U. N. official, uttering the very same phrase with which a while ago I was greeted by the cab driver. On the 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, in front of the Empire State Building, I met a man who was following me from a long distance with an anxious face. I stopped awhile to meet him. Coming very near me and summoning a little courage, in broken English he asked if I was from India. I noticed, he had no tie, his shirt was almost tearing apart, the object which he was wearing on his feet was only an apology for a shoe but yet he was an Indian, my compatriot, a sea-man who like many others had either escaped the immigration laws or arrived in this country at a time when such laws were not very strong. Abdul Hakim, the sea-man who knew very little about Pakistan, was happy, he told me, to learn that "our country is free." Before he left me to return back to his modest hovel in some slums of lower New York, he only smiled, a quiet and pathetic smile, and said, "I have been in this country for more than 15 years now, but now that India is free, I think I should return back." In each of the celebrations that I have had the chance to attend, beautiful displays of colours were seen by the saries which Indian women wore on this occasion. American, British, Chinese and European wives of Indians also mingled themselves up in this collection of colours. Besides, Indian women and foreign wives of Indians, one could see many women friends of India belonging to other nationalities joining the celebration in saries. A shop in further down town set up a special arrangement to prepare small Indian flags and sell them, 25 cents each. Indian students who had with them their national costumes appeared proudly in these functions. A number of Gandhi caps and scores of ajkans presented an unusual variety of spectacle to foreigners who scarcely find a chance to see an Indian in his native dress. Hindus and Moslems forgot for the time being the political degradation that had come in the wake of India's freedom. Occasionally, one could hear in some hotel lobbies or college dormitory, whispers and criticisms of our leaders in accepting a divided India but they faded soon in the enthusiasm of the celebration. There was no doubt a large section of the Indian population here who were not satisfied with all that had happened in Indian politics in recent days but it appeared for the time being that they wanted to forget the past.

I had also occasion to meet many of India's hitherto expatriated revolutionaries, Indian revolutionaries who fought for India's freedom from abroad. There was scarcely any sign of jubilation in their face. The unmatured faces which for years provided inspiration to young bloods in different parts of India and abroad, in military prisons in Singapore, in far-off Geneva, during the first world war in Japan and China and in the islands of the Far East, not to speak of the different parts of the American continent looked grave and sad on the 15th August, 1947. One of these persons, the story of whose life filled my youthful days with romance of adventure and in later years at whose feet I had the honour to sit down like a humble child, to listen to those gallant chapters of the history of my motherland which were never written, appeared particularly morose on this occasion. Indian businessmen and organizers of the India League of America accepted a time-honoured attitude and joined in jubilations. Inspite of youthful fanfares everywhere the grim and suffering faces of these ex-Indian revolutionaries created a shadow throughout, which was ominous and set young minds thinking.

India Trade Commissioner Celebrates Independence

M. R. Ahuja, India's Trade Commissioner in New York, hoisted the flag amidst shouts of "Jai Hind" and "Bande Mataram". Speeches sent by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for this special occasion was read out. Ambassador Asaf Ali's written speech was also read out on this occasion, besides the speech of Mr. Ahuja. Mrs. Kamala Mukherjee accompanied by other ladies led the singing of 'Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka'. Miss Maya Mukherjee, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Mukherjee, greeted the guests by fixing India's national flag on their dress. After the flag hoisting, refreshments were served to the guests.

India Society of America

In an open invitation to all Indians and their friends the India Society of America, an organisation initiated by Hari G. Govil celebrated India's Independence day in the Wing's Club of the Hotel Biltmore. The India Society of America is an organisation for the reciprocal study, appreciation, and enjoyment of the arts, culture and commerce of India as they relate to the allied progress and aspiration in the United States of America.

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India's Flag Replaced In The United Nations

Twenty minutes after twelve, on August 15, 1947, Padmanabh Pillai, India's permanent delegate to the United Nations, raised the tri-colour over one of the fifty five flag poles of the United Nations. The former British Union Jack with the seal of the India Government over it was lowered by one of the official guards of the United Nations. In a brief speech. Padmanabh Pillai paid tributes to the memory of all those in different countries of the world who helped and fought for India's freedom and who are no longer living today. He also thanked the British Government for their kind and co-operative attitude. Sir Alexander Cadogan, British representative to United Nations Security Council, also spoke a few words on this occasion. He said, "Among all the jubilations of the inauguration of India's Independence let us forget bitter histories of the past and start anew in complete mutual co-operation to build a world where friendship and love only abides." The acting Secretary General also greeted the Indian flag as a flag representing one-fifth of the population of the world which joins today with other flags of sovereign nations in making efforts to build a world where peace and fellow-feeling will prevail. Newspaper cameras, movie reels, and scores of private cameras waited in vain to obtain a favourable wind to take a complete snap of the flag. Later, the flag had to be held by a pole and the picture was taken. A small group of United Nations officials and associates were guests of the Indian Delegation at a cock-tail luncheon given in the press lounge of the United Nations at Lake Success. Marking the formalities of the celebrations were those events which preceded the hoisting of the flag. The permanent delegate was at first greeted by the chief of the protocol division and the party proceeded a distance where it met the acting Secretary General and other members of the Indian Delegation. The official party were then led marching to the circular arena in front of the administration building where flags of the 55 nations were flying.

International House

Over the flag pole of the 14-storied students' residential house, called the International House, the Indian students, now resident there who number more than 50 including boys and girls, hoisted the tri-colour with shouts of 'Jai Hind'. The authorities of the House at first hesitated to allow permission but when the flag of the United States was also flown alongside, Mr. Mots, the Director of the House, did not raise any objection. International House is a residential house for students of different nationalities established under the patronage of the Rockefellers. Out of 300 boys and 200 girls for whom accomodation is maintained, there are at present about twenty Indian girls and more than 30 Indian boys living in this house. On the midnight of the 14th August, a small group of Indian students and their other friends of various nationalities collected in the lawn before the house and celebrated the dawn of the Independence day with short speeches. Mr. Raju and Miss Anjani were the main speakers. A midnight dinner followed the celebrations.

New York Indians Celebrate Independence Day

By far the biggest celebration of India's Independence day was performed at 8-15 P.M. on the 15th August in the Theatre Hall of Hotel Barbizon Plaza. The function was organised by the India League of America. Flags of both India and Pakistan were raised by an Indian and Moslem girl student. The British Flag was lowered by J. J. Singh, who said that he was honoured with the task of lowering the hitherto flying British Indian flag and was arcordingly very pleased to perform that solemn function. Distinguished friends of India and Indian residents in New York were allowed the floor to speak a few words on this occasion. The meeting started with the blowing of conch and the display of Indian artistic dances on the stage. Among the speakers included Dr. Soetan Sjahrir, ex-Premier of Indonesia, Norman Thomas, for several times candidate for U. S. Presidentship, Representative Emanuel Celler, Louis Fischer, Sidney Hertzberg, Tarak Nath Das and Gobind Behari Lal. Dr. Sjahrir mentioned that although all that has taken place in India in recent times may not be considered very happy by many of the Indians, yet it was undoubtedly a great day for rejoicing. Like India, Indonesia, too, has had many internal troubles but he hoped all those will soon vanish away and India will emerge out into one nation instead of two nations before long. Throughout the aftermaths of the celebration of India's independence day, the personality of one man which figured most prominent in the discussions in coffee circles and small informal political lobbies, was the gray-haired, 65 years old first world-war revolutionary, Prof. Tarak Nath Das. In eloquence, forcefulness, originality and above all sincerity, Tarak Nath Das featured as the most outstanding speaker of the day.

Pointing out with a forceful and spirited eloquence, this silver-haired, decade-seasoned, Indian revolutionary narrated in moving language the history of India's fight for independence, from the dawn of Aurobindo era to the present day. He laid particular stress on those glorious unwritten chapters of India's history when Indian revolutionaries with the help of foreign aids fought and died for India's independence—unlamented and unknown. Deafening cheers to the memories of these heores greeted the climaxing expressions of his speech as he proceeded step by step to unfold those poignant pages of India's history, which he was one of the few who was entitled to narrate. Idle remarks of impatience at times disturbed his speeches from some recalcitrant corners which were soon suppressed to silence either by the force of the sincerity of his speech or by over-enthusiastic cheers of the audience. Summarizing the forces which at various periods of India's history of struggle played a significant role to awaken the consciousness of the people, Dr. Das laid special emphasis on the role played by the undergrounds in the achievement of India's independence. Without minimizing the contributions of the ideas of non-violence and Gandhiji's mass movements, he presented a new perspective to future historians abroad who knew little about India's half-a-century old revolutionary underand original in pointing out that

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the freedom movement of India had its birth in the revolutionary organizations started first in Bengal and later spread throughout India.

The story of India's martyrs, whose character, discipline and self-sacrifice was unparalleled in the political annals of the world was for the first time presented before the American public by one of the earliest apostles of India's underground revolution, in a way that spontaneously excited appreciation. Ladies jumped from their seats, men threw out their hats, cheers of 'hear', 'hear' reverberated the packed-up auditorium of the Barbizon Plaza as he continued to unfold the activities of men who marched towards death. Dr. Das was sad on the day of India's independence for he pointed out that those men both Hindus and Moslems, Sikhs and Christians, who in hundreds gave up their lives, facing the gallows or the bullets in court martials, did not pay that price to buy a divided India and be a laughing stock before the world. Let our leaders, Prof. Das continued, remember that the freedom of India, inasmuch as it is not a gift from the British, is neither also the achievement of any single political party, leadership or personality, however great that may be. It is the result of that accumulated price which was paid in blood in the massacres of thousands of India's patriotic children, of conscious revolutionaries who embraced the gallows or braved the Andamans, men who were shot down in court martials, persons who were killed while undergrounds, deaths unlamented in bomb explosions in forests or secret factories, men who died starving as fugitive in helpless circumstances, people who were poisoned or tortured to death in police barracks and under-trial camps, families which perished for want of sympathy from their own neighbours, youths who in their full blooms took up the mantle of the ascetic with a *Gita* in one hand and a revolver in the other, men who prefer to shoot themselves down before submitting to humiliati degradations. The blood of all these people has to brought before us the light of independence. No lea in India, however great and exalted he may be, has a rig to play games of political pastimes with such sacr objects as India's freedom. Prof. Das summed up thanking all those foreign elements, particularly progr sive people in every land of the earth who helped a financed many an Indian project for achieving ind pendence from abroad. He also warned the present leade ship, on behalf of those hitherto ex-patriated Indian r volutionaries with whom he worked in different parts Asia, Europe and America, that they will never rest qu until the division of India is broken down, once and f all and one flag flies over the sub-continent of India, th flag whose vision they had seen from the dawn of th present century.

St. Patrick's Cathedral Greets India's Freedom

Promising to be the world's biggest Cathedral, S Patrick's Cathedral, a church of the catholic denominati greeted in their Sunday service India, on her emergence Independence. Cardinal Spilman, speaking about the fre dom of India said, we have to look towards Asia, no for guidance and inspiration. In a free India, lies th greatest hope of mankind. The race of infinite potentiali along with China, India will lead the way to world peac India, said Cardinal Spilman, is the biggest force in As and is undoubtedly going to be the biggest nation of th world with her old culture and civilization, which wi now witness a new orientation with the emergence of th light of freedom.

New York, August 18, 1947.

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COALITION MINISTRIES IN THE TWO BENGALS

By AJIT KUMAR SEN, M.A.,
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The talk of coalition ministries in Bengals is in the air. Punjabs are on fire, otherwise the talk of coalitions there would also have been heard. Prime Minister Khuhro of Sind points out that a coalition ministry in Sind is only possible if coalitions are settled facts in Punjabs and Bengals. But he is also reported to have said (*Hindusthan Standard*, 29th August, p. 4) that if the minorities in Sind would co-operate with his Government, then his offer of a coalition ministry stands. It is not clear if this offer in Sind presupposes the above two conditions on the second condition only.

Prime Minister Ghosh of West Bengal is also reported to have said that he knows the views of Congress High Command in the matter of coalitions and he would like to know how authoritative Muslim League quarters view this question. Sj. Kiron Sankar Roy, leader of Congress party in the East Bengal Assembly, has been (*Statesman*, 24 August, p. 1) authorised to emanate a formal offer on the basis of 2 Congress Ministers for E Bengal. But the coalitions in Bengal must stand themselves: they must not be conditional on coalit ministries in other provinces.

Thus it is seen that the "coalition affair" is likely become a live political issue in the Governments of th two Bengals. Mr. Nazimuddin has already seen Dr Ghosh on this matter (*Hindusthan Standard*, 31 August

The question can be viewed from the angle of a proach of a politician: but in the following lines th subject of coalition ministry in the two Bengals is bei discussed from another angle: the angle of approach a closet-philosopher.

In my view, this concept or slogan of "coalit ministry" in the two Bengals is the offspring of some co fusion of thought. Some of us had read or heard coalition ministries in France or some projected coalit in some provinces in India after the promulgation of th

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Government of India Act, 1935. And they argue that a coalition ministry is a broad-based ministry, evoking the loyalty of the adherents of the political parties who enter into the coalition. Applied to the two Bengals, it means that if the Congress and the Muslim League in the two Bengals create coalition ministries, then the masses, the adherents of the two political parties in Bengal who count, will give their whole-hearted support to such a ministry and the preservation of law and order would be an easy matter, specially in times like these when they are at a discount. Thus stated, the argument in favour of coalition ministries in the two Bengals sounds plausible. But there are certain difficult hurdles.

In politics or history whenever we come across a coalition ministry, such a coalition implies a coalition amongst two or more parties, operating within the confines of *one state* and the loyalties of the parties concerned revolve round *a single state.*

This condition does not obtain in the cases of the projected coalitions in West and East Bengals. The coalition in one part of Bengal does not stand by itself, it is not to be discussed on its own merits, (a coalition in Sind, according to Prime Minister Khuhro presupposes coalitions in Bengals and Punjabs) but there will be a coalition in West Bengal, presumably if there is one in East Bengal and *vice-versa.* This is the first difficulty, that a coalition East Bengal Ministry presupposes a coalition in another province *viz.*, West Bengal. But the difficulty does not stop at that. These two provinces, though politically parts of the same province before 15th August, are now, not merely two provinces, like West Bengal and Bihar, of the same State or Dominion, but what is far more important from our standpoint: they are provinces of two separate Dominions or States *viz.*, India and Pakistan. This is the second and a most formidable hurdle. Thus viewed, a coalition ministry in East Bengal has to pass the local test, then the inter-provincial test as between the two Bengals and finally a test, which such a coalition is not likely to surmount, I mean the inter-statal or inter-dominion test. This is the supreme test and that is why Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the Prime Minister of West Bengal went to Delhi to know the views of the Congress High Command. I advisedly said that the projected coalition in any part of Bengal is not likely to pass the supreme test. The reason is this.

The two dominions, India and Pakistan, are sovereign political entities; the genesis in the case of India lies in the Congress, that of Pakistan in the Muslim League. For all practical purposes the Government of India, for the time being, will be a one-party government, similarly the Muslim League party will run the Pakistan Government. There will thus be a close correspondence between the party and the government of the relevant dominion. If this view of things is accepted, then it comes to this, that the proposed coalition ministry in East Bengal and West Bengal will be under a certain amount of control of the Congress and Muslim League High Commands respectively. Let me make it clear.

This coalition ministry affair, whether in East Bengal or in West Bengal is not going to be an isolated local affair. That is why Dr. P. C. Ghosh arms himself with the views of Congress High Command and that is the reason why he would like to know the reactions of authoritative Muslim League quarters, meaning obviously the High Command of the latter. Mr. Nazimuddin would do likewise. Not only in its genesis but also in its working the Congress High Command will have its finger in the pie of the East Bengal Ministry through its Congress representatives, similarly the Muslim League High Command will be enabled to poke its nose into West Bengal ministerial affairs through the League representatives on the ministry. If this is so the single-party government of India will poke its nose into the governmental affairs of East Bengal—a province of a different dominion or State. Similarly, the one-party government of Pakistan run by Muslim League will also dabble in Western Bengal governmental affairs—the Governmental affairs of a province of a different dominion. It thus reduces itself to an absurdity. It means in effect that India dabbles in Pakistan affairs and Pakistan in Indian affairs. If that is where coalition ministry-making in the two Bengals leads us, then there was no sense in the partition of India on the 14-15th August.

The logic of partition of India into two dominions, the fact of one-party government (it may be for the present) in the two dominions and the unfortunate division of Bengal into two parts, one belonging politically to one State, the other being part of the second State; all these prove the political absurdity of coalition ministry-making in the Bengals.

By this I do not mean to convey the impression that a coalition ministry in either of the two Bengals is not desirable or is inexpedient. What I want to say is that on the basis of facts as above stated it is illogical. It may be desirable from the standpoint of the problem of the maintenance of law and order, and possibly also it may contribute to the efficiency and smooth running of the administrative system.

This question of a coalition ministry in Bengals may be viewed from another standpoint. Students of politics are aware of the distinction between a coalition ministry and a "national" government. In emergencies like the last Great War, Mr. Churchill sought the co-operation of all the parties and a "national" government was formed to fight the war. In France, normally all ministries are coalition ministries; and why? No single party in the French parliament can command any majority over the other parties combined: hence in a responsible system of government where the executive has to enjoy the confidence of the legislature, a coalition between two or more parties is necessary to command a temporary majority in the legislature.

The projected coalition in the East and West Bengal (about which the two prime ministers had talks with each other only recently) does not stand in need of a temporary majority in the respective legislatures. Every one knows the Congress party has a safe majority in West Bengal legislature and the same is true of the Muslim League party in East Bengal Assembly. So the

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raison-d-etre of a coalition ministry is lacking in the Bengals.

But do we need a coalition ministry of the type of a "national Government" as defined above? Is there any emergency confronting the two Bengals which necessitates two coalitions in the two Bengals? What is the nature of that emergency? If there is any realisation of the gravity of such an emergency in the two Bengals, where was then the justification of the division? There might have been a composite ministry everywhere. Besides even if there be a a realisation of this nature, it must be noted that East Bengal and West Bengal belong to two separate States. Any coalition ministry based on understandings on the highest level is surely to land us into many pit-falls which, I am sure, the two prime ministers will not relish.

Granting for the sake of argument, that the two Bengals are confronted with identically grave problems, will a coalition ministry, in that case, help to ease the situation?

Before dealing with this aspect of the matter. let us rivet our attention on another aspect of this coalition ministry. If the Congress, in order to run the adminisration, and secure a majority in the legislature, has to woo the Muslim League, the Muslim League, in that case becomes essential for ministry-making and the latter gets a whip-hand. Similar is the case, if the Muslim League say in East Bengal Assembly, has to woo the Congress for getting a temporary majority. Here the Congress being essential, will wield power. This is what is known as the "tyranny of the minority"; and students of French politics are well aware of the power wielded by the smallest of political parties in the task of ministry-making.

But in the two Bengals this sort of coalition is not a necessity. Had this been so, the Congress would have been readily wooed by the League in East Bengal and the League by the Congress in West Bengal. The stock of the League in West Bengal and Congress in East Bengal would have risen.

The coalition that is visualised is not necessary for majority: it will be, so to say, a coalition based on the principle of charity. Two Congress ministers in East Bengal will be charity boys, counter-balanced by the spectacle of two similar League charity boys in West Bengal. The minority ministers will be there on sufferance: they cannot demand any price like the French prototype.

Hence the question naturally crops up: is this device of coalition ministry worth having? What good will it subserve? The good that is likely to be promoted (if it is assumed that it may be conducive to some good) may be of the subjective or of the objective type. In the answer to such a question will be found also an answer to the query which we just now put to ourselves and whose answer we deferred giving for the time being. The question was: Faced as the two Bengals are with grave problems almost bordering on emergencies, would the installation of two coalition ministries in the two Bengals help to ease the situation?

(*a*) It may be claimed that, the mere sight of Congress-League coalition ministries in the two Ben will produce a tremendous psychological effect: and is a subjective good of the highest order. Granting be so, it may still be pointed out that whatever subjec good it has a tendency to produce, has been effecti or will be effectively neutralized by two devices. Fir the scheme of separate electorate has the tendency nullify this good effect. The scheme of separate electora with its concomitants, the division of the legislature a the emergence of parties on religious basis: this goes with coalitions at the top, when you have taken care introduce divisions amongst the electorate and the mas First thing should come first. *Secondly*, the device giving option to governmental officers to choose East West Bengal has very effectively rooted out, in advan all chances of a good psychological effect. To er coalition ministries on the pedestal of a divided electora and (still more worse) a communal-ridden officialdom is device, the wisdom of which is certainly questionable. the officialdom is communal from top to bottom, can coalition produce that good psychological effect? If electorate is divided into water-tight compartments, if political parties correspond to such a divided electora of what avail will a coalition be? If the pillars electorate, parties and officialdom are cracked, can superstructure, however well-designed it may be, me matters?

(*b*) The preservation of law and order, an objecti good of first priority, will be facilitated by the projec device of a coalition, it is argued. This argument lo much of its force in the context of separate electora and communal parties joined with the new device of communal officialdom.

(*c*) It may be argued that a coalition ministry the two Bengals will tend to produce a smooth adminis tion. It would be correct up to a point, but the bu condition of a "coalition officialdom" is necessary. It well to recall in this connection the grievance wh Sardar Patel made, when he said that the executi councillor in one particular department, belonging to political party, was confronted by a solid phalanx of per nent officialdom having its sympathies on the other side. the officialdom is communal, let the ministry be a co party ministry and a communal one, if necessary. T will be clear as we proceed.

The theory of smooth administration as above, my opinion, refers to the relationship between the minist the political executive, and the officialdom, the perm nent executive. This correspondence will tend to ensu smoothness in either of the two cases: a communal minis with a communal officialdom or a coalition ministry (o of the charity type as discussed above) with a coalitio officialdom. If a coalition ministry is sought to be create it ought to be preceded by a "coalition officialdom." I do not emphasise on the sequence: what I mean is that y cannot have a real coalition ministry at the top, with the advantages, subjective and objective, which desire, unless it is accompanied by a coalition officialdo which the system of "opting" has effectively killed.

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course, this argument will lose much of its force, if the permanent civil service can develop real neutrality. Under the circumstances prevailing in the two Bengals the argument stands.

(*d*) The theory of smooth administration really leads to the question of efficiency in administration. Can a coalition ministry here, by virtue of its being a Congress-League coalition and irrespective of the composition of the officialdom generate that efficiency? For the moment we are not thinking about officialdom, its composition and its relationship with the ministry. We consider the question of relative efficiency as between a one-party homogeneous ministry and a ministry of the coalition type.

Homogeneous one-party ministries can develop bold policies, say, in regard to land, industry, labor, price, education, health, etc. Coalitions are a drag. In present-day Bengal imaginative bold policies about social planning are urgently necessary. This will be sadly neglected if coalitions are installed. It may be argued that the League ministers and members in the Assembly are in a majority in East Bengal: therefore coalitions are not obstacles to the enunciation of bold policies. If that is so, coalition becomes unnecessary. Really there is a dilemma: if the projected Congress ministers, say in East Bengal, though controlling 2 or 3 seats in the ministry, can impose their point of view on the other ministers of the League group, then it becomes a drag on the enunciation of bold policies of reform and hence mischievous from the League point of view: If on the other the Congress ministers in East Bengal behave as "good" and "charity" boys, such a coalition is not only worthless, it is mischievous from the Congress point of view. This does not make for efficiency.

(*e*) Again, a coalition ministry leads to dissipation of responsibility. For weak-kneed policies of the ministry, the members in the assembly and the electorate outside, who generally think, not in terms of compromise, but, in terms of clear-cut issues, will like to locate responsibility; but the League ministers, in their justification, will tend to throw the blame on the other part. Similar will be the case with West Bengal. A coalition, therefore, will not be an efficient policy-maker, nor an efficient executive.

(*f*) Herein lies the rub. The Muslim electorate, say in East Bengal, on the advent of Pakistan must be entertaining high hopes about its economic status. If the dreams of the Muslim masses do not materialise,—and the chances are ten to one that they will not—the temptation of the League section of the ministry to make a scapegoat of the Congress section will prove irresistible. The breakdown of a coalition will, in all likelihood, be followed by civil commotion and other evils. The chances of future coalitions on the advent of the new constitutions will recede.

(*g*) The consequences of such a breakdown may, probably will, complicate matters elsewhere. They will not be confined within the two Bengals. Since, for the present, a one-party system will operate in India, I mean the Congress, and also a one-party system in Pakistan, the Muslim League, the consequences of a breakdown in the coalition in the Bengals will embitter the relations between the two contiguous dominions. In my view, the Two High Commands ought not to take any moral responsibility in the coalition affair.

(*h*) There is another attendant risk on the breakdown of a coalition. There is a possibility of disintegration in the party joining a coalition. When the coalition ceases to be operative for one reason or other, it is possible the new ministry might be constituted with a section of the party seceding from the coalition as was the case in Britain when the Labour party broke away but Ramsay MacDonald and a few of his Labour-colleagues remained in coalition with the conservatives. Those who would like the existing political parties to go into the melting pot will not, of course, be afraid of such a consequence. Probably Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. Nazimuddin do not belong to that category.

If it is conceded that a coalition in the two Bengals may lead to serious and unpleasant consequences, should that not be a reason for not hurrying matters? May we not wait till the new constitutions of the two dominions and their provinces are framed? Should we not know the nature of the electorate they are going to constitute in Pakistan? What then is the alternative if coalition ministries are not worth having? Not only they are not worth having, they are positively dangerous. Why then should the two Bengal Prime Ministers meet each other and talk about it? The Prime Ministers themselves might be sceptical about it, but their talks may be intended as a soothing balm to the lacerated heart of united Bengal. The unity of Bengal is gone: are the premiers trying to salvage something by this device of coalition? Or is it merely a show to assuage the feelings of the public?

I do not want to lay myself open to the charge of injecting a spirit of pessimism by exposing the dark side of coalition ministries. What I have attempted to show is that the very basis of coalitions in the two Bengals is politically absurd—two inter-dependent coalitions in two provinces belonging to two different States and implying an understanding between two different political parties, which lie at the basis of the two States. Since the two parties are responsible for the division of India and the provinces, it does not look nice and graceful to talk of such irrational and politically absurd coalition so soon after the event.

Let me return to the point of finding alternatives to a coalition ministry. For this, a functional approach is the best method: what is the purpose for which we want a coalition ministry in the two Bengals. The first and foremost purpose is to instil a sense of security, then to generate a feeling of understanding each other's viewpoints and also to cultivate fellow-feeling. It is also necessary for maintaining law and order in Bengal which has become nowadays priority No. 1: it is expected also to ensure smooth and efficient administration and thereby contribute to common welfare. I shall be very brief in dealing with these alternatives.

This aspect of the question can be looked at from various angles: do we want any immediate spectacular effect? If so, "opting" by officialdom should be reversed "coalition officialdom" should be the rule. If we

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want some permanent improvement in the relations among masses, we are to abolish separate electorate, root and branch. Every minister, as in France, with some qualifications, may create his "own personal cabinet", which might act as a consultative committee and to which he might bring members from the other party. Liaison officers between the two Bengals may be posted at important centres and frequent consultations at lower and higher levels will generate a feeling of amity. These are institutional devices calculated to infuse a sense of security in the mass mind. For generating fellow-feeling among the masses which is the best guarantee of law and order, a secular and scientific education of the right type, eschewing all traces of separatism whether in the shape of denominational institutions or residential Halls, should be injected in the minds of the youth. Above all, the will to develop community life must be ever present. Unless this is so, the other devices, institutional or spiritual, are at best palliatives.

How to generate this will is a difficult problem of applied psychology into which I need not enter, bei as a student of politics, I should not transgress my

Till this will is there, it is best, for the mi party, whether in East Bengal or West Bengal to re in opposition and try to influence the policies o majority from without and that publicly, rather from within and behind the screens. The majority trols the minority effectively when the latter has en the coalition ministry as charity boys: the minority trols the majority in a coalition ministry only whe minority is essential to the majority (not as charity as in France. Since the minority, *i.e.*, the Leag West Bengal and the Congress in East Bengal is not e tial for ministry-making, it is best policy for the mi to remain in opposition.

Coalition ministry in the present-day Bengal and u existing conditions is incapable of realizing the pu for which people yearn for it.

To a student of politics—it is far worse; it is i politics and that too is dangerous.

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"RICHER BY ASIA"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

In this work by an American journalist of repute and an officer of U. S. Strategic Services, the author discusses the significance of the Orient in World Politics and World Peace as well the future of the Orient.

Today cold, ideological as well as economic warfare between the Communist Russia and her adherents on the one hand and the United States of America, Britain and their supporters on the other is in progress. Freedom of humanity is threatened with a possible new conflict (war). Clashes of interest of these powers are not limited to Europe and the Balkan regions, but are evident in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, Korea, Japan and other parts of Asia. Re-assertion of Asian peoples in the form of overthrow of alien domination or revolutions leading to that end has created a new situation in world politics. In any conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, Asia may well hold the balance of power. In fact, Asia has assumed the position of greater significance politically, economically and strategically than ever before. For other practical reasons Asia looms large in world affairs. In this connection it should not be forgotten that more than half of the population of the world is in Asia and it is the cradle of ancient civilizations which have influenced human destiny. Thus it is imperative that the problems of Asia should be studied with care.

In the past, in most cases, studies of Asia by western political scientists as well as sociologists have been biased and inadequate, because of their superi complex, insularity and studied efforts to ignore psy logical aspects of Asian discontent and history of peoples. It is gratifying to note that Mr. Ed Taylor's book *Richer by Asia* is an honorable ex tion; and the reviewer suggests that it should regarded as a "must book" for all those who wi understand the present situation in Asia and spe India. However, it should also be noted that it is an easy book to master.

In the Chapter "The Pathology of Imperi (pages 29-104), Mr. Taylor brilliantly discusses of the fundamental issues which are often ignored following will supply some food for thought:

". . . The anti-native ideology of the white that is, of the whiteman who habitually live the East, was more of a political reality than native's anti-white ideology, white racism widespread, tainting more individuals, and intricately entwined with all the individual's tudes than was yellow or brown racism. The resented certain manifestations of the white The Sahib often hated and feared and des everything native in all natives . . .

"The revolutions of Asia, like all revol were economic and political. They were str for bread and power, but more than any re tions which have ever occurred in the West were struggles for human dignity. They struggles to win for the peoples of Asia the Freedoms we promised them and a fifth fre we have failed to realise was just as basic— from Contempt.

"The colonial system in Asia perhaps v the democratic ideal of human dignity by d

* *Richer by Asia* by Edmond Taylor. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pages 431. Price $3-75.

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to the native political, economic, and sometimes legal rights which it gave to the white Sahib. It violated the ideal much more grievously and much more directly by using as political and economic overseers in colonial lands a class of men who believed in and practised systematically rudeness to most of the natives with whom they had any personal contact. *It was the Sahib's rudeness which did the native the most harm because it deprived him of his most valuable possession—his personal dignity.* No reform of colonial rule would represent any victory for the occidental ideal of human dignity unless it included a reform of the Sahib's character, for the Sahib, in terms of the Occident's noblest ideal, was a cultural renegade . . ." (pages 100-103).

What has happened in the Punjab and in the form of Pakistan's recent aggression against Kashmir State through encouragement and support of raiders from the North-Western provinces may be better understood, if one gets acquainted with the policies behind the creation of Pakistan through partition of India. Indeed, there have been the unseen hand of British imperialism, carrying on psychological warfare against Indian nationalism. Mr. Taylor writes :

"While I was in India, the British were obviously supporting Jinnah's Pakistan campaign. Jinnah professed to be as anti-British as Gandhi, but it is one of the tenets of secret psychological warfare that you try whenever possible, to have your enemies spread your propaganda for you. (On the same principle the British supported the Indian Communists during the war). Whether any British funds actually helped to finance the Pakistan campaign, I do not know. The mere fact that the British press in India, officially-sponsored British writers and even some responsible British officials in their unofficial moments, all spoke well of Jinnah and let it be known throughout India that they thought well of him, helped him to attract a wealthy and influential Moslem clientele, even if it roused suspicion among the nationalists . . .

"The British consciously and deliberately maneuvered so as to keep the native political forces opposed to them weak and divided . . . If, for instance, the British had established an electoral law which would have obliged every candidate for office to seek support from the members of two or more racial or religious communities, the communal issue would soon have disappeared from Indian political life. Instead the British did just the opposite. They founded the electoral law upon the representation of communities, allotting to each a set number of seats in the Central and Provincial legislatures, thus requiring Hindus to vote for Hindu candidates, Moslems for Moslem candidates, and so on. The system inevitably produced the politicalization of communal tensions, which the British aggravated by supporting personalities or parties as it suited the tactical needs of the moment. Politics in all lands is the struggle for power, and by putting the racial-religious communities of India into politics, the British converted cultural groups into rival power-blocs . . . Thus, in playing the divide-and-rule game with the communal groups in India, the British produced something much more sinister than the political disunity of India. They converted these groups into delusive political sovereignties unable to reconcile their conflicting interests except where reconciliation could be imposed by force, impervious to logic but . . . the logic of power. *The British might have used their power to impose solutions which would ultimately have removed communal issues from political field. Instead they used their power to foster the transformation of religious or racial minorities into tribal or religious fanaticisms, disguised as modern political parties.* For two and a half years I watched Pakistan grow like an evil weed under British protection and encouragement . . ." (pages 151-161).

Western scholars of Indian politics often preach that the situation of Indian politics is so complicated that it is not possible to get a clear understanding. But Mr. Taylor thinks differently :

"Much of confusion in Indian politics was really in the minds of Western observers and did not necessarily indicate that the Indians were confused. Much of the conflict in Indian politics—including the inner conflicts of Indians which sometimes made them so ineffectual—was the direct or secondary effect of the British divisive policy . . . The most alarming element in Indian politics—the clash between Moslem nationalism and the All-India nationalism of the Congress Party—might be serious enough to discredit on grounds of public order, the Indian claim to self-government, *but it could not be imputed to a defect in Indian culture. The gravity of clash, in my opinion was not due to a historic inability to get along between two peoples,* but to the importation from the West of a political concept—nationalism—which had proved itself murderous in nearly any context. It was this Western malady which had caused the Moslems to imagine they were a nation and many Hindus to feel that they had a divine right to govern all Indians in the name of All-India. It certainly was not an expression of political backwardness—unless one considers the West as politically backward." (pp. 162-163).

Thus it is clear, if one judges the situation in India with a single standard of political conflicts in the East as well as in the West, then the situation is not different from what has been happening in the West.

In future India will play the leading role in influencing relations between the East and the West. Therefore, it may be worth-while to consider what might be the attitude of Indian leaders who are mostly western educated men and women with Britain and western powers. In answering this question most of the western historians think in terms of trade and commerce and ignore the psychological aspect of the possible outcome, while Mr. Taylor shows his deep insight that culutral imperialism of the West is possibly the prime factor in the present as well as future antagonistic attitude of the East towards the West, although East has assimilated much of Western cultural assets which are really assets of the whole world :

"There is obviously a misunderstanding but it seems to me much more a political than cultural misunderstanding. East and West have been at war for roughly some two hundred years. Perhaps this war is nearing its end but it is not over. Even the political independence of India will not abolish all worldly conflict between India and Britain. As long as the imperialist attitude of the West survives in

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our economic, diplomatic and social contacts with the peoples of the East a war-mentality will color the thinking of the East about the West and of the West about the East. As long as war-mentality exists, the Indians will refuse to admit to themselves—and to the world—the cultural debt they owe to the West" (page 223).

To understand the peoples of the East, Western scholars should have thorough knowledge of the philosophical attitudes towards life. Thus Mr. Taylor has made an attempt to get a clear understanding of doctrines of *Karma*, re-incarnation, Buddhist conception of illusion as well as enlightenment. He has even tried to fathom the attitude of cherishing "spiritual basis of Indian nationalism" rooted in the teachings of the Bhagabad Gita. He comes to the conclusion that "a new Asiatic culture, owing much to the West but a great deal more indigenous than the dominant Chinese or Japanese cultures has arisen in India. Much will be heard from this new culture in the near future, I think, and we are going to see some developments in the world which we would not have believed possible a few years ago" (page 395).

Mr. Taylor, who have seen enough of war and who was not a pacifist has a world vision that world unity is essential for the future hope of mankind. There must be *One World* in the true sense of the expression. This cannot be achieved without co-operation of Asia on the basis of Human Dignity and Equality. However he thinks that

> "Apart from the final goal of world unity, it seems to me that Asia is a vital factor in maintaining the present precarious balance of power in the world . . . If the Chinese war finally ends in a peace that is neither American nor Russian, but Chinese, we shall begin to hear the people of that ancient land talking to us in a new voice. Long before then, I suspect that we shall hear some startling things from the great new Power of Southern Asia—India . . . Unless the diplo- tensions of the world at large tear open her precariously healed fissures, India in certain c stances can play an independent mediating between the Western democracies and Russia I think is very likely to follow such a policy in foreign affairs. It is almost staggering to Western mind to think that a backward A nation just emerging from colonialism could pos a mediator between the power-giants of the W but it is not an implausible speculation to sug that this may come to pass, and it shows glar the present dramatic lapse in occidental lead that such speculations are even possible" (p. 3

Mr. Taylor while studying social, econo political and cultural revolution in the East, has forgotten to probe into the most important supreme factor in the future of man. The destin mankind lies in man himself—Man is his best fr and his worst enemy—thus in the last chapter of book *Back to Man,* he gives the ethical or spiri foundation of peace in the form of man's attitude his fellow men, actually in terms of so-called H philosophy. He writes :

> "To be at war with one's brothers is to be war with oneself, to disinherit oneself by cu off one's heirs. To participate most fully in society of which one is a member is to perfect o own inner wholeness to enhance to oneself o personal meaning, to multiply all one's possibili (page 422)

The importance of the book is so great that reviewer regards the work as a land-mark in field of study of Asia by Western scholars. T scholarly expositoin and somewhat heavy style may attract the interest of ordinary students or ge reading public, but it will influence Western thi regarding the awakened East.

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"THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE ORIENT"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

In *The Future of Freedom in the Orient,* the author who is a roving journalist, gives sketchy accounts of recent political upheavals and possible future developments in India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China, China, Korea, Japan and international policies of great powers in relation to the orient. It is not a serious study of the vast subject, but a popular treatment, altho his central thesis or conclusion is sound.

> "Asia is still feudal. But Asia is on the move. We are witnessing the labor pains presaging a rebirth. These are the beginnings of a renaissance, political, cultural, economic, which in time will transform the Orient. The renaissance which brought the Western world out of Middle Ages into the modern age took three centuries. The renaissance of the Or will likewise not be completed in a few But, like all great movements of history, it may be interrupted, it will march on completion."—(p. 233).

The author contends that while the peoples of East may achieve freedom from alien rule, they ever will not be able to establish democracies, bec they are not prepared for it, as the colonial po did not educate the oriental peoples during cent they had for the job (p. 15). It may not be ou place to remind that it is a kind of superstition for a nation to have democracy or self-governme is essential to have a very high percentage of lite When the British colonies in America over

* *The Future of Freedom in the Orient* by Bold Coman. New York. W. W. Norton & Company. 1947. Pages 233. Price $3.

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colonialism and established representative democracy—a republic—percentage of literacy was not very high. It is generally overlooked that before the establishment of alien rule a democratic spirit of self-government, similar to town meetings of New England, prevailed in the villages of the Orient which will be the foundation of future democracies. It is quite possible that there may arise totalitarianism in certain parts of the orient as in the twentieth century, totalitarianism—negation of democracy—prevailed in highly literate countries of Germany, Italy, Japan; and today totalitarianism in the form of communism is prevailing in Soviet Russia and her puppet States in the Balkan region, central Europe and other localities. No subject people can ever fully enjoy fruits of democratic government; while freedom from alien domination is the first requisite for a march towards democracy.

While discussing the present trend of world politics, the author recognises the existence of rivalry between Anglo-American Powers on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other. "Any further extension of Soviet influence in any part of the globe is bound to be opposed by Britain in the present alignment of the Russian bloc against the Anglo-American nations" (page 152). It seems that the author minimises the aggressive character of Soviet Russian policy of political expansion (which is more than spreading *influence*) in East Asia for the purpose of controlling Manchuria, Korea, China and even Japan. Mr. Coniston writes:

> "There has been much talk to the effect that Soviet actions in Manchuria have been deliberately provocative. This charge does not seem to stand examination. True, Russian behaviour in Manchuria has not tended to create goodwill among the Chinese and other nations. But that was not its purpose. It was designed, not for the effects on others, but for Russia's own individual purposes, to further Russian interests. If there was any provocation, it was furnished by Russian soldiers as individuals."—(P. 169).

The reviewer sharply disagrees with the above statement, because dismantling of factories of Manchuria which have been transported to Siberia was not done by individual soldiers. Mr. Coniston further writes:

> "On the whole, Russian policy in the Chinese civil war has been quite passive, considering that the Soviet Union undoubtedly would feel much happier with a Communist China rather than the Kuomintang Government as a neighbour. Certainly it has been more passive than that of the United States, despite the fact that China is on the very doorstep of Asiatic Russia and not on the other side of broad ocean."—(P. 170).

The author should have kept in mind that Kuomingtang Government in China is the only government which has international recognition and the Soviet Government by treaties agreed to co-operate with it; but the Soviet Government has turned over vast quantity of arms and ammunitions captured from the Japanese to the Chinese Communists who are waging a war to overthrow the Chinese nationalist government. Thus Soviet Russian Government is "passive" (?) by aiding the cause of Communist revolution in China!!

The author thinks that Soviet attitude towards the United States in the Orient, has been influenced by the fact that the United States has taken the place of Japan in checking Soviet Russian expansion. He writes:

> "At the moment Russia is most unhappy because Japan is under American domination, half of Korea is similarly controlled and the Nationalist Government of China, while perhaps not actively pro-United States, is certainly anti-Russian. If war should break out between the United States and Russia, these three areas would provide potent bases for operations against Siberia. It was just this threat (although influence with the Chinese Government was replaced by active control of Manchuria) which Japan held over Russia's head for years. The Soviets fear that the United States is stepping into Japan's former role."—(Page 174).

This passage really misrepresents the position of the United States in the Orient. Japan and Soviet Russia became rivals, because both wanted to get political control over certain parts of the Far East, by annexation of territories. The United States is only trying to check Soviet Russia which has assumed the role of Japan and is determined to control Manchuria, Korea and China through Chinese Communists.

Mr. Coniston thinks that unless the United States changes her policy of checking Russia in the Orient, specially in Korea, there is every reason to think that there will be a war between Soviet Russia and the United States:

> "Korea promises to become the *bloody ground* of the Far East. Within short bomber range of the most important Soviet installations in eastern Asia, the country is of vital interest to Russia. In Japan, the United States controls the strategic sentinel of eastern Asiatic mainland; and Korea and Japan are possible bases for operations against each other. The Soviet Union cannot relinquish an area of such strategic importance as Korea to American or any other foreign influence. It is doubtful whether the Russian will be able to endure the presence of the United States as the supreme authority even in Japan if it long continues . . . If the present situation, with Americans and Russians sharing the occupation of Korea, continues, there must be friction and possibly war to come. These possibilities go with America's new role in the Far East. The people of the United States must accept them and be prepared for all they mean or retire from the Orient to the equally uncertain security of their own home areas."—(Pages 210-211).

The above passage may mean to many that it is the new role of the United States in the Orient (to check further Russian expansion in the Orient) which will be the cause of the Russo-American war. The author nowhere sufficiently emphasises the point that Russian expansionist policy in the Orient is the real cause of the present tense and delicate situation. This is a serious weakness of the discussions on international situation in the Orient.

Columbia University,
New York City

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Book Reviews

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—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELF-RESTRAINT *v.* SELF-INDULGENCE : *By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. September 1947. Pp. x + 232. Price Rs. 2.*

Gandhiji's writings on the present topic were formerly issued in two parts. They have now been brought together under one cover, the old arrangement has been maintained but a few additions have been made.

We are sure, the collection will enjoy the same popularity as the previous editions.

TO THE PROTAGONISTS OF PAKISTAN : *By Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi Series, Volume V. Edited and published by Anand T. Hingorani, Karachi. Sole Distributors : Rupa & Co., Calcutta, Allahabad. 1947. Pp. xvi + 268. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Shri Anand Hingorani has been doing inestimable service by bringing out a classified collection of Gandhiji's writings on various topics. In the present volume, he has also incorporated freely from the authorised version of Gandhiji's post-prayer speeches at Noakhali. The Appendix covering about forty pages contains some very important material relevant to the subject dealt with in the body of the book. These include the Muslim League's Resolutions, Mr. Jinnah's letter to Gandhiji, the Rajaji Formula and so on.

Like his other volumes, the present compilation of Shri Hingorani will undoubtedly prove a most useful book of reference.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

THE SUBHAS I KNEW : *By Dilip Kumar Roy. Nalanda Publications. Post Box No. 1353, Bombay. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 5-4.*

Shri Dilip Kumar was an intimate friend of Subhas Chandra from college days at the Presidency College. A born hero-worshipper, he became enamoured of Subhas Chandra in his youthful student life period and his admiration for Bose grew in intensity with years of close intimacy. The book is a delightful reminiscence of the writer's personal contact with Subhas Chandra in whom he saw the soul of India reflected—the soul of spiritual *Bharatvarsa* groaning in bondage. As the writer says he has told about Subhas "the man, the idealist, the dreamer I saw in him having known him through a long and unbroken span of personal intimacy for intimacy's sake." Dilip Kumar realised that 'Subhas was born with an obstinate streak of rational madness' and was charmed with his 'steel-white glow and rocky firmness of his character.'

There are interesting accounts as to how Dilip Kumar, himself a mystic and devotee of Sri Aurobindo, tried to wean Subhas Chandra away from politics, the more so when the latter became sick of treachery of his colleagues and misunderstanding of the Congress High Command and grew despondent from time to time in the deadening gloom of frus[illegible]tion. According to him, Subhas Chandra was 'a pat[illegible] on the surface but a mystic deep within.' In fair[illegible] to other's views, the writer has, however, anticip[illegible] other people's disagreement regarding this trait [illegible] Bose's character. To be frank, we do not share D[illegible] Kumar's views in toto. From his action and words [illegible] is evident like the blazing sun that Subhas wa[illegible] patriot to the core, a volcano of activity and emoti[illegible] restless and impatient to free his *Janmabhumi* fr[illegible] the shackles of slavery to foreigners. He was [illegible] embodiment of *rajasika* energy : activity was [illegible] *swadharma* and achievement of the independence [illegible] India was his *sadhana*. In the reminiscences written [illegible] Dilip Kumar's usual style—absorbing and racy—[illegible] reader visualises Subhas Chandra as a brilliant [illegible] vivacious student, as a noble and tender-heart[illegible] friend, as an impetuous activist with a curious amalg[illegible] of robust optimism, shade of despondence and [illegible] fervour of a *Yogi* turned towards the realisation [illegible] of self but of the freedom of his countrymen.

Incidentally we get a fine pen-picture of Pand[illegible] Jawaharlal Nehru, Dilip Kumar's beloved hero. As [illegible] study of Subhas Chandra's bosom friend, though [illegible] in the same sphere of activity, the book is a refresh[illegible] addition to the ever-increasing volume on Netaji's [illegible] and work. There are several attractive photographs [illegible] the book. A ponderous list of errata at the outset [illegible] the book produces a chilling effect on the reade[illegible] mind ; neither does it redound to the credit of [illegible] aristocratic publishing concern.

Narayan C. Chand[illegible]

THE HERO OF HINDUSTAN : *By Antho[illegible] Elenjimittam. Published by Orient Book Comp[illegible] Calcutta 12. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 6.*

This book, published in July, 1947, does not [illegible] much to our knowledge of the saga that has grown [illegible] round the figure of "Netaji." From his "flight" fr[illegible] India in the third week of January, 1941, to Ap[illegible] 1943, the Indian public were kept in ignorance of wh[illegible] Subhas Chandra Bose had been doing except what [illegible] heard in broadcasts sent over the ether from Ro[illegible] Dresden, Berlin and Munich. It was during this ti[illegible] that the author appears to have come in contact w[illegible] "Netaji" and his group. Being a student of philoso[illegible] and comparative religion, the author's appreciation [illegible] the revolutionary dynamism of Subhas Chandra's [illegible] is through the intellect devoted to thought and [illegible] to action. It is, therefore, that we are treated [illegible] "divine romanticism," to "romantic idealism" in [illegible] life of the "hero of Hindustan," not a happy charac[illegible]ization when we remember the determined attempt [illegible] "Pakistanis" to interpret the work of the Ind[illegible] National Congress as basically based on Hin[illegible] interests on the maintenance of Hindu communal [illegible] dominance. The way in which "Netaji" converted [illegible] Indian prisoners of war—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Ch[illegible]

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tian—in Europe and East Asia to Indian Nationalism undefiled is a contradiction to the title of this book.

The jacket of the book has introduced the author to us as "competent to apotheosize—as it were the Netaji and the I. N. A. . . ." India which is surfeit with such apotheosization of her great men in the realm of thought and action should have been spared this new attempt. Except the captions of certain chapters of the book—"Mussolini's Guest," "At Hitler's Berchetsgaden" and "Before the Submarine Left," we have nothing concrete to go by in understanding the inspiration of the great adventure for the success of which Subhas Chandra Bose had risked life, left his country and home, left his old mother. The book is all rhapsody of the traditional thought of India which Netaji imbibed with his mother's milk and knowledge of which he enriched as a student. But it is not as a student of philosophy or in quest of his soul that he went to Rome, Berlin and Tokyo. The book fails to bring out the characteristic of the "hero" in Subhas Chandra Bose which enabled him to build up a State and become the Commander of an army of Indians fighting to wrest from alien hands the freedom of their country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SIMONE (a novel) : *By Lion Feuchtwanger. Hamish Hamilton Ltd., London. Thacker and Company, Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Price Rs. 6-14.*

The novel resolves into a story of the fall of France in 1940. The heroine, a sixteen-year-old Burgundian girl named Simone, a St. Joan born long after her time, is impelled by patriotic motives to offer resistance to the Germans in her own way ; she sets fire to the petrol and the lorries, the property of her uncle's, lest they should fall into the hands of the national enemy, the Germans. In the solitude of her life, peopled by the characters she created out of her reading of St. Joan's life, she passes through a spiritual development which is worth describing and which has been suitably described.

The remarkable feature of the novel is the way in which the author has woven the dreams, which a young girl can have of her heroine, into practical life—the idealism of the past, never dead, thus inspiring the young. Simone's is the only character which has been drawn, the others merely forming the background, and her portrait gains all the more dignity for that.

P. R. SEN

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF FREE INDIA : *By Prof. Brij Narain. Published by Indian Book Co. Ltd., 37 Nisbet Road, Lahore. Pages 168. Price Rs. 7-8.*

The author discusses the subjects in six chapters and as a realist explodes the theories of *charkha* economics. He rightly points out that *laissez faire* is a policy of the nineteenth century and as such free and modern India has no place for this policy. He discusses planning, as a classical economist would do, from an individualist point of view and opines that India would benefit if planning is left to private enterprises under State control. It is a much controversial subject but the author gives his reasons for the thesis. While dead against inflation, the learned professor would favour planning with the help of 'created money' as this is not likely to inflate the currency—the increased production being the neutralizing factor. The author criticises the Cabinet Mission's proposals as an economist and condemns it as impracticable because a weak centre can not take up any nationwide planning worth the name. He advocates a very strong Central Government which would be able to plan for economic uplift of the country and for the defence. In the last chapter he summarises his recommendations and shows 'the way out' of the various difficulties. He has expressed some political opinions in course of his arguments which may not be supported. He would have done well if he had not gone into political controversies. However we wish the book a wide circulation among students who are interested in the economics of Free India.

A. B. DUTTA

EASTERN LIGHT OF SANATAN CULTURE : *By H. H. Rana Udaibhan Singhji of Dholpur. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 364. Price cloth-bound Rs. 7-8, board-bound Rs. 5.*

The author of this attractive volume is the enlightened ruler of the Dholpur State who was inspired to write this volume by his daughter, Her Highness the Maharani of Nabha. The book, divided into seventeen chapters, deals with transmigration, image-worship, Karma, Sandhya, Caste-system and other Hindu doctrines and practices. Elementary outlines of these essentials of Hinduism are lucidly described in a simple elegant language understandable to the beginners for whom the book is meant. The chapter on image-worship narrates this interesting fact of history in illustration of the point at issue. Emperor Akbar once remarked to his Hindu Minister Birbal that image-worship was a flaw in Hinduism. The intelligent minister played this cunning trick on the Emperor in order to bring home to him the efficacy and importance of this Hindu practice. Birbal was aware that the Emperor was passionately attached to one of his little nephews. He got a very good effigy of the princely baby made with exact size and similar appearance, and privately instructed the attendants of the real baby to take the life-like image to the garden before the emperor goes there for an airing stroll and in his sight push it directly into the lily pool and then pretend concern at the unfortunate accident. The well-laid plan was effectively worked out. The emperor at the sight of the accident ran to the spot and jumped into the pond to save the life of the beloved baby. In vain Birbal clung to the hem of the imperial garment and pleaded to command him or anyone of the numerous staff or attendants to do this. When Akbar caught hold of the image in the breast deep waters he understood his folly and learnt the lesson, as desired by Birbal. This shows that the image-worship as practised in Hinduism is in reality idealatry, but never idolatry, as wrongly supposed by the ignorant.

The chapter on the great Bhaktas tells of Soordasji, Tulsidas and Ramakrishna. About the last this is wrongly stated in page 200, 'the great Ramakrishna Paramahansa of the City temple of Dakshineshwar in Calcutta.' Neither Dakshineshwar is in Calcutta nor its temple a city temple. It is a pity that only one line is written about Ramakrishna who has brought about the new renaissance in Hinduism and made it world-wide. The title of the book too makes a grating impression upon the ears. In spite of these and a few other negligible limitations the book is readable throughout and sure to acquaint the reader with some basic conceptions of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ESSENCE OF HINDUISM : *By Swami Nikhilananda. Published by Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 17 East 94th Street, New York 28, N. Y., U. S. A.*

It is difficult in the present state of human thought and knowledge to say anything extraordinarily new on a subject like this ; and the author also does

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not appear to make any such claim. But even an old truth can bear repetition ; and there are some truths which ought to be repeated in order to be remembered. 'There are enough religions in the world to hate one another,' as our author has rightly said, 'but there is not religious spirit enough to make the worshippers love another.' The world has heard this often enough but has not always acted up to it. People who put more value upon religion rather than on the religious spirit should see their mistake and a correct interpretation of Hinduism as of any other religion may help this understanding.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

KASHMIRI LYRICS : *Selected and translated by J. L. Kaul. Foreword by Dr. Amarnath Jha. Published by Rine Midray, Srinagar, Kashmir.*

Kashmir is much in the limelight today with her disturbed politics. Kashmir is an ever mysterious land, her chequered past and romantic present making her an irresistible lure. The political turmoil which has engulfed her, should not mar proper vision and one may perceive deposits of centuries lying at the forgotten depths of her socio-political life. These are the lyrics, of which the present volume is a fine collection. Mr. J. L. Kaul has selected and translated a good number of Kashmiri lyrics from various periods of the literary history of that country. Translations and originals have been placed side by side in the manner of Loeb's series for the advantage of more inquisitive readers. The lyrics selected cover a large variety of topics, including devotion, love, nature and death, and represent a large number of poets and poetesses, both Hindus and Muslims, whose culture seems to have met here at least for a time. Dr. Jha's foreword gives a fitting introduction to this volume while in the learned preface the author guides the readers through the beauties and intricacies of Kashmiri lyrics.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

TRIPHALA : *By Ramesh Bedi, Ayurvedalankar. Vignan Parishad, Prayaga, Allahabad. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*

A scientific and comparative study of our country's herbs is an urgent necessity. Therefore, the present publication, pertaining to the three constituents of that poor man's panacea against most of the common ailments —*triphala*—namely, *harad, baheda* and *amvala* is very welcome indeed. It is exhaustive in information and adequate in the description of the properties of the herbs concerned. Such studies in some of the other well-known herbs, one hopes, will be undertaken also by the same author.

TESS (Part I) : *By Thomas Hardy. Translated by Madhusudan Das Chaturvedi. Marwari Navayuvak Mandal, Marwari Bazar, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A highly readable translation of the well-known English novel of that name. Since it was published, the other two parts also, perhaps, would have been published by the same translator.

G. M.

MARATHI

GITANJALI : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated into Marathi by D. D. Rega. Indian Publications Ltd., Laxmi Building, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Pp. 61. Price Re. 1.*

One more translation of *Gitanjali*, done by a young man on military duty, while confronted every hour with the eternal enquiry, "What is life ?" Though it has been made evidently from the English edition instead of the original Bengali, there is a ring of fidelity to the spirit of the latter, born of the translator's sincerity and strength of feeling. The get-up is excellent. There is, however, an inaccuracy in the descriptive notice of the sketch of the back cover page. The sketch, which was made on 27.2.44, is by Abanindranath Tagore and not by Rabindranath Tagore, and it appears to be of "Uttarayana" and not of Udichi and lastly *Gitanjali* was composed before the building came into existence and so could not have been written there, as the descriptive note erroneously says.

G. M.

GUJARATI

YUVANONE : *By Swami Vivekananda. Sri Ramkrishna Ashrama, Rajkot. Pp. 52. Price eight annas.*

A good translation of *Thus Spake Vivekananda* which is a compilation of the select thoughts and poems of Swami Vivekananda. An inspirational book for youths. The printing and get-up are of a high order.

G. M.

(1) JIVAN SHODHAN : *By K. G. Mashruwala. Thick card-board. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 2-8.*

(2) VARNA VYAVASTHA : *By Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi. Paper cover. Pp. 150. Price twelve annas.*

(3) GITA GIT MANJARI : *By Jugatram Dave. Paper cover. Pp. 164. Price Re. 1.*

Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1945.

Book No. 1 is the 4th edition of Mr. Mashruwala's thoughtful work on the way one's spiritual life should be led. Yoga, Sankhya and other systems of Hindu philosophy are laid under contribution and the result is a serious work, which requires deep study : even then we think that all the same a guide or Guru would be required to expound the ideas underlying the subject. Book No. 2 is the 2nd edition of Gandhiji's views on the caste system. Since writing the first edition, his views have undergone a vital change, and he now recognises one comprehensive caste only, that of humanity or the human race. *Gita Git Manjari* is a collection of 68 songs, composed by the author each illustrating some phase or incident of the Bhagavad Gita. It is a very good translation interesting perusal by little educated persons.

K. M. P.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Paracelsus—Physician and Philosopher

No one fought so passionately for a reformation in the whole body of medical learning as did Paracelsus. Basilio de Telepnef writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Theophrastus von Hohenheim, later known as Paracelsus, was born on November 14th (O. S.) 1493 in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, not far from the famous Benedictine abbey. His father, a doctor, was a descendant of an old noble family whose ancestral home was in Hohenheim, near Stuttgart. His grandfather, Jorg von Hohenheim, hled a high office in the Order of the Knights of St. John, and became known for his adventurous journey to the Holy Land in 1468. Paracelsus' father was a natural son, since marriage was not permitted to a high dignitary in the Order. His Swiss mother, a humble native of Einsiedeln, deid before Paracelsus was ten years old.

Shortly after her death, father and son went to live in the small Austrian town of Villach, where Paracelsus' father remained until his death as a practising physician and as teacher of "alchemy" at the town's mining school. It was here in Villach that Paracelsus, under the tutorship of his father, first learnt to know the healing properties of the plant kingdom and received his first grounding in the mysteries of alchemical processes. At the same time he was introduced to the current medical teachings and got a practical working knowledge of chemistry in the mining workshops of the Tyrol (especially in those of Sigmund Fuger in the town of Schwaz). After that he studied official medicine at various universities in West and South Germany and in 1509 he received the lowest academic degree (equivalent to Bachelor of Arts) at the University of Vienna. In 1513, when he was twenty years old, he went to Italy by way of the Brenner Pass to study at the well-known University of Ferrara which, two years later, conferred his medical degree upon him.

Then began a ten-year perambulaiton through the countries of the then known world, which took him to Lisbon and to Santiago de Compostela in North-west Spain, to Moscow in the east, to Scandinavia in the north, and to Sicily, Egypt and Jerusalem in the south.

In 1524, when thirty years old, he went to Salzburg, but his wish to settle down there as a doctor was not granted.

After a few months he had to flee during the night. A revolt had broken out among the downtrodden peasants, for whom Paracelsus, it seems, had shown open sympathy. As he was not the man to go back on his word or to change his opinion to save himself, he had therefore to flee when the religious and civic authorities of the town set about crushing the revolt.

He then tried to settle down in Strassburg but, almost immediately after his arrival, he was called to Bale to the bedside of the renowned humanist and publisher, Frobenius, who was suffering from the effects of a stroke. He succeeded in curing him after the leading doctors of the town and university had failed and, after a short treatment, Frobenius was able to leave his bed and go about his usual tasks. As a result of this success, Paracelsus was appointed town doctor by the city council and permitted to lecture at the university. He gained the confidence of many of the leading men in the town—among whom were the great Erasmus of Rotterdam, Amerbach and others.

Paracelsus attempted a basic reform in the teaching and practice of medicine, both in the town and in the University of Bale.

But, as can be imagined, he soon attracted the opposition of the doctors, chemists and leading men of the city council. As before in Salzburg, he was not willing to compromise and, as unfortunately his friend and protector Frobenius died from a second stroke at this time and his other friends were not in a position to give him the necessary support, he was obliged to flee again.

So began another long period—fifteen years—of restless wandering. Finally, in the autumn of 1541, he was called again to Salzburg, where he deid on September 24th, 1541, when not yet forty-eight years old, as the result of daring experiments with quicksilver and arsenic preparations.

He overthrew the 2,000-year-old medical doctrine of humoralism and put in its place an entirely new natural science, the result of his practical and alchemical experience and of the nature philosophy which he cherished.

In the place of the primitive and rather abstract conceptions of nature, he erected a system which opened the way to the modern scientific method which studies the specific structure and meaning of every object.

Even more than this, he laid the foundation for the understanding of every specific illness and he was the first doctor-scientist to have investigated systematically the possible healing properties of the mineral kingdom and to use minerals successfully in his treatments. His brilliant vision and deep understanding of alchemical processes enabled him to achieve this pioneering work with success, the value and truth of his findings being proved by the fact that he was the first to have used remedies such as quicksilver, antimony, gold, silver and zinc, remedies which today are in universal use.

He was also a pioneer in the fight to establish hygiene and scientific exactness in the preparation and dosage of remedies. This endeavour naturally brought him into strong opposition with the chemists. As Paracelsus never succeeded in winning the co-operation of the chemists, he finally decided to prepare all his remedies himself.

He also undertook intensive research in the attempt to find healing material in the animal kingdom, and in this sense is a forerunner of modern organotherapy. He made drugs out of certain animal tissues which he used especially in the treatment of wounds.

During his extensive travels he gathered a wealth of practical experience and knowledge of the devastating epidemics of the time.

Especially interesting are his findings on the terrible disease, syphilis, which suddenly made its

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appearance at the close of the fifteenth century and which was then known as the "new" illness. Orthodox medicine used a certain guayac wood imported from America for the treatment of syphilis. Today, no doctor thinks of using guayac wood for the treatment of syphilis, whereas the heavy metal combinations advocated and used by Paracelsus, are still the most effective aids in the treatment of this disease.

Paracelsus was also a pioneer in the surgical field.

He was the first to realize that the infection of wounds came from dirt introduced from outside and was not, as was supposed up to the nineteenth century, the result of some process within the wound itself. One can therefore consider him as the precursor of the famous Semmelweis. He also knew the anaesthetic property of ether, although he used it only in his experiments on animals.

In addition to these medical achievements which have been only lightly touched upon, Paracelsus also took an active part in the religious battles of his time.

A great part of his writings dealing with magic has only recently been studied systematically in Switzerland.

Like all great men who live before their time and who therefore are not understood or appreciated by their contemporaries, Paracelsus has been judged and is still judged by the fact that he had no great influence on people's thought during his lifetime. Apart from the short period when he taught officially in Bale University, he never had any official position in any university of his day. Only a fraction of his writings was printed during his lifetime and his circle of students was small.

We should not forget the warm reverence in which Hohenheim was held by the German Romanticists, among whom one should mention Gorres and the young Goethe. The latter studied Paracelsus' writings eagerly and his *Faust* bears unmistakable marks of the great doctor's influence.

The modern Paracelsus research work is based on Karl Sudhoff and his successor, Prof. Walter von Brunn. Today it falls to the Swiss Paracelsus Society to save the immense wealth of ideas expressed by this great man of the European Renaissance from oblivion, and to dig ever deeper into the meaning of his legacy. The *Nova Acta Paracelsica* is a periodical issued yearly by the Society. A Swiss edition of Paracelsus' works, edited by J. Strebel, has appeared since 1943 in St. Gall.

Paracelsus died at the age of forty-seven on September 24. 1541, in Salzburg. He left all his money and possessions to the poor of the town of Salzach. Among his meagre effects were found a circle and a compass, fitting symbols of the restless wanderer.

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Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya

The genius of Sarat Chandra has given us literature which is very rich and distinctive and at the same time can be appreciated by all. Sa... Bhooshan Sen writes in *The Indian Review*:

Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya was the great... literary figure of Bengal (Rabindranath Tagore be... of course excepted) for over a quarter of a centu... Sarat Chandra was no leader in literature like Bank... Chandra Chatterjee nor a poet supreme like Rabin... nath Tagore. Sarat Chandra was a novelist and a... novelist his name will go down to posterity.

Bankim Chandra was the greatest litera... figure of his time but literature was not his on... distinction.

Bankim Chandra loved his country devotedly a... felt deeply concerned in the ultimate well-being of t... people of his country. That was a period of transit... when the impact of Western civilisation and cultu... was influencing the people and deflecting the ideas a... ideals of the country. With a view to check this to... slaught Bankim Chandra took it upon himself to pla... the standard of traditional Indian culture and idea... before the people. This might have been one of t... main objectives why he originally took to literatur... The Bengali prose had not as yet sufficiently advanced... it was the genius of Bankim which improved a... modernised it. By his example and inspiration a gro... of litterateurs formed and gathered around him. B... the right of his genius he naturally became the leade... of them all. So Bankim Chandra can very well b... called a *Guru* or a leader in literature.

Rabindranath Tagore was essentially a poet. A sense of aesthetics and of the joy of life we... the main heart strings of his life, the outward ma... festation of which is the incalculable wealth of h... literary output. His poetic nature and his poetic gen... also coloured his whole life. As a poet by instinct a... by nature and having produced such a wealth o... literary output no other poet could claim equality wi... him. He can thus very aptly be called the po... supreme.

Sarat Chandra essentially belonged to the peop... He had not the idealistic attitude of a philosopher li... Bankim Chandra or the vision of a poet li... Rabindranath. He was content with the matter-of-fa... world and the common experiences of the everyd... life of the people. But his characteristic literary insig... enabled him to find a wealth of joy in the experience... of the common life. The perpetual flow of desires a... sentiments, joys and sorrows and love and hatred t... the outcome of relations between man and man nev... failed to set us vibrations in his heart. It is therefo... that Sarat Chandra dealt with the life of the comm... people in his literature.

After Bankimchandra came Rabindranath s... if after the close of the nineteenth century we s... the dawn of a new century.

In the meantime not only feelings and sentime... of all classes of people but also problems and cros... currents of thoughts in relation to the family, th... society and the national life found place in the nove... of Europe. Instances of these might be seen in th... literature of Rabindranath also. Rabindranath's geni... was in full bloom at the dawn of the twentieth centu... All problems of human life, man's sentiments a... desires, all thoughts and feelings of the human hea... imaginations and fantasies of the poet's mind—all the... in their distinctions and diversities have been depict... in Tagore literature. In the literature of Rabindra...

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we see the epitome of the literary universe of literature as it were.

Sarat Chandra came at a time when the Bengali literature had attained such a development and had already produced such a wealth of output. He was fully conscious of his surroundings, the travails of social and political upheavals, but in literature Sarat Chandra was true to his instincts and genius. Behind the storm and stress and below the cross currents of diverse schools of thought the genius of Sarat Chandra enabled him to see the man in his essential qualities; and in the literature of Sarat Chandra man in spite of his sin and failings stands forth in all his integrity, and in all his glory.

Saratchandra felt deeply interested in the life and destiny of the common people.

The hopes and aspirations, desires and sentiments, joys and sorrows of the common lot of man touched the heart strings of his life and these he has depicted in his literature with broad sympathy and inimitable skill.

Affection for the children is an admirable sentiment in the family life and has also won a traditional place in the Vaishnava literature. This sentiment has received such fond and sympathetic treatment in his literature that the glorious character figures particularly in *Bindur Chhele* and *Ramer Sumati* might be compared with the classical art forms of Madonna pictures.

Another sentiment, the most important of all, is love, conjungal love. It holds an incomparable importance in human life and therefore in all art forms in all ages and climes.

In actual life the current of love does not as a rule flow in smoothness. Complications set in and give rise to problems.

In the lives of the common people also such instances are in abundance. Not only obstacles and difficulties stand in the way of love-life but whole lives of individuals are very often frustrated or blighted. Individually many men suffer but because they belong to the common class, the people even the victims themselves accept the situation as a matter of course and the history of their sentiments and sufferings go unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Sarat Chandra reclaimed them from oblivion and gave them voices. Some of the characters in his literature stand out as if they were representatives of those types and specimens; Rama, Parbati, Achala, Kiranmayee, Rajlakhsmee, Bijai, etc., are instances in point. There is the other side of the picture where love happens to have met with fulfilment; this has also been very beautifully brought out in a few instances in the literature of Sarat Chandra.

Even through the analysis and delineation of love stories stand revealed the fine sentiments of his heart and his sympathetic outlook, which are also the greatest characteristic of his literature. Those not happening to have attained any status in any sphere of life are generally considered very lowly, those at the bottom of the social scale and those who have been turned down by fate and are eking out a miserable existence throughout life—all these destitutes and unhappy people have found recognition and have been allotted due places in the literature of Sarat Chandra.

When taking a measure of the man we generally see the man clothed in his sin and sufferings.

But the literary insight of Saratchandra enabled him to see the man, the essential man behind and beneath all these sins and sufferings.

His attitude has found expression in his own words: "Vice, sin and failings are not the only things that go to compose the entire man. The real man in the midst of all these, call it soul if you will, is greater than all his sin and failings. Far be it from me to give any offence to the man in my literature. Whatever justification there might be let not my literature ever give indulgence to any man to cherish any feeling of hatred to his fellowman."

The Bengali prose literature got a well-defined shape and a modern tone at the hands of Bankim Chandra. The genius of Rabindranath working at it for more than half a century sharpened and chastened it to an admirable perfection so that it could rank with the best literature of all countries. Even after so much of culture Sarat Chandra has been able to show his characteristic distinction in handling the Bengali prose in his inimitable style. The language is the vehicle of expression of thoughts and ideas. His sincere heart, broad sympathy and open outlook acquired for him such a clear and transparent, easy and forceful style which could hold his readers spellbound.

The novelists and story-writers who are even now carrying on their trade with credit to themselves and to the literature are the torch-bearers of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya. This is no small tribute to the genius of any litterateur.

The Kashmir War

The New Review observes:

The invasion of Kashmir showed good strategy and inferior tactics. The timing of the manoeuvre (the Indian Government was then absorbed in the Punjab tragedy), the preliminary feint invasion in the south and north which scattered the State-forces, and the main attack from the west: the whole plan revealed

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strategic intuition. But the early stages of the campaign showed tactical inferiority in equipment and in employment of troops. The forces in use were a mixture of tribal free-lancers, of ex-army men, and of State-soldiers who passed to the enemy. The motorised column which made a dash for the capital and captured the power-station was hampered in its progress by the tribal looting, and had too little road-space and insufficient equipment to push on to Srinagar. The Commanders lost sight of the leading elements of successful tactics: fire-power and mobility. One of their main deficiencies was the lack of air-power even for reconnaissance work. A well-equipped and well-led smaller column should have reached Srinagar, captured the airfield, and immobilised all State-forces and could then have challenged any Indian intervention.

The counter-tactics of the Indian High Command were superb. In the midst of the Punjab confusion, and of the military reorganisation consequent on the country's partition, they ex-temporised an air-force which occupied and held Srinagar's airfield and brought in a few well-equipped troops. Once these troops were aligned in front of Srinagar, the fate of the invasion was sealed. A quick relentless sweep by a motorised column strengthened by reconnoitring and fighting planes had soon cleared the main roads, and disheartened the invaders. What was then left was the long series of methodical and slow operations to relieve besieged battalions and mopping out tribal gangs. There was no British officer to share this military feat and the whole credit of what should not be inflated into a modern large-scale campaign goes to the strategic vision and tactical resourcefulness of India's officers and the meritorious endurance of our air pilots and ground troops.

It would be premature to measure the exact responsibility of Pakistan in assisting or tolerating the invasion of Kashmir through its territory. The tension is growing daily. The events in Kashmir and Junagadh fostered confusion and bitterness. Other pointers are the failure of the Lahore Conference when Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Jinnah met, discussed and separated without any *communique* being issued: the recruitment of National Guards in both countries, the dissensions in the Joint Defence Council, the daily frontier-incidents, etc. State relations are tenuous and uneasy, tempers rising, armed-peace conditions hardening.

Political Evolution

The same *Review* observes:

Some psychological advance in political opinion was noticeable during the past weeks. India and Pakistan are two sovereign independent nations, foreign to each other; both the Congress Party and M... League begin to admit it and take the consequ... The evolution is more marked in the Muslim Le... whose leaders in India admit that the League ca... function in India as a political party directed f... Karachi. Whether India's Leaguers will join the C... gress party *en masse* or remain in opposition as ... communal body is not yet decided. One way of to... down their communalism would be an adjustment ... electoral constituencies. The majority of In... Constituent Assembly showed their preference for ... single-member constituency; they are apparently ... obsessed with the English system that they do ... realise that in most modern democracies the multi... member constituency is the rule. With single-me... constituencies, it will necessarily happen that individ... Hindus will be opposing individual Muslims. W... many members to be elected from the same co... tuency, it would be normal to have composite lists ... Hindu and Muslim candidates in competition, and ... group leaders of various communities according ... electoral interests; the general electorate would ... come a reality.

The multiple-member constituency finds l... favour in Congress circles; but from the speeches ... the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, it wo... appear that few Congressmen have given time a... thought to the technique of the constitutional fra... work and that a chosen few monopolise the wh... task. Congressmen are more engrossed in their o... internal problems. The most important is their r... in Pakistan. Undoubtedly the Congress stands aga... partition, and aims at reuniting the whole penins... Moreover, besides political work, social and cultu... activities are among its essential objectives.

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: **Sophia Wadia**

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER

FORMULA FOR A UNITED WORLD: An Interview with Dr. John Haynes Holmes

HUMAN VIVISECTION — Emanuel M. Josephson

CRITERIA OF PROGRESS — Philip Howell

"THE LIMITATIONS OF NON-VIOLENCE"; I— G. R. Malkani

Ditto — II— H. L. Butani

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Common Script

The New Review writes editorially :

It would be waste of time to dream of imposing one language on the three hundred millions of the Indian Union. The illiterate masses cannot be bullied into uniformity, and the literati will rightly defend the cultural wealth embodied in past writings, in local phrases and words. But is it futile to suggest one common script for all the Indian languages ?

A script is not so closely connected with a culture as a language is, and if Goethe loses some of its beauty in translation, it is equally impressive when printed in Roman and in Gothic characters. The system of sound-signs (resulting from gestures by tongue, lips, throat, etc.) which is the essence of a language is distinct from the system of written-symbols which is conventionally admitted as parallel. The masses do not change their sound-signs except very gradually ; the literates can accommodate themselves to new written symbols ; pandits are nobodies on the streets, they are everything in the class-room. One common script can be introduced through the schools within a relatively short period, and facilitate the access to the central and the provincial languages. One common sript would make for India's unity as Sun-yat-Sen tells us the common system of pictographs makes for Chinese unity. When will our statesmen and educationists think of lightening the burden of the poor schoolboy and of toning down in youths the fierce spirit of provincialism ? Think of the poor Tamil boy who will have to battle with Tamil, Devnagri and Roman scripts at the same time as he wrestles with three system of mensuration ! Could he not be given a fairer chance of competition with the French kid who has only one script and one decimal system to learn ? The single script is indicated by the dire necessities of the country, the necessity of fostering unity, and the need of saving time at school. But which script to choose from among the dozen and a half which are in use ? Nobody would dream of destroying the scientific order of Panini's alphabet, or even of denying the beauty of the Brahmi script and its derivatives. But the question arises of modernising and unifying all scripts. Brahmi may have been unexcelled in the days of stone-engraving and palm-leaf drawing, but is it the most suitable to paper and pen, typing and printing ?

Not a few advocate the Roman script with suitable additions ; they stress its soberness, its speed, its suitability to printing, and they consider that its use would popularize Hindi in foreign countries. But ready-made solutions may not be the best. Could not experts in philosophy, phonetics, drawing, printing, pedagogy and eye-physiology evolve an alphabet easy to the children's eye and hand, and suitable to most Indian languages ? The task is hard, but is it too high a price to pay for India's unity ? The question is clear : how is reborn India to modernise and unify her scripts as well as her mensuration ? Reason faces the problem ; sentiment is likely to dictate the answer.

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The Scientific Aspects of Village Uplift

Much has been done to uplift village communities by our leaders but there is one aspect of it which needs emphasis, namely, the scientific aspect. R. B. Lal writes in *Science and Culture* :

So far the scientific talent of the country has mainly interested itself in dealing with big industrial schemes, exploitation of power and important mineral resources and cultural development at high level. The rural problem is a challenge to science. We must take up the challenge with the bed-rock of belief that by isolating problems and subjecting them to scientific research we can and must solve them.

As scientists we must know where exactly do we stand to-day ? What are our assets and what are our liabilities ? What casual factors are operating and with what force ? This involves a systematic study of man, society and environment. Then in turn come planning, organisation, execution and finally assessment and review. Facts first, inferences afterwards, action last. This is the way of science. Why should we not apply the scientific method to village uplift with the same reasonable prospects of success as in other fields ? Nobody suggests, that things should wait till the surveys are completed. We should, by all means, carry on as best as we can but we are concerned here with planning. In this connection we may quote a sentence from Sir George Schuster's *India and Democracy*. He says, "A plan cannot be made *a priori* ; the experimental method is needed, and the organisation of social service calls for research no less thorough or critical than is found in a scientific laboratory."

Those of us who have worked in rural areas know fully well that conditions vary greatly from place to place.

They vary as regards the man, the society and the environment and consequently as regards the problems. No general plan will suit all parts of a large territory equally well, besides there will be time variations. This leads us to the inescapable conclusion that surveys of representative areas must be carried out from time to time. To be useful, efficient and economical, these surveys must be integrated, that is to say, the study must include all aspects of man, society and environment. We need two types of surveys, namely, (1) Detailed sample surveys of representative units of different sizes, (2) Brief surveys which would be complete induction of each small compact community unit such as a village. Both types of surveys must be designed and interpreted by teams of experts representing all fields of activities. The former will present an integrated picture of fair-sized communities, bring out casual factors, and their relative significance, crystallize problems, indicate priorities and point the way towards remedial measures. They should also serve as base-lines from which progress may be measured. A special service must be organised to conduct these surveys and analyse the data. The second type of surveys should be organised by polytechnical village agents, about whom we shall say a few words later, and conducted by local volunteers. These surveys should provide deeper appreciation of the circumstances of individuals and families, of the liabilities and assets of the village as a whole and of its problems. These surveys should be repeated at suitable intervals. This then is the first ingredient of social planning.

The second ingredient in the evolution of national planning is to get across to the people the essence of results of the surveys. It is wrong to suppose that the average villager is incapable of understanding what these results signify. The subject-matter is of the greatest interest to him. If only the presentation is suitable to his way of looking at things he will grasp them as well as anyoody else particularly the results derived from the second type of survey in which he has actively participated and which have a greater ring of intimacy.

The set-up proposed here may be briefly summarised as follows :

1. Welfare is indivisible but relative emphasis on different fields of human endeavour must vary with time and place. This principle will be the basis of planning and specially of organisation of services.

2. The priorities should be determined objectively through scientifically conducted intergrated surveys embracing man, society and environment. They will bring out community picture and causal factors.

3. The decision regarding priorities must finally rest with the would-be beneficiaries who should be fully enlightened with the results of the surveys. On them must also primarily rest the responsibility of carrying out schemes.

4. Beginning with the village, suitable territorial units of increasing size have to be worked out on a rational basis which may not always correspond with the present union, subdivision or district boundaries and which may need changing.

5. There will be a village council based on adult franchise. Through this council every man and woman will exercise his or her rights and responsibilities of citizenship. It will perform all or most of the functions of the government but its plan of work must fit in the general scheme of the next higher unit. Part resident polytechnical agents, a man and a woman who have been specially trained in essential rural functions will act as guides and philosophers, as business managers and organisers, and as liaison officers between the villagers and experts in various fields.

6. Each peripheral territorial unit, consisting of a group of villages will have a council elected through indirect franchise which will be charged with similar functions in respect of the problems relating to and arising out of the unit organisation as a whole. Each unit will have a polytechnical board and a set of institutions according to requirements. The members of the board will have joint responsibility for service to the unit and its constituents. They will assist the council in the solution of all problems. In case they present difficulties which are beyond their capacity they will be referred to similar polytechnical boards and institutions attached to the next bigger territorial unit.

7. Similar councils, polytechnical boards and institutions will be provided for each bigger territorial unit till the national unit is reached.

Where do the scientists come in ? They come in at all stages, as citizen, as members of the polytechnical boards, as officers of the institutions and as designers and interpreters of surveys to the common man. They have grave responsibilities. They have to isolate problems of different magnitudes and complexities, carry out investigations and researches to solve them. The rate of progress will largely depend upon their efficiency, team work and spirit of service.

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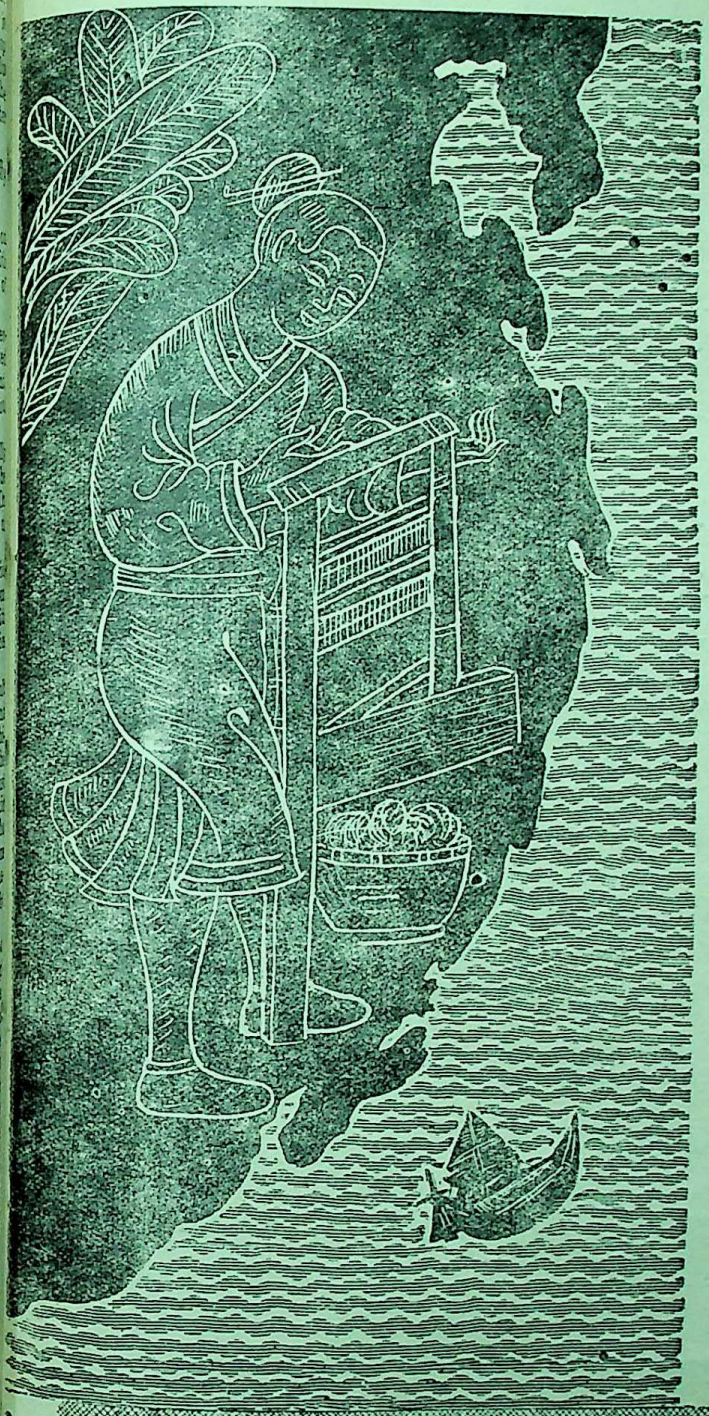
China - India's cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle. The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclopaedia, shows the Chinese Gin in operation.

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The Advances of Modern Surgery

In the Cantor Lecture I, delivered on 27th January, 1947, by A. Dickson Wright and reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, October, 1947, the manifold benefits of modern surgery are enumerated as given below :

In the great increase in the expectation of life which we now enjoy, surgery has played a very great part, not to be compared with the great sanitary epidemic-preventing measures, but, nevertheless, a very considerable part. To take a concrete instance, appendicitis would probably account for 75,000 deaths a year in this country without the surgical operation which now saves 70,000 of these cases annually, or instead of the 50,000 deaths from cancer, without surgery there would be the appalling figure of 300,000.

Surgery since the middle ages has gradually raised itself from the ignominious position of a side-line of the hair-cutting business to a position second to none in the professions, and this has been accomplished by a steady improvement of the service it has offered to suffering humanity. In many diseases the situation is such that the patient has only one choice, surgery or death.

In early days surgery was confined to blood-letting and urgent operations for opening abscesses and removing septic and gangrenous limbs. In amputations great dexterity, speed and strength were shown by the surgeon and great fortitude by the conscious patient. Baron Larrey's amputations in the trail of Napoleon ran into thousands upon thousands, and his skill was perhaps as remarkable as the fanaticism of the soldier who tossed his amputated arm into the air with the cry of "Vive l'Empereur"! Perhaps more useful was the action of the British officer at Waterloo who, after losing his leg below the knee, straightway mounted his horse and galloped back to the battle to encourage his men to greater efforts by his brave example. The painful and all-demanding condition of stone also drove patients to surgery in the olden days, and great skill was shown by surgeons in cutting for this condition, especially at St. Thomas's Hospital where the diarist Samuel Pepys lost a stone the size of a tennis ball on March 26th, 1658. Ever grateful to his surgeon and ever a lover of junketing, this date became an annual celebration for Pepys and his friends for the remaining 40 healthy years of his life. At these celebrations the stone in its 24s. case was produced, and there was much talk of the suffering of the past and the joys of the present. The removal of a stone in those days was a great and perilous adventure, whereas today it is a safe and simple procedure.

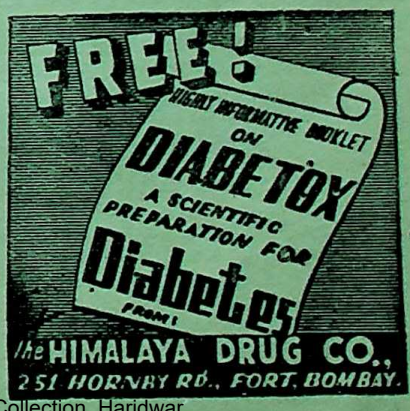
Surgery down the ages made steady progress but, as in all sciences, there were epic discoveries, and the first of these milestones was the discovery of anaesthesia. It seems that America and England shared the early steps in anaesthesia, America with ether and Britain with gas and chloroform. The possibility of rendering the patient unconscious and insensitive to the pain removed one of the great barriers to surgery, and more operations now became possible for painful and life-endangering conditions. Still, the death rate remained high because all wounds became infected, and recovery from the simplest operation was a horribly painful and speculative business.

The next milestone, a great and undisputed triumph for this country, was raised by Lord Lister when, seeing the importance of Pasteur's discoveries in relation to surgery, he prevented the infection of operation wounds by destroying and excluding bacteria. At one stroke hundreds of new and helpful operation procedures became possible and mankind the world over reaped immeasurable benefit from Lister's great work, although, it is true, with some little delay because of scepticism on the part of the profession.

The next discovery worthy of being described as a milestone is the discovery of transfusion of blood from the healthy to the desperately ill. This has brought many previously hopeless cases, especially in war days, within reach of surgery and is one of the greatest life-saving discoveries. It is interesting that no less a person than Sir Christopher Wren foresaw the feasibility of this procedure and described the hypodermic needle for its performance.

The last milestone, chemotherapy, is as important as any of the others and is recent. Domagk's discovery of the sulphonamides after a slow start gave a great impetus to the control of infections through the blood stream. Up to this time there had been antiseptics, but they had all been as deadly to human life and human tissues as they had been to the bacteria. With the sulphonamides, however, there arrived the great antiseptic which had been dreamt of for many years, one which would kill germs but was harmless to life and tissue. Following fast upon this came the elaboration of penicillin by Fleming and Florey, honoured by this Society with the award of the much-esteemed Albert Medal. Now, there is the most recent arrival of the twin sister of penicillin, the drug streptomycin, which destroys the germs which resist penicillin, even the most stubborn of all, the germs of tuberculosis. Defeated by these wonderful agents, the dangers of infection have all but disappeared from surgery, and the scourge of child-bed fever has vanished.

Alongside all these advances in surgical handicraft there has marched a steady improvement in the methods of diagnosis. To operate with a certain and exact diagnosis is to eliminate 90 per cent of the danger. X-rays have played the greatest part, and these rays, discovered over 50 years ago, as a result of the mathematical calculations of Clerk Maxwell, have now penetrated most of the secrets of the body. At first,



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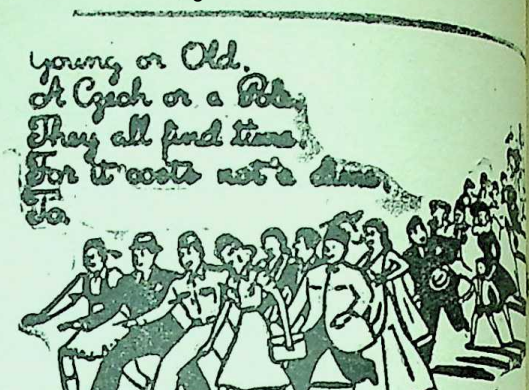
the bones and their abnormalities were all that could be studied, but now the hollow organs can be filled with a substance which either prevents or facilitates the passage of the rays and their silhouettes photographed and abnormalities accurately diagnosed. The cavities of the kidneys can be filled with one chemical containing iodine and the gall bladder with another, the blood vessels with thorium, and the cavities of the brain can be filled with air. The air tubes of the lungs and the cavity containing the spinal cord can be visualised with a non-irritating oil containing iodine and the diagnosis exactly made. Before these methods were elaborated many an operation went wrong; because of the imperfection of diagnosis the surgeon would be embarrassed by an incision in the wrong place or he would be confronted with a condition for which he was unprepared or even the wrong kidney would occasionally be selected for operation.

Although X-rays have played the major part in improving diagnostic accuracy, great help has also been obtained from the biochemist in analyses of blood and other body fluids, and also the new science of electronics has given some assistance as will be shown in the subsequent lecture.

The present state of surgery is eminently satisfactory, and, at times, one feels tempted to say that now it has surely reached its zenith but for the recollections that surgoens have said this regularly every ten years since 1830. Surgery has reached out into every nook and corner of the human body, and every part of the human frame but the soul (and this seems even possible) has a chapter in the book of surgery. To prevent omission it will probably be best to consider the various parts of the body *seriatim*.

Abdominal surgery saw its greatest period in the 20 years from 1914 onwards, and, at present, it holds pride of place for surgical opportunities, for probably about three-quarters of all surgery takes place in the abdomen. Appendicitis takes first place, and although the operation seems prosaic now, nevertheless it saves a great number of lives each year for a death rate of less than one per cent. Gall bladder disease is now treated by radical removal of the organ with its contained stones, with a similar death rate. Ulceration of the stomach and duodenum, one of the curses of the hectic hurry and worry of these days, provides a large field for surgery, and the operations, although forced to become more and more radical, bring relief and happiness to those who for years have known no peace from pain. Cancer is rampant in the abdominal cavity, and takes a tremendous toll in the stomach, almost the worst of all sites, but in the bowels there is a different story to tell, and surgery holds out brilliant results for those patients who hear Nature's warnings in time. Wonderful assistance is given to the surgeon by new developments of the sulpha drugs which, instead of being absorbed, remain in the gut, destroying all germs and rendering the contents odourless and clean during the period of operation and recovery. The use of these drugs has reduced the number of cases in which the bowel has to be brought to the surface temporarily or permanently, and this is no small boon to mankind.

In plastic surgery much effort and ingenuity is always to be seen, and one problem after another has been solved. Skin grafts are now cut with a planing machine to the exact shape and thickness required. The graft is then glued on to the area to be covered, with a glue manufactured from the patient's own blood. One constituent of the glue is painted on the underside of the graft and the other on the wound. As soon as the two are in contact a tenacious human glue is formed and the graft held securely in place. Human cement is also made by mixing this glue with bone dust made



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by grinding up a piece of bone obtained from the patient's side, and this material moulded in where it is required to fill an ugly hollow in the forehead or the bridge of the nose. The effort of plastic surgeons to help those mutilated in war is excellent and worthy work, but their efforts on behalf of the ageing female sex, are more debatable although it cannot be denied that these patients are grateful for the staying of the remorseless hand of time. Large birthmarks, harelips, cleft palates, misshapen noses, elephantine ears and exaggerated prominences provide a worthy field of endeavour. Similar work to that done for the war-disfigured will present itself when petrol rationing is discontinued.

Eye surgery has not stood still. In recent years the grafting of the cornea of a clear eye to another with a film over the pupil has been carried out successfully, a most igenious and delicate business. The operative treatment of squint has reached a high degree of perfection and no one need suffer from this humiliating complaint. In cases where the retina becomes detached from the back of the eye there is now a method of securing its replacement in its bed in more than half the cases. A few years ago loss of sight was inevitable in these cases.

Although surgery seems to have gone from triumph to triumph it now seems that the field of surgery will ever diminish. The operative treatments of many diseases at present are makeshifts while we await elucidation of the causes and the medical treatment that will result from their discovery. Penicillin and streptomycin have eliminated some surgery already. Chemotherapy for tuberculosis will follow fairly soon, and so another field of surgical effort will disappear. Ulceration of the stomach and duodenum, diseases of the thyroid gland, high blood pressure and cancer are surely to become medical in their treatment, and the surgeon may be left to live on accidents and congenital deformities and, of course, the appendix which will never cease from troubling.

Research in the Tennessee Valley

We reproduce the following article by John Perry from the magazine *Federal Science Progress*, March, 1947 :.

From the headwaters above Knoxville, Tennessee, to its meeting with the Ohio River at Paducah, the Tennessee River has been tamed and harnessed. Generators spin out kilowatts by the million, enough for big and little industries, and thousands of city and farm homes in seven states. The last big dam, Kentucky, is finished. But the men of the Tennessee Valley Authority have not settled down to quiet lives of turning valves and reading meters. When the last concrete has been poured. they say, their work has just begun. For TVA. by act of the United States Congress, is responsible for using these facilities to promote the physical, economic, and social welfare of the people of the Valley, and for helping them to develop the Valley's resources.

Business in the Tennessee Valley is multiplying and flourishing. There are many new plants, and older plants are expanding. The number of wage-earners has markedly increased; the volume of manufacturing is markedly larger. Bank deposits, wholesale trade, retail trade, buying income—have increased more rapidly than in the United States as a whole. There are many reasons: power supply. the work of public and private institutions, the mobilized initiative of the people of the Valley. Behind much of the new development is co-operative technical research.

"Sacrifice research is the right arm of modern technology," said David Lilienthal, who recently left the chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority to head the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

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"How much better living conditions can be in the United States and in the world—and how soon—will be determined in large part by the kind of research done and by the effectiveness with which the results are applied," says John P. Ferris, director of TVA's Commerce Department.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has an original idea of the usefulness of research and the way to organize it. Its way is unique in that it seeks to mobilize all available research facilities, government or private, and bring them to bear on problems and needs of individual businessmen. The mobilising is not done by TVA alone, but by a working partnership with the agricultural and engineering experiment stations, state planning commissions, state departments of conservation and the universities of seven states, with other federal agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, United States Department of Commerce and with city and private groups throughout the Valley. It is a four-step program :

First, getting information on the kind, quality, quantity, and location of specific resources that businessmen might use.

Second, conducting both economic and technical research to find how these resources can be used.

Third, finding people with the incentive, energy, and ability to take advantage of the opportunities revealed by research.

Fourth, working with them, helping them apply modern technology profitably, using the Valley's resources for the benefit of its people.

Research begins with appraisal of the Valley's assets : the people—3,500,000 in the Valley itself, over 20,000,000 in the seven states which comprise it; the land, mineral-poor and eroded, but still reclaimable and productive if managed wisely; the forests, stripped of the best saw timber, but able to grow again ; the riches beneath the soil—phosphate rock, coal, feldspar, mica, vermiculite; and the two new factors, cheap electric power and a navigable waterway connecting with the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi Rivers.

Research begins also with a need of the Valley. No project is good simply because it is new. Indeed, certain new industries might handicap the Valley, by holding down wage rates or draining still further some already depleted resource. Encouragement of new large terminal oil mills might tend to divert to other areas cottonseed meal containing essential minerals which Valley farmers can profitably return to the soil by feeding it to livestock in the producing area. The research has helped develop local mills, which tend to keep the meal in the areas where the seed is grown. Much of the Tennessee Valley Authority's industrial research, both technical and economic, is organized by its own Commerce Department. Under the Department's director, division chiefs deal with river transportation, agricultural engineering development, industrial economics and regional products research. Into the Commerce Department offices come merchants and manufacturers from towns and cities throughout the United States interested in new business opportunities. Here they can find information on power supply, transportation, markets, and up-to-date technology. Many American firms have been helped by TVA's facts and advice. A number have benefited directly from its technical research programs which have led to newer, better products, or improved manufacturing processes.

The Tennessee Valley has a wide variety of minerals, many of them offering excellent opportunities for development. TVA has helped to get some of them into use, its geologists and engineers working with the United States Bureau of Mines and Geological Survey and with state institutions. Commercial quantities of massive kyanite were discovered. This super-duty refractory material was previously unknown in the United States. Large quantities of green mica have been produced by North Carolina mines, and recent investigations with Bell Laboratory equipment have indicated that, properly graded and tested, it is equal to ruby mica. Acting upon TVA information, a North Carolina company opened a new feldspar mine near Boyce City. A feldspar milling company has installed an additional grinding unit handling 1,000 tons monthly. A thousand acres of rutile bearing ores, a titanium ore in demand for welding-rod coating and other uses, were mapped in North Carolina and Georgia.

The possibilities of flax as a profitable crop in the American South-east have been studied, with promising results. Working with the State Engineering Experiment Station at the Georgia School of Technology, TVA has produced flax cloth experimentally on cotton spinning machinery, with only minor mechanical changes.

Among those aided by TVA in recent months was a farmers' cooperative in North Carolina planning a $125,000 poultry freezing plant; a packer of K-Rations planning postwar production of dehydrated soup; and an ice company in Georgia which prepared and marketed 100,000 pounds of sweet-potato *puree* using a TVA co-operatively developed formula. Tests were being made on the use of oak slabs and pine bark, both waste materials, as a source of tanning materials to supplement the diminishing supply of chestnut tannins. Possibilities of essential oil industries were under way.

The new industries of the Valley are financed, owned, and operated by independent private business. Research, mobilizing the resources of private and public groups, is safeguarding the American public's investment in Valley development, promoting private enterprise, and making the Tennessee Valley a better place in which to work and live.

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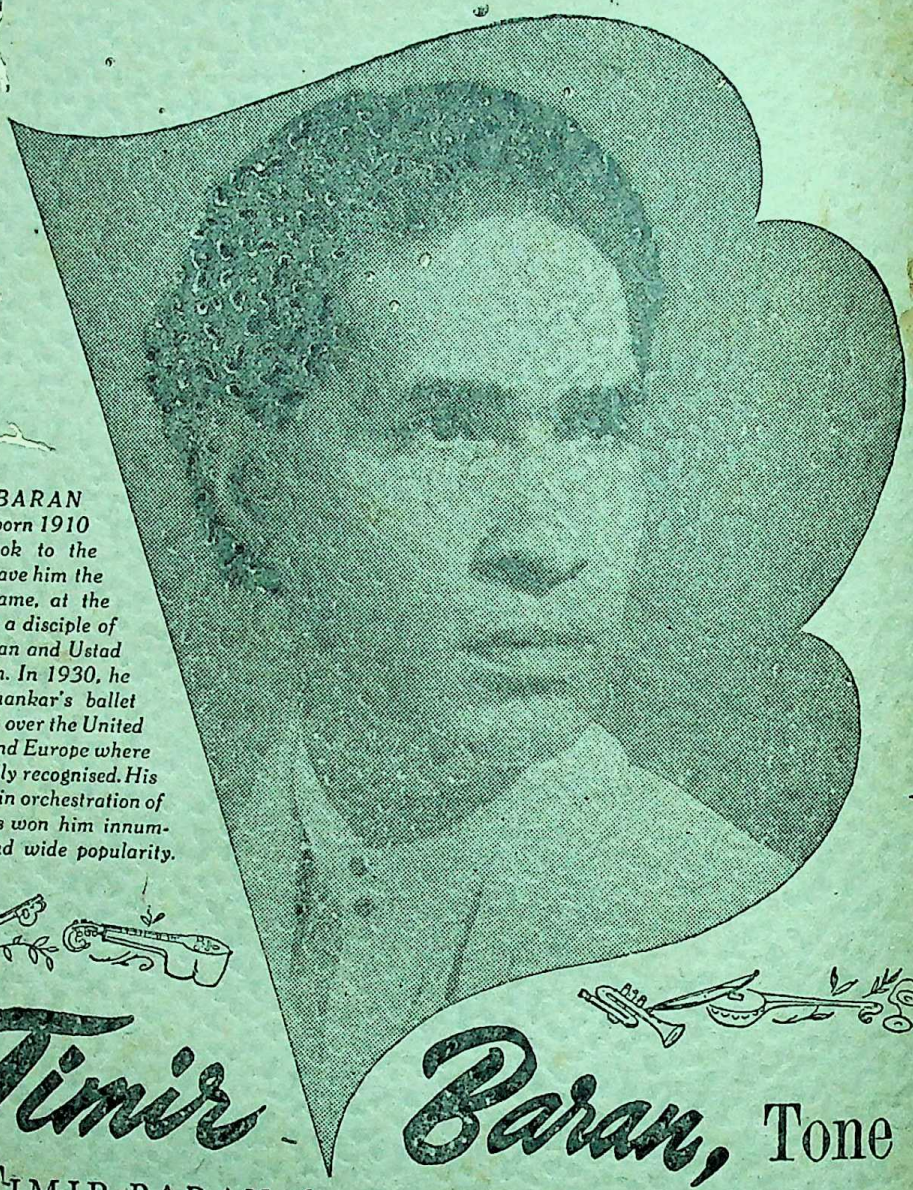

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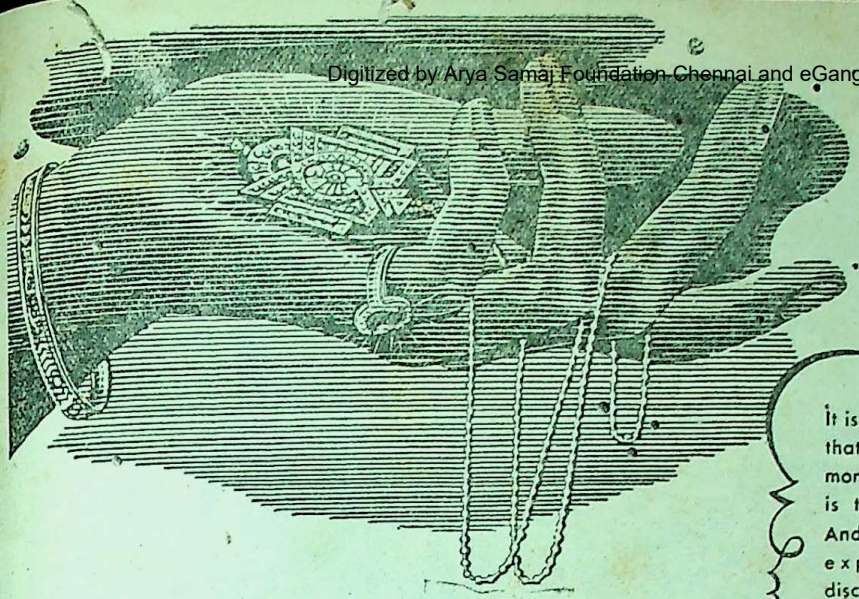

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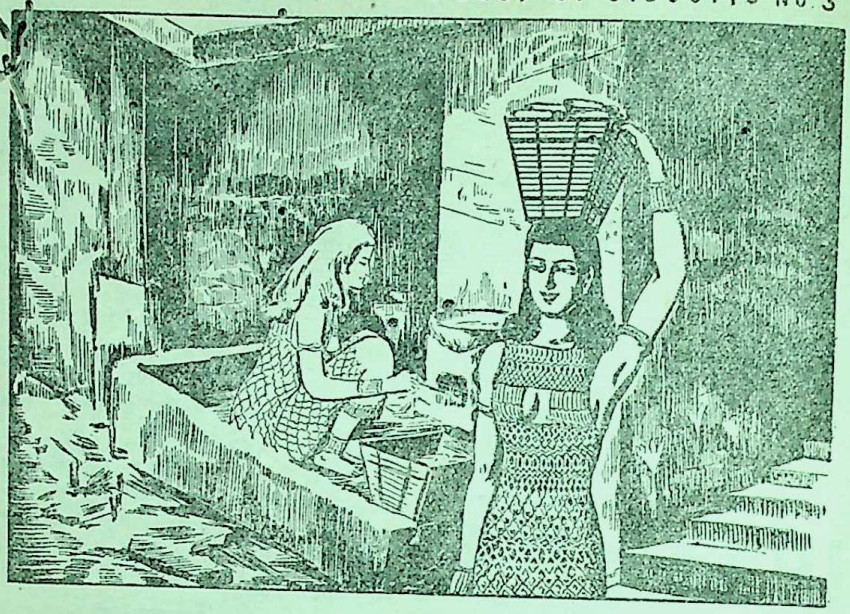

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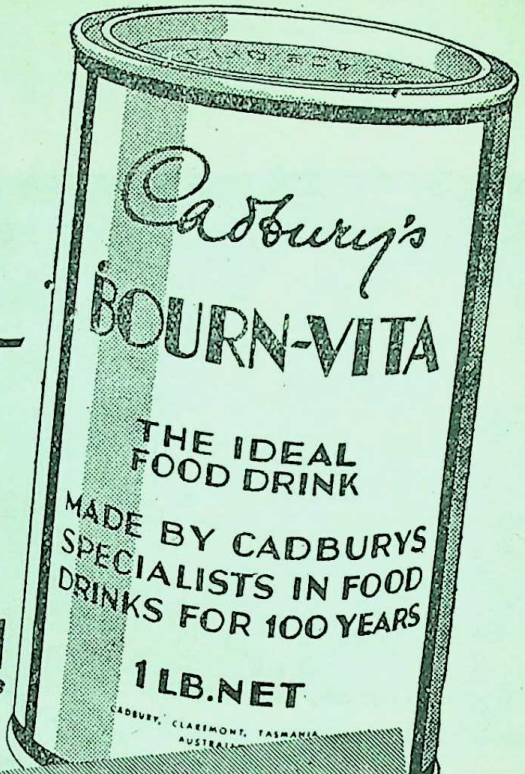

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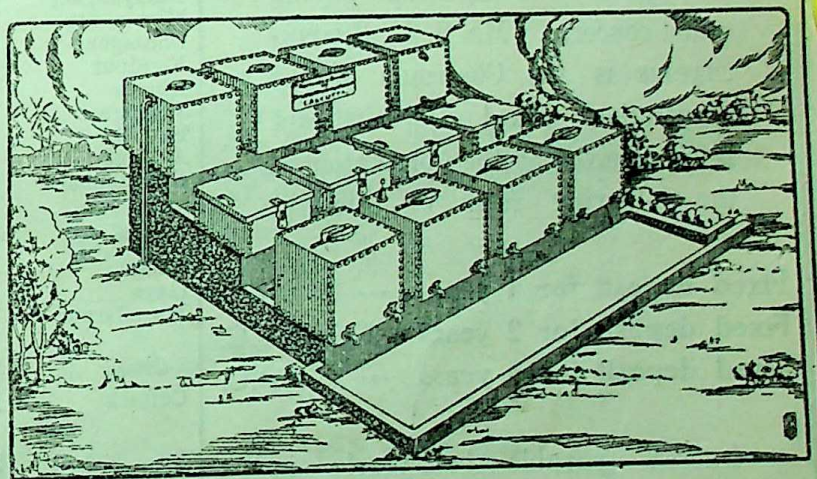

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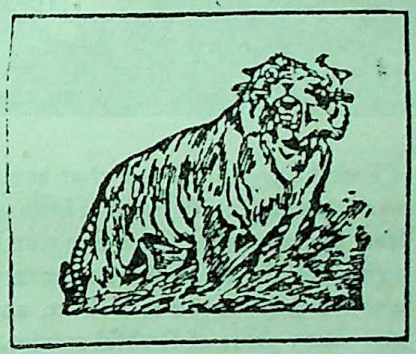

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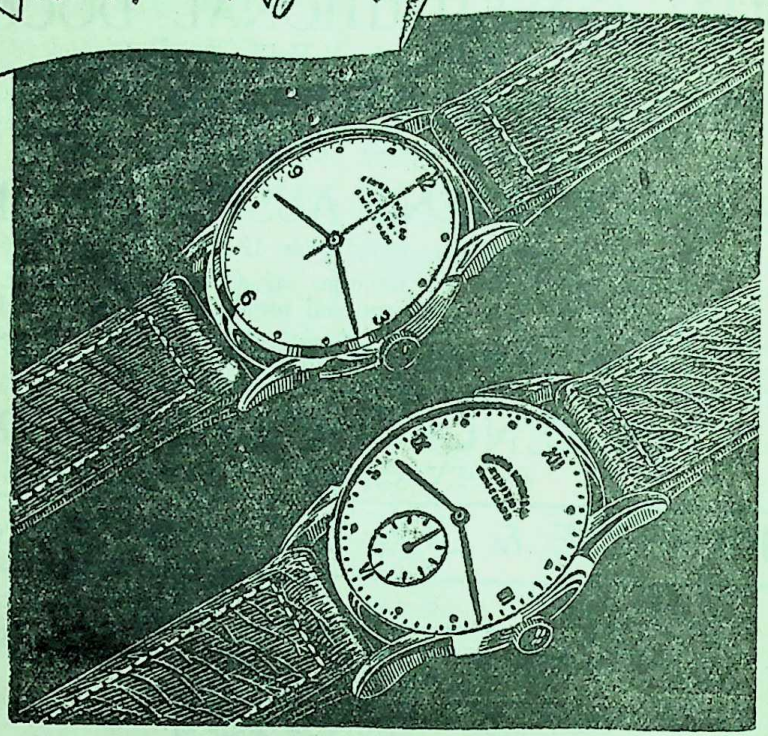

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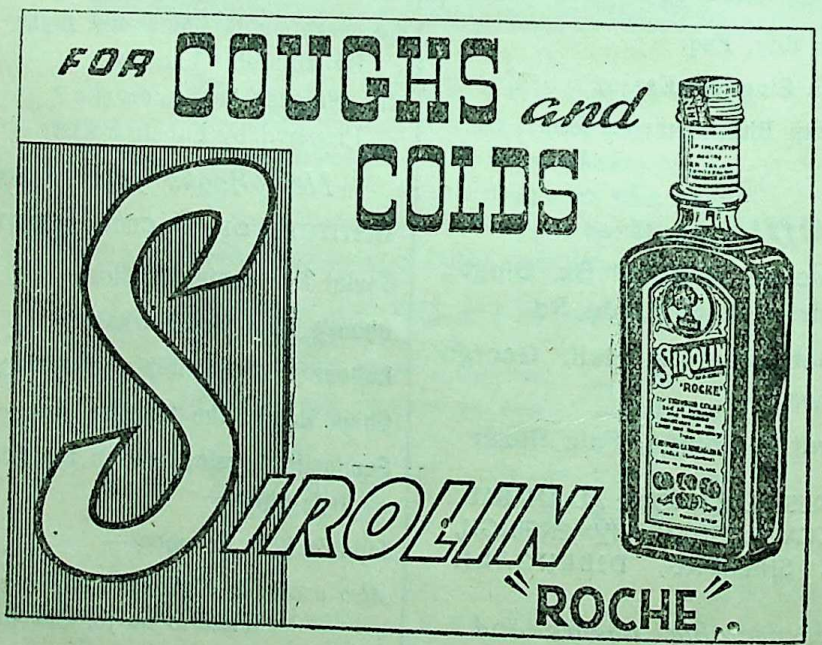

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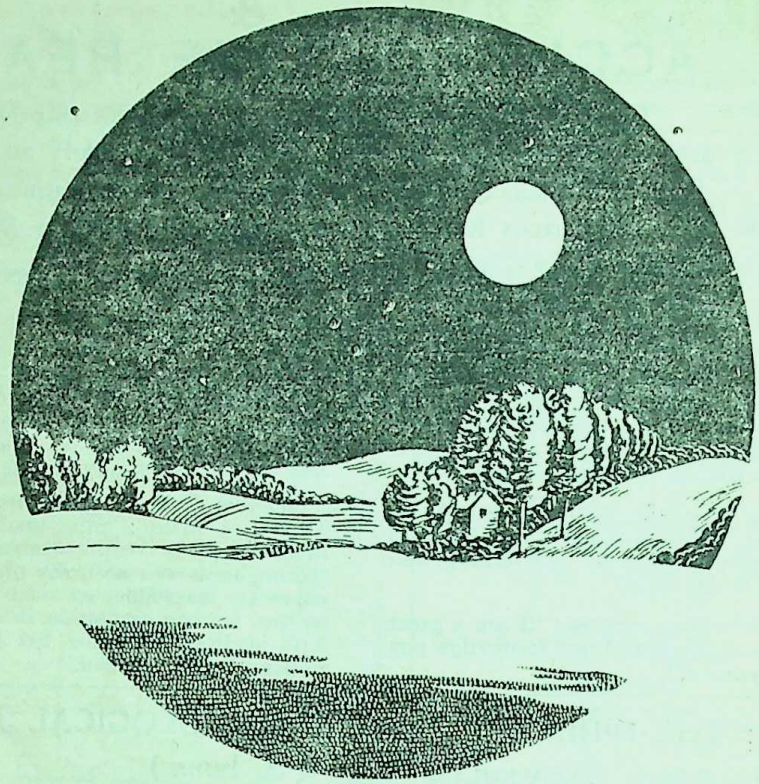

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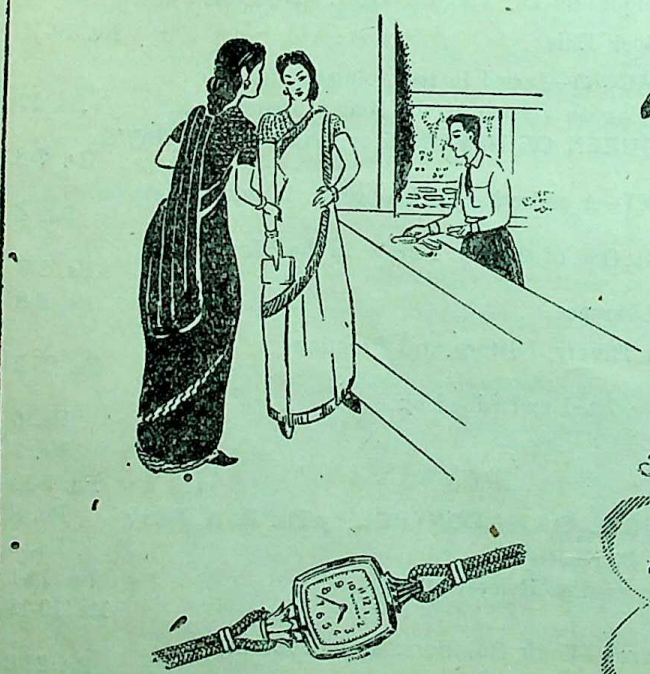

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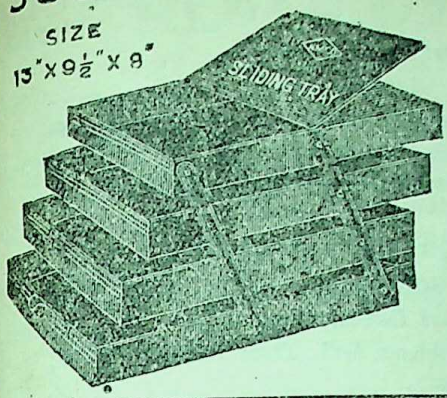

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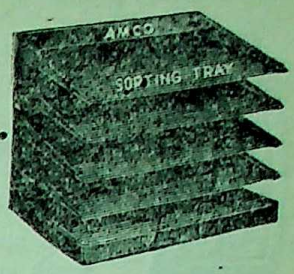

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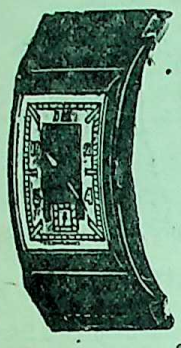

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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1947

VOL. LXXXII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 491

NOTES

After Plebiscite, Anschluss ?

It must be apparent to all students of current history that the Hitlerian technique is being slavishly imitated by the champions of Pakistan. There is the same utter disregard for truth in their propaganda, with the same reliance put on brazen lies, dressed up with half-truths, trimmed by complete suppression of unpleasant contrary facts and the whole reiterated with strong emphasis. These Hitlerian tactics were imitated in the referendums in the N.-W. F. Province and the Sylhet district, the identical mixture of incitement by false propaganda coupled with coercion with violence being used as was done by Hitler in Rhineland. Further the same absolute faith in brute force is apparent in every Pakistani move as was the case with the Nazis.

Fat dividends have accrued to the League in the immediate past through such moves. Without any struggle for liberty, without any sacrifice they have gained enormous concessions. And, true to the type, each gain merely went to whet the appetite of the recipient for further unearned and undeserved dividends. In the past, the conciliation and appeasement policy of the Congress was much to blame for such happenings, and even today in the Nehru Cabinet, there are members whose actions go to strengthen the belief of the Pakistanis in the Hitlerian doctrine of brute force and false propaganda. The Kashmir incident should open the eyes of Pandit Nehru to the danger of keeping such persons in positions of vantage in the government at home and abroad. It must be realized by him that the interests of the Indian Union cannot be sacrificed much longer just for the sake of mere emotional appeal or face-saving arrangements. The Union is now face to face with grim realities, and only those whose efficiency and staunchness to the cause of the Union is beyond all suspicion can now be kept in positions of trust. At home, we have evidence of vacillation, waste and inefficiency in all directions and abroad our case is going by default through negligence and incapacity of the persons who were put in charge. In short, we may say that the chief sources of strength of Pakistan are the weak spots in the set-up of the Government of the Indian Union

Let us face the facts. The League got away with most of their gains in the West and the East, not so much because of their strength in such quarters but because of the impulsive as well as reckless undertakings given by the heads of the Union Government in the first instance followed by irresolute vacillations in the face of the serious consequences that followed. Much was given away by them through fecklessness, that they had no justification to give, and not having looked sufficiently far ahead to gauge the *pros* and *cons* of their undertakings, they were unable to cope with the unfavourable situations as they developed.

The Kashmir incident is far from being closed as yet, but there can be no question now that it was a genuine *Anschluss* move on the Hitlerian pattern. It would have succeeded completely before now, but for the cupidity and bestial lust of the hordes that were employed for it, despite their indiscipline and lack of cohesion. The terrain was in their favour and the initiative was completely in their hands. Numerically they were immensely superior to the forces *in situ*, for tens of thousands swarmed in through five directions, and they were equipped with the most modern of fire-arms capable of easy transport. If once the Srinagar aerodrome had fallen into their hands, it would have been next to impossible for the forces of the Indian Union to cope with them, acting, as they would have had to then, from distant bases. The Srinagar aerodrome was occupied by the air-borne troops of the Union with hardly a minute to spare, and the Spitfires and Thunderbolts of the R. I. A. F. that played such havoc on the invading hordes, could strafe them with such sustained ferocity because they were based on Srinagar. Whatever the ultimate result be in Kashmir, it must never be forgotten that the invaders came within an ace of success, thanks to the gullibility of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the emotional complexes of some of the heads of the Indian Union.

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The Invasion of Kashmir

A contingent of Afridis, with some soldiers of Pakistan Army on leave and other desperadoes fully armed with modern weapons, entered the Kashmir State on October 23 from Manshera-Ramkot side in about 100 trucks, according to Mr. R. N. Batra, Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir. These 100 trucks, Mr. Batra points out, were driven by petrol released from the N.-W. F. P. rationed quota. On entering Kashmir, these men resorted to murder, arson, loot and rape. The attack synchronised with a statement made by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Premier of the N.-W. F. P., to the effect that he had asked Frontier men not to infiltrate into Kashmir.

Immediately on receipt of the information, the Prime Minister of India held consultations in New Delhi with the Ministers for Defence and States. Mr. V. B. Menon, Secretary to the States Ministry, left for Kashmir on October 25, to discuss with the State authorities matters relating to the supply of petrol and other essential commodities. The Government of India had no doubt that they were witnessing a repetition of the Hitlerian technique in Pakistan, only the Pakistan leaders have not the military genius and industrial resources to back their cunning. It was also believed that the Junagadh situation was created by Pakistan to screen its plans on the borders of Kashmir. Just when the Premier of the Frontier Province was assuring the world that no tribesmen would be allowed to enter Kashmir, thousands of them, fully armed, were actually crossing into Kashmir in trucks belonging to Pakistan. In fact, the *Hindustan Times* states that it is said that the Prime Minister of Pakistan himself visited Rawalpindi and gave his blessing to the entire plan to disrupt Kashmir "from within." It was Mr. Jinnah's declaration, that he would not interfere with the affairs of any State, that created a false sense of security among the States bordering Pakistan. How his agents worked behind the scenes are now apparent from the developments in Junagadh and Kashmir. But fortunately the Government of India have not been caught napping; Sardar Patel's Ministry has countered every move on the States chessboard so far.

Mr. Jinnah's statements on the minorities and his Id message of October 25, have also made it clear that he is following the Goebbel's technique, namely, "the bigger the lie the better."

The next 48 hours were crucial. On Sunday, October 26, Sardar Patel reported on the outcome of the flying visit to Kashmir of the States Secretary, Mr. Menon, Pandit Nehru gave the Ministers a gist of his talk with Sheikh Abdullah who arrived in Delhi by air. The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. Meherchand Mahajan, arrived in Delhi on October 26 and asked for help from the Indian Dominion. It was fully realised that Kashmir had been given a false sense of security by Mr. Jinnah's assurance, that every State was free to join or not to join Pakistan, which was given while preparations were set afoot to storm the State with the help of irregulars probably armed with Pakistan weapons and conveyed in Pakistan Army trucks. On October 26, the tribal column was within 30 miles of Srinagar.

On October 27, in view of the grave emergency, the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to the Indian Dominion. The Indian Dominion agreed to accept this accession, subject to the proviso that a referendum of the State's subject on this issue will be taken after law and order had been restored. The Maharaja also stated that he had decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with the Prime Minister. Indian troops were immediately despatched by air to defend the State and to protect the lives, property and honour of the people of Kashmir, 75 per cent of whom were Muslims. Indian Union fighter and fighter-bomber planes started fierce strafing operations against the invaders.

News reached New Delhi on October 28 that Indian troops in conjunction with 10,000 National Conference Volunteers, known as *Bachao Fauj* (Defence Army), had assumed complete control of the situation. Advance troops contacted the raiders at Baramula and halted their advance. The raiding columns were forced to retreat to the hills. The raiders had infiltrated up to the outskirts of Srinagar and threw the capital into darkness by damaging the main hydro-electric station. By October 29, reinforcements were sent to Srinagar, and on the same day a satisfactory solution of the problem of getting up a popular Interim Government in Kashmir was indicated in New Delhi by Sheikh Abdullah in a talk with pressmen. A Srinagar message to the *Hindustan Times* stated that Maj.-Gen. Kiani of the Pakistan Army was believed to be conducting the operations on behalf of the raiders.

On October 30, the *Daily Telegraph* of London published the following despatch from its Lahore correspondent :

> Mr. Jinnah at a dramatic midnight conference with his advisers at Government House, Lahore, sent a telephonic message to General Gracey, Acting C.-in-C., Pakistan Army, at his headquarters at Rawalpindi. Mr. Jinnah commanded Gen. Gracey to reply to the Indian Government's move in flying troops to Kashmir by sending troops immediately up Murree Road to recapture Baramula, occupying Srinagar, hold its airfield and cut off Banihal pass.

The despatch added :

> Gen. Gracey replied that the news had just reached him that Kashmir had joined the Indian Union and that to send troops there would be an act of war. He begged that the matter be referred first to Gen. Auchinlek. To this, Mr. Jinnah with some reluctance agreed.

Another London report suggested that Mr. Jinnah had ordered the regular troops of Pakistan to march into Kashmir but changed his mind on Field Marshal Auchinleck informing him that if his order was carried out British officers in the armies of Pakistan and India would resign.

Since the arrival of the Indian troops, the raiders have continuously been on the run. Sardar Patel and

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Sardar Baldev Singh visited Kashmir on November 4. They also flew to Jammu and held discussions with the Maharaja. Pandit Nehru has also paid a visit to Srinagar and Baramula.

Referring to Kashmir, Gandhiji in the course of one of his post-prayer speeches, said that he could not escape the conclusion that Pakistan Government was directly or indirectly encouragings the raid. On November 5, a Press Note of the Kashmir Government asserted that proof was forthcoming that certain officers of the Pakistan army were among the raiders who had to their account "numerous acts of carnage of defenceless men, and abduction of women and barbarism of all sorts."

A portion of the land convoy of armoured cars and light artillery from the Indian Union entered the State on November 6 through the Pathankot route. More re-inforcements by land and air began to pour in. An all out effort to push back the raiders beyond Uri could now be made. On November 10, Pandit Nehru flew to Kashmir and addressing a mass meeting at Srinagar assured the people that "as in the past so in the future, we (India and Kashmir) shall stand together and face every enemy. This is the pledge I give here today to your leader the Sher (Lion) of Kashmir." On November 12, Pandit Nehru visited Baramula. Dr. K. L. Shridharani, *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* special correspondent who had accompanied Panditji, described Baramula in the following words :

> When we passed through Pattan, we learned how ruthless and jungly the enemy had been. The entire town is burned and looted. There is not a soul stirring in that dead and deserted village. The chief idea of the enemy seems to be loot. They packed off brass fittings believing they are made of gold.
>
> Baramula was also dead as we entered it. We were merely led through burned streets lined up with looted shops. Ninety per cent of those shops are Moslem shops, but greed is thicker than blood among the unruly Afridis.
>
> As we passed the Jhelum bridge five to six youngsters spotted the Lion of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah and the Lion of India, Pandit Nehru. A large group of trembling women in tattered clothes came. A young beautiful Hindu girl came to Indira Gandhi and began to tell her tale. She said all the young Hindu and Sikh girls were sorted out and taken into a prison to be used by the invaders. A few Moslem girls were also taken. They were decked in beautiful looted *saries* by the invaders for the enjoyment of their eyes.
>
> We visited St. Joseph's convent. The lovely hospital with its fine surgical appliances is just rubble. The chapel's windows are broken. The library was looted by hillmen who cannot read. In the arbored lanes are lying photographs and letters of Catholic sisters who have been evacuated. And over the entire ruins hangs the sacrilegious smell of the rape of five nuns and their murder. An English couple was also murdered there.

The Call for Rescue

The sequence of events, after the mass invasion started, can be well-pictured from the documents and statements released to the press. Indian Union's aid came following the letters given below which passed between the Maharaja of Kashmir and Governor-General Mountbatten.

From the Maharaja : "My dear Lord Mountbatten,—I have to inform Your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request immediate assistance of your Government.

"As Your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the Dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both Dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides, my State has a common boundary with the Soviet Republic and China. In their external relations the Dominions of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact.

"I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede or whether it is not in the best interest of both Dominions and of my State to stand independent—of course with friendly and cordial relations with both. I accordingly approached the Dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this arrangement. The Dominion of India desired further discussion with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact, the Pakistan Government under the standstill agreement are operating post and telegraph system inside the State.

"Though we have got a standstill agreement with the Pakistan Government, that Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

"Afridis, soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes with modern weapons, have been allowed to infiltrate into the State at first in Poonch area, then in Sialkot and finally in mass in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Ramkote side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting.

"The Mahora power house, which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar, has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed.

"The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my Government, as a first step to overrunning the whole State.

"The mass infiltration of tribesmen drawn from distant areas of the N.-W. F. Province coming regularly in motor trucks using Mansehra-Muzaffarabad Road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons, cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the N.-W. F. Province and the Government of Pakistan.

"In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders

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or stop them from coming to my State. In fact, both the Pakistan Radio and Press have reported these occurrences. The Pakistan Radio even put out a story that a Provincial Government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State, both Muslims and non-Muslims, generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government.

"The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to freebooters. On this basis no civilised Government can exist or be maintained. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country.

"I may also inform Your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an Interim Government and ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

"If my State has to be saved, immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr. Menon is fully aware of the gravity of the situation and he will explain to you, if further explanation is needed.

"In haste and with kindest regards. Yours sincerely.—Hari Singh."

From Mountbatten to Maharajah: "My dear Maharajah Sahib,—Your Highness's letter dated the 26th October has been delivered to me by Mr. V. P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by Your Highness, my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.

"Meanwhile, in response to Your Highness's appeal for military aid, action has been taken today to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives, property and honour of your people.

"My Government and I note with satisfaction that Your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with your Prime Minister.

"With kind regards,—I remain, yours very sincerely,—Mountbatten of Burma."

Pandit Nehru's Broadcast

Consequent upon the military aid sent to Kashmir by the Indian Union, the Pakistan authorities broke into rabid abuse of the Indian Union's Government. Pandit Nehru's reply was characteristically restrained and statesmanlike.

The following is the full text of the Prime Minister's broadcast:

I want to speak to you tonight about Kashmir, not about the beauty of that famous valley, but about the horrors which it has had to face recently. We have passed through very critical days and the burden of taking vital and far-reaching decisions has fallen upon us. We have taken those decisions and I want to tell you about them.

Our neighbouring Government, using language which is not the language of Governments or even of responsible people, has accused the Government of India of fraud in regard to the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. I cannot emulate that language nor have I any desire to do so, for I speak for a responsible Government and a responsible people.

I agree, however, that there has been fraud and violence in Kashmir but the question is: "Who is responsible for it?" Already considerable parts of the Jammu and Kashmir State have been overrun by raiders from outside, well-armed and well-equipped and they have sacked and looted the towns and villages and put many of the inhabitants to the sword. Frightfulness suddenly descended upon this lovely and peaceful country and the beautiful city of Srinagar was on the verge of destruction.

I want to say at once that every step that we have taken in regard to Kashmir has been taken after the fullest thought and consideration of the consequences and I am convinced that what we have done was the right thing. Not to have taken those steps would have been a betrayal of a trust and cowardly submission to the law of the sword with its accompaniment of arson, rapine and slaughter.

For some weeks past we had received reports of infiltration of raiding bands into the State territory of Jammu province and also of a concentration of armed men near the border of Kashmir with the North-West Frontier Province. We were naturally concerned about this not only because of our close ties with Kashmir and her people, but also because Kashmir is a frontier territory adjoining great nations and, therefore, we were bound to take interest in the developments there. But we were anxious not to interfere and we took no step whatever to intervene even though a part of Jammu province was overrun by these raiders.

It has been stated that there were raids from the Jammu side across the Pakistan border and that there was communal trouble in Jammu and Muslims were killed and driven away. In the past we have not hesitated to condemn evil, whoever might have committed it whether Hindu or Sikh or Muslim, and so if Hindus or Sikhs or any functionaries of the State misbehaved in Jammu province, certainly we condemn them and regret their deeds.

But I have before me a detailed list of 95 villages in the Jammu province which have been destroyed by

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the raiders from Pakistan. Bhimbar, a considerable town, had also been sacked and destroyed. Other towns are besieged and a considerable part of Poonch and Mirpur areas is in possession of the raiders.

Does this indicate that aggression took place from the Kashmir side on to West Punjab or does it not show that there has been continuous organised aggression from West Punjab into Kashmir State? These raiders possess the latest type of modern arms. It is reported that they have used flame-throwers and a disabled tank has been discovered with them.

About this time we were asked by the Kashmir State to provide them with arms. We took no urgent steps about it and although sanction was given by our States and Defence Ministries, actually no arms were sent.

On the night of October 24, I learnt of another raid, this time from the Abbottabad-Mansara road, which enters Kashmir near Muzaffarabad. The raiders killed many persons there including the Dist. Magistrate and were proceeding along the Jhelum Valley road towards Srinagar. The State forces were spread out in small numbers all over the State and they could not stop this armed and well-organised raid. The civil population, Hindu and Muslim, fled before the raiders.

It was on the 24th night that for the first time a request was made to us on behalf of the Kashmir State for accession and military help. On the 25th morning, we considered this in the Defence Committee, but no decision was taken about sending troops in view of the obvious difficulties of the undertaking. On the 26th morning we again considered this matter. The situation was even more critical then. The raiders had sacked several towns and had destroyed the great power house at Mahora which supplies electricity to the whole of Kashmir. They were on the point of entering the Valley. The fate of Srinagar and the whole of Kashmir hung in the balance.

We received urgent messages for aid not only from the Maharaja's Government, but from representatives of the people, notably that great leader of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the President of the National Conference.

Both the Kashmir Government and the National Conference pressed us to accept the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union.

We decided to accept to this accession and to send troops by air, but we made a condition that the accession would have to be considered by the people of Kashmir later when peace and order were established. We were anxious not to finalise anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It was for them ultimately to decide.

And here let me make clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that State. It was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the instrument of accession of Kashmir.

We decided to send troops on the afternoon of October 26. Srinagar was in peril and the situation was urgent and critical. Our staff worked hard that day and night and at day-break on the 27th our troops went by air. They were small in numbers to begin with, but immediately on arrival they rushed into action to stop the invader. Their gallant Commander, a brave officer of our army, was killed the next day.

Since then troops and equipment have been flown over daily and I should like to express my high appreciation and the appreciation of my Government for the fine work which our staff have done as well as the pilots and the air crews who have thrown themselves into this adventure with heart and soul. The Air Lines have co-operated with us fully and to them also I am grateful. Our youngmen have shown how they can rise to the occasion in moment of crisis to serve their country.

Srinagar was in peril and the invader was almost on its doorstep. There was no administration left there, no troops, no police. Light and power had failed and there were a vast number of refugees there, and yet Srinagar functioned without obvious panic and the shops were opened and people went about the streets. To what was this miracle due? Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues of the National Conference and their unarmed volunteers, Muslim and Hindu and Sikh, took charge of the situation, kept order and prevented panic.

It was a wonderful piece of work that they did at a moment when the nerves of most people might have failed them. They did so because of the strength of their organisation, but even more so because they were determined to protect their country from the ruthless invader who was destroying their country and trying to compel them by terrorism to join Pakistan. Whatever the future may hold, the people of the Valley of Kashmir have exhibited during these past few days remarkable courage, capacity for organisation and unity.

It would be well if this lesson was understood by the whole of India which has been poisoned by communal strife. Under the inspiration of a great leader, Sheikh Abdullah, the people of the Valley, Muslim and Hindu and Sikh were together for the defence of their common country against the invader. Our troops could have done little without this popular support and co-operation.

The Maharaja of Kashmir deserves to be congratulated on his decision to make Sheikh Abdullah the head of the administration at this critical juncture. That was a wise step which other Rulers might well follow, making their people trustees and defenders of freedom.

It must be remembered, therefore, that the struggle in Kashmir is a struggle of the people of Kashmir under popular leadership against the invader. Our troops are there to help in this struggle and as soon as Kashmir is free from the invader, our troops will have no further necessity to remain there and the fate of Kashmir will be left in the hands of the people of Kashmir.

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We have passed through days of peril not only for Kashmir but for the whole of India. That peril is less now but it is by no means over and many dangers confront us. We have to be very vigilant and well-prepared for whatever may happen. The first step in this preparation is to put an end completely to every manner of communal strife in India and to stand up as a united nation to face every danger which might threaten our freedom. External danger can only be faced effectively when there is internal peace and order and an organised nation.

We talk about the invaders and raiders in Kashmir and yet these men are fully armed and well-trained and have competent leadership. All of these have come across and from Pakistan territory. We have a right to ask the Pakistan Government how and why these people could come across the Frontier Province or West Punjab, and how they have been armed so effectively. Is this not a violation of International Law and an unfriendly act towards a neighbour country? Is the Pakistan Government too weak to prevent armies marching across its territory to invade another country or is it willing that this should happen? There is no third alternative.

We have asked the Pakistan Government repeatedly to stop these raiders from coming and to withdraw those who have come. It should be easy for them to stop them for the roads into Kashmir are very few and have to pass over bridges. We on our part have no intention of using our troops in Kashmir when danger of invasion is passed.

We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given and the Maharaja has supported it. Not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it.

We are prepared when peace and law and order have been esatblished to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer.

Meanwhile, we have given our word to the people of Kashmir to protect them against the invader and we shall keep our pledge.—Jai Hind.

Sheikh Abdullah Takes Charge

Sheikh Abdullah, a Muslim of the Muslims, has fought the hardest and suffered the most of all Kashmiris for the freeing of his country's peoples. He leads by far the biggest political party in Kashmir and the majority of his fololwers are Muslims. His first statement on the Kashmir situation is given below:

"The course of action adopted by invaders is aimed at coercing us and we will resist it to the last man," said Sheikh Abdullah, Premier, Kashmir State, on the occasion of his assumption of office. He added: "I request Mr. Jinnah to use his influence and power to withdraw the invaders. I am ready to go over to Karachi to meet him, if he so desires."

Sheikh Abdullah added: "Power has not come to me but to the humbiest of my countrymen and it will be used in such a way as to stop exploitation of man by man and injustice and nepotism."

He continued: "To all lovers of freedom in India and Pakistan I send my greetings. We want their good wishes and help to enable us to consolidate our freedom and drive out from our homeland the wanton aggressor who by his invasion has created this grave national emergency for us and precipitated the issue of accession by the Maharaja, so that timely help could come to the State from the Government of India.

"On behalf of all my colleagues and countrymen I offer my thanks to them for this help and congratulate them on the generous and democratic attitude they have shown which I wish to make known to all the world and particularly to the people and Government of Pakistan.

"The stipulation for final acceptance of the Instrument of Accession is that when they are really free they will be given an opportunity to register their choice in the matter of accession, or independence freely and without duress from anybody in or outside the State. Freedom before accession has been both our watchward and policy, and we will stand by it. What form this referendum will take and under what conditions it will be held, can be decided later."

Concluding Sheikh Abdullah requested Mr. Jinnah "to accept the democratic principle of the sovereignty of people of our State including as it does, 78 per cent Muslims whose free and unhampered choice must count in the matter of final accession."

Sheikh Abdullah addressed a rally of police force in Srinagar on Saturday. He reminded all officers and men of the force of their duty by their country in this emergency. He said those who have sympathy with raiders would be considered traitors and will suffer the fate of traitors.

He pointed out how the cowardly raiders, instead of coming face to face with the army, put on Kashmiri clothes and went into villages and by firing a few shots created panic to enable them to loot people. Sheikh Abdullah wanted the police to arrest all such people at once.

Concluding he said: "We have to build up the edifice of this country like brothers. We don't want to be slaves of either Pakistan or Hindustan but we want Kashmir to be free under His Highness so that every one of us will be a sharer in the administration of the country."

Pakistan's Reaction

The dreams of the easy conquest of Kashmir being rudely disturbed, by the prompt action by the air-borne forces and fighter-bomber aircraft of the Indian Union and by the fearless front shown by Sheikh Abdullah's stalwart volunteer forces, the Goebbels of Pakistan violently erupted into a typical mendacious speech.

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Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, broadcasting from Lahore on 4.11.47, said: "Today the people of Kashmir are fighting not only for their freedom but also for their very existence. They have been caught in the meshes of a widespread plan for extermination of Muslims. This plan has succeeded in Alwar, in Bharatpur, in Patiala, in Faridkot and in Kapurthala. And all these are States that have acceded to the Indian Union."

"After the massacre of Muslims in the East Punjab, and the East Punjab States, the forces of annihilation turned on Jammu and Kashmir. Towards the end of September, the I.N.A. and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh shifted their headquarters from Amritsar to Jammu and thousands of so-called Sikh refugees came from the East and not the West Punjab. They came armed with modern weapons and were provided with more weapons by the State authorities. They set about their formal business in Jammu and Poonch repeating the horrible drama that they had enacted in the East Punjab.

"It is the oppressed, enslaved and entrapped people of Kashmir that are struggling for their freedom and now for their lives, and their sympathisers whom the Indian Government is helping to wipe out. The declared object of the Indian Government is to strengthen the Maharaja's hand. How blood-stained these hands are, is quite well-known to the leaders of India even though they have chosen to forget this fact now.

"To present the rebellion of an enslaved people to the world as an invasion from outside, simply because some outsiders have shown active sympathy with it, is dishonest re-writing of history. Much has been made of the modern arms that are alleged to have been used against the army. It is, however, forgotten that many of those who are fighting the invading troops of India, come from the 60,000 ex-army men of Poonch who are not incapable of capturing the arms of their enemy.

In the course of his broadcast Mr. Liaquat Ali said: "I wish to talk to you about Kashmir, because the affairs of Kashmir have reached a critical phase and have now assumed international importance and because I know that Kashmir is uppermost in your mind as it is in mine.

"In the exhilaration of self-styled gallantry and valour, some erstwhile sympathisers of the oppressed people of Kashmir seem to have forgotten the history of this beautiful land. Let us, therefore, briefly recall it for their benefit.

"This piece of god's earth, along with the human beings inhabiting its hills and valleys, was, under the infamous Amritsar Treaty, sold by the British to a Dogra chieftain for the paltry sum of 75 lakhs of rupees. The present Maharaja inherits the people of Kashmir from his forefathers as though they were so much cattle. It is this immoral and illegal ownership that the gallantry and valour of Indian troops is defending today by spilling the blood of the oppressed slaves who had been bartered away by the British.

"During the past hundred years of Dogra rule, this highly gifted and most attractive race of Kashmiris has been dragged down to the lowest depths of misery. In recent years they have made many attempts to fight for their freedom. Time and again they have been thwarted, but time and again they have risen to defy tyranny.

In the beginning of October, news of the bestial deeds perpetrated on the innocent people of Kashmir began to trickle through. In a short time, the trickle became a torrent. During villages could be seen from the Muree hills. Thousands of terror-stricken refugees poured into Pakistan.

It was at this stage that the people of Kashmir, in sheer desperation, turned on their oppressors. Kashmiris and specially the inhabitants of Poonch have many relatives in Hazara and in the West Punjab. Consequently feeling in certain parts of Pakistan rose very high and some people from the N.-W. F. P. and the tribal areas, stirred by the atrocities in Kashmir, rushed to the aid of their brethren.

The stress has deliberately been shifted to the so-called raiders as if the people of Kashmir themselves had suddenly slipped off their minds the memory of the century-old oppression and had overnight become enamoured of their tyrannical oppressors.

Let us therefore not be misled by the laboured picture, so elaborately drawn, of the "gallant" India army saving the beautiful land of Kashmir and its people from invading hordes. It is not invading hordes but the patriots of Kashmir that the India army is shooting and bombing. It is not Kashmir but a tottering despot that the India Government and their camp followers are trying to save.

In his broadcast the Prime Minister of India has been tilting at the windmills.

The Armies of Pakistan have not marched into Kashmir as the armies of India, in one guise or another, marched into Junagadh and Manavadar when these States acceded to Pakistan. The India Government regarded the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan as a threat to their security. The accession of Kashmir to India is a much greater threat to the security of Pakistan. We do not recognise this accession. The accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud, perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly ruler with the aggressive help of the India Government. The release of Sheikh Abdullah who had been convicted of high treason and the continued imprisonment of Muslim Conference Leaders who had been convicted of mere technical offences is only a part of the conspiracy. When the history of this tragic episode comes to be written, it will reveal the treachery of many self-styled patriots and lovers of justice but the patriots of Kashmir will sooner or later prick this bubble, no matter how strong the forces arrayed against them. Our heart goes out to them, our brethren, in this mortal struggle. For the choice before them now is freedom or death. If the plans of their enemies suc-

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ceed, they will be exterminated as Muslims in various other parts of India have been exterminated.

It is presumably after such extermination that the India Government propose a referendum should be held. What use is a referendum after the voters have been driven away from their homes, or silenced in death?

The world knows how we have consistently and repeatedly tried to reach a better understanding with the Kashmir Government. The Kashmir Government have ignored or rejected all these approaches. On the second October I suggested to the Prime Minister of Kashmir that all questions outstanding between the two States including that of peoples under the Stand-still Agreement and mutual accusations of border raids should be discussed by representatives of the two Governments. The Prime Minister of Kashmir replied that at the moment he was too busy to discuss these matters. Nevertheless we sent a representative to Srinagar to discuss these matters with the State. The Prime Minister, however, refused to hold discussions with him and he had to return. On October 14, the Prime Minister of Kashmir in a telegram to me threatened that unless Pakistan agreed to an impartial inquiry he would be compelled to ask for outside assistance to withstand the unfriendly acts of the Pakistan people on his border. I at once accepted the proposal for an impartial inquiry and asked the Prime Minister of Kashmir to nominate a representative for this purpose. The Government of Kashmir have since made no further reference to this matter. On October 20, the Qaid-e-Azam, in reply to a telegram from the Kashmir Government called attention to the repeated attempts of Pakistan to improve its relations with Kashmir and asked for the Prime Minister of Kashmir to come to Karachi and talk things over. No reply was sent to this request. The Qaid-e-Azam also pointed out that the threat to call in outside help amounted almost to an ultimatum and showed that the real aim of the Kashmir Government's policy was to seek an opportunity to join the Indian Union by means of a *coup d'etat*.

The refusal of Kashmir Government to send a representative to discuss things and to nominate a representative for an impartial enquiry and their failure to reply to the Qaid-e-Azam's invitation to the Prime Minister to come to Karachi, their deliberate causing of disturbances in their State by employing their troops to attack Muslims, the fact that by 9 a.m. on the morning of the day on which Kashmir's accession was accepted, Indian airborne troops had landed in Srinagar clearly show the existence of a plan for accession against the will of the people, possible only by occupation of the country by troops.

Even though all sorts of accusations were made agianst Pakistan by the Kashmir Government (and it was to redress these alleged wrongs that the Indian Government claims to have sent military aid to the Kashmir Government) yet at no stage did the Indian Dominion ask the Pakistan Government about these accusations and allegations or try to find a solution of this problem by joint consultation. It was only after India had accepted Kashmir's accession and sent forces into Kashmir that the Pakistan Government was informed of the action.

After the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the India Government the Qaid-e-Azam proposed that an immediate conference should be held in Lahore. It was to be attended by the Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister. His invitation was accepted and the conference was to be held on October 29. At the last minute the conference was postponed as Pandit Nehru fell ill. It was arranged then that the conference should be held on the first of November and attended by the Governors-General and two Prime Ministers. This conference also did not take place because on the morning of November 1, again at the last minute we were informed that Pandit Nehru was not well enough to come to Lahore. In this way the idea of the conference receded into the background so far as the Indian Dominion is concerned. If the India Government really wanted to discuss this most vital and urgent matter surely the Deputy Prime Minister could have come in place of Pandit Nehru. On November 1, Lord Mountbatten came to Lahore alone to attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council and took the opportunity to see the Qaid-e-Azam. At this meeting certain suggestions were made to Lord Mountbatten, but no further communication has been received by me or the Qaid-e-Azam from the India Government. Instead Pandit Nehru has chosen to hurl across the world reckless accusation against the Pakistan Government regardless of facts. His broadcast was arranged after Lord Mountbatten's return to Delhi and what the validity of his accusations is, I have already told you. That is where the latter stands today. The issues are for you and the world to judge."

Sardar Patel's Refutal

Sardar Patel immediately challenged Liaquat Ali Khan's statement, as given below:

"History has been dishonestly and mischievously distorted: freebooters and looters have been dubbed as liberators and heroes; the wanton and mass tragedies inflicted by the raiders on the innocent, helpless and peaceful inhabitants of villages in the happy valley have been treated as matters of no consequence and what is virtually professionally directed invasion from a friendly (!) territory has been represented as a rising of the people against the tyranny and oppression of a ruling race."

Thus said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a rejoinder to certain charges made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in a recent broadcast.

"The grim tragedy," Sardar Patel added, "which overtook the British members of a religious order at Baramulla and the details of which are too heart-rending to tell and the murder in cold blood of European families there are sufficient to reveal the

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true character of the so-called missionaries of liberation and emancipation."

Sardar Patel says: "It would be useless on my part to attempt to deal at any length with the many nightmares and imaginary visions of a widespread plan of the extermination of Muslims in the States which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has conjured up in the broadcast made from his sick-bed.

"One might expect hallucinations in a state of frenzy, but the stage of delirium which the broadcast most certainly exhibits cannot but have filled his listeners and readers with amazement and apprehension.

"The ceaseless hysteric outbursts of the Prime Minister of N.-W. F. P. together with the known composition of these raiders and their equipment fully bear out the interest taken by a neighbouring State the leaders of which, more than anyone else, have constantly harped in the past on the independent character of the States after the lapse of Paramountcy and the entire freedom of choice in the matter of accession which vested in their rulers.

"As if Kashmir alone was not an adequate target for the enormous shafts of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he has encompassed within his indictment the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala which, be it noted, are States that have acceded to the Indian Union, a State with which again Pakistan has friendly relations.

"As usual, however, acts have either been ignored or been given a distortion to suit the picture which the Prime Minister deliberately intended to draw.

"The troubles in Alwar and Bharatpur occurred when the Prime Minister of Pakistan was a distinguished member of the Indian Cabinet and the relationship with the States was, as he ought to have known, conducted by the Crown representative.

"The initiative in those disturbances was taken by Meos* with whom the Jats and Rajputs have had occasional feuds. Houses of non-Muslims were burnt, their cattle were stolen, and their farms were set on fire.

"I have no doubt that but for the poison of hate and the communal virus which had been injected into the body politic by the League propaganda of two-nation theory, this feud like many others would have been settled in a satisfactory and amicable manner. Instead, interested parties from outside took a hand until a situation was reached when neither side could give to the other any mercy.

"Nevertheless Meos in thousands have returned to these States and those that wish to go, neither persuasion nor arguments would succeed in restraining for they know the destruction of non-Muslim homes and property which they have wrought.

"As regards the States of Patiala, Faridkot, and Kapurtala, I see no reason why the Pakistan Prime Minister should have, unless it was for his ulterior ends, isolated them from the general flare-up which has overtaken the East and West Punjabs and for which not one single community is to be blamed entirely.

"If the rulers of these States have not been able to prevent communal disturbances to a degree which would have prevented evacuation of Muslims, they share that discredit with other Governments, including the Pakistan Government, who so ignominiously failed to arrest the tide.

"The Pakistan Prime Minister talks of a widespread plan or the extermination of Muslims. Of course, it did not suit his purpose to mention that brutal and mass murders which have taken place in a State which was quite susceptible to their influence and which has sometime ago acceded to the Pakistan Federation, namely, the State of Bahawalpur, where non-Muslims have suffered untold losses in men, women and children and property. But obviously Pakistan holds that what is sauce for the Pakistan goose cannot be a sauce for the Indian gander.

While non-Muslims can be exterminated without remorse and ruthlessly from Pakistan and its neighbouring States, producing its inevitable reaction in the Indian Union, the blame must rest with the latter, for the inhabitants of the latter have refused meekly to submit to the fate of their co-religionists in the former. It is this perverted logic on which the whole conception and policy of the Government of Pakistan are based and it is this perverted logic which the Pakistan Prime Minister has left to his appreciative audience and the world to judge.

The Pakistan Prime Minister has also made the following statement:

"When we asked the Indian Government to protect the Muslims in these States, 'we were told that events were the States' internal affairs and India Government could not interfere'."

Whenever this question was broached between the two Governments, the limitations imposed by constitutional relationship on interference in the internal administration of a State were mutually recognised. The last time when this was formally placed on record was when the representatives of two Governments met in Delhi on September 19, 1947. In fact, in the past the League leaders have themselves been loud in their protestations of the absolute independence and sovereignty of the States on the lapse of Paramountcy both in the internal and external spheres.

It does not now lie in the mouth of the Pakistan Prime Minister to twist the constitutional relationship between the Union and the acceding States in such a manner as to convey the impression that the Indian Union did not intervene while tragedies were overtaking the Muslim population in these States. If he is serious or sincere, let him first set his own house in order and take action against Bahawalpur State, which has acceded to Pakistan, and which is no less guilty of atrocities and cruelties than the States in the Indian Union referred to by him.

With the Pakistan Government, however, it is

* A Muslim tribe.

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quite clear that such distortions, misrepresentations, concealments and grossly prejudiced and unbalanced versions are becoming the tricks of the trade. Before the last war and during it the whole population of the world has become familiar with the kind of propaganda which was associated with the name of the late Dr. Goebbels. That propaganda is now reborn, but I am sure that the world, to whose judgment the Prime Minister of Pakistan has left matters, will not be deceived.

Sheikh Abdullah's Reply to Liaquat Ali Khan

Sheikh Abdullah's exposure of the mendacious nature of Liaquat Ali Khan's broadcast, was as forthright as Sardar Patel's.

Sheikh Abdullah, head of the Emergency Administration in Kashmir, today invited observers from all countries, especially the Islamic countries, "to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the homes of those very Muslims for whose deliverance they pretended they were coming in the name of Islam as 'friends from Pakistan'."

In an appeal to "all lovers of Kashmir all the world over and to the sons of Kashmir in whichever part of the world they may be," Sheikh Abdullah urges them to do their best to contribute towards the relief and rehabilitation of the people of Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah says: "During the last few years a war-torn world has been witness to the dark depths to which treachery can sink in pursuit of conquest through aggression. But what has happened to Kashmir adds altogether a new pattern in perfidy.

"Thousands of tribal Pathans, equipped with mechanised weapons of war, swooped down on us, not merely as armed bandits but as a centrally directed force *with the avowed object of subjugating our land to the vassalage of Pakistan at the point of the gun.*

"Unaware of such danger ahead of us, and without any warning from outside, we found that the invaders had almost pierced through the heart of our country. They were perilously threatening Srinagar, the capital, itself.

"Our people were literally stunned, not because they were afraid of losing their lives, but because they realized how serious a challenge this invasion was to their will to be independent and to decide their own destiny. This grave realization ignited in the hearts of the proud freedom-lovers of Kashmir flaming patriotism which, I am happy to say, created in them a granite will to resist aggression.

"The old administration had virtually collapsed and the people themselves, under the leadership of their national organization, the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, took over the momentous task of regulating civic life, fighting the fifth column, and facing the enemy at the front.

"At this grimmest hour of our trial arrived the rescue forces of the Indian Union and saved Kashmir. India is grateful for their true friendliness in our most distressed hour.

"Today the worst is over, the enemy is on the run, but the danger still remains. But I am confident that no one of the most insolent invaders will be left on our sacred soil in the near future.

"This invasion has left deep wounds in our hearts. Our beautiful land lies despoiled with hundreds of villages and precious paddy amounting to thousands of maunds reduced to ashes. Prosperous Pattan is nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins, and beautiful Baramula has been freely looted by filthy hands.

"They are criminals before history who exalted these invaders as liberators of the people of Kashmir. They violated and abducted women. They massacred children. They looted everything and everyone.

"They even dishonoured the Holy Quran and converted mosques into brothels. Today every Kashmiri loathes the invading tribesmen and their arch-inspirers who have been responsible for such horrors in a land which is peopled with an overwhelming majority of Muslims.

"Their loot-laden retreating hands have left destitution and want behind. Winter with all its severity is fast coming.

"The needs of our people for rehabilitation are most urgent. Our resources are limited."

After appealing for contributions for the rehabilitation of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah assures that aid would be distributed on a non-sectarian basis. "The misery of the people, like their prosperity, is indivisible. We shall rebuild the heaven of Kashmir over again, and soon, with the goodwill and friendship of the friends of culture and civilization all over the world."

Neutral Reports

If independent opinion be needed to confirm the veracity of Sheikh Abdullah's statement, then the following reports that appeared later in the British-owned daily *Statesman* should settle the question. Incidentally, the *Statesman* has distinct pro-Pakistan leanings.

The day before the Kashmir invaders entered Baramula, Mr. J. E. Thomson, formerly a major in the Worcestershire Regiment and now manager of a timber company and saw mill, cycled to Srinagar to seek help in evacuating the women patients from the Mission hospital in the town. For several days the road had been crowded with refugees and the cry, "The tribesmen are coming" was on everyone's lips. He tried to return to the town with the first Sikh troops that were flown in from India. They were driven back and he was captured by tribesmen and confined with 60 other people in a ward of the hospital, where he learnt the story of the reign of terror during his absence.

Mr. Thomson, who is now in Calcutta, said in an interview that the first that the residents of Baramula

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knew of the arrival of the tribesmen was the sound of shots fired from the hillsides into the town. Soon the streets were full of Pathans, carrying rifles and wearing bandoliers; all had bags in which to carry their loot. One party attacked the priests' quarters and looted them, but the leader prevailed on his men not to murder the occupants. Another party entered one of the wards; an Anglo-Indian woman patient was stabbed and the nurse attending her was shot.

The Mother Superior of the hospital, who was in another ward, hurried across with the Assistant Mother Superior, on hearing the firing. The tribesmen fired at them with a Sten gun, wounding the Mother Superior and killing her assistant.

Lt.-Col. Dykes, who was sitting outside another ward with his wife, was shot when he approached the invaders to plead with them to cease firing. His wife was killed and her baby thrown into a well. The husband of one of the lady doctors next hurried in and was robbed and killed.

Mr. Thomson said that the first wave of looting tribesmen *were followed by more organized and disciplined troops* and finally by leaders of the expedition. One man, attended by a large retinue and treated with great respect by the tribesmen described himself as a *pir* and offered to help in the evacuation of the women.

Mr. Thomson said that the tribesmen were well-equipped with *lorries, petrol, ammunition and 2-inch and 3-inch mortars. Some lorries were armed with guns which might have been taken from armoured cars.*

He was firmly convinced that the attack was carefully organized and described Garhi Habibullah on the Pakistan side of the frontier as the invaders' rallying point. "If they had not stayed in Baramula to have a feast of celebration which went on for a couple of days they could not have failed to have taken Srinagar."

Mr. Thomson praised the manner in which Sheikh Abdullah took control of the situation when Srinagar was swept by a wild panic and people fought to get on buses and tongas to escape down the Jammu road. Order was restored and there was a remarkable atmosphere of confidence although the raiders were but a few miles away.

The following are extracts from a letter written by Father Shanks, Principal of the Baramula Convent to Father Meyer, Principal of the Presentation Convent, Rawalpindi: "About 60 of us are cooped up in one ward in the hospital. It is impossible to get any transport from the military here and we have no communication with anywhere else.

"Meanwhile we have no clothes, no bedding, no food and are in danger of all kinds from bands of marauding tribesmen. Everything is ruined; *the college, hospital, church and convent and the bungalow has been burnt down.* We are in danger of bombing and machine-gunning from the air as there are military camps in both compounds and they have already machine-gunned us twice. We must be got out immediately, preferably by a British convoy and evacuated either to Abbotabad or Pindi. If the British cannot do it, the Pakistan Government must be forced to do it.

"Six of us were killed on Monday and two others are lying seriously wounded . . . the others are unhurt but in a constant state of nerves bordering on panic and cannot hang on much longer . . . we shall need at least three lorries, well-guarded, as there are still tribesmen coming up the road."

Pandit Nehru's Reply

Pandit Nehru replied to Liaquat Ali Khan on November 6 in a statement couched in dignified language.

"The way things have been shaping themselves during the past two months, it is evident that India is faced with grave dangers from all sides," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting here this evening.

If the people of India, the Prime Minister warned, did not prepare themselves adequately and immediately to meet the situation, their freedom may prove to be short-lived.

Some time back, Pandit Nehru said, India had to tackle the problem of Junagadh, Mongrol and Babariawad and while she was employing her energies to solve it, the question of Kashmir arose. Kashmir was a much more serious issue and it had become quite clear that Junagadh was used merely to divert the attention of the Government of India and to hide the preparations which were being made for the invasion of Kashmir.

"The Government had reasons to believe," Pandit Nehru said, "that preparations for this attack on Kashmir were being made for the past many months. Kashmir was invaded by people from the tribal areas and other parts of Pakistan. The invading armies had modern weapons and were directed by officers of the Pakistan Army. We, however, succeeded in flying our troops for the defence of Kashmir and thus prevented the fall of Srinagar."

"Kashmir," Pandit Nehru said, "was strategically important. It was situated on the borders of two great countries. China and Russia, and the Indian Government did not like the idea of its collapsing before *goondas*. But that was not the only or even the main reason for our trying to defend Kashmir against foreign aggression. We have pledged to defend her because the call for help came from the patriotic people of that State and their great leader, Sheikh Abdullah."

The way the people of Kashmir had faced the situation under the guidance of the National Conference was a lesson for the people of India. The National Conference had, for 17 years, fought valiantly for their freedom. They had also successfully fought the reactionary elements in the State like the Muslim Conference, the handmaid of the Muslim League." When this freedom struggle was about to bear fruit, Pandit Nehru said, the National Conference leaders decided that their homeland and their independence

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threatened by invaders from Pakistan and they had no option but to ask the Government of India to come to their rescue

"India has taken upon herself the task of defending Kashmir and it will not rest till the entire area is cleared of each and every looter," he declared.

Paying tribute to the work done by the volunteers of the National Conference, Pandit Nehru said that without their help it would not have been possible for the Indian Army to do anything. The raiders were only a few miles from Srinagar and the people had heard stories of what they had done to the villages and towns that they had captured, yet they did not give way to panic and disorder. Their hearts were full of fears and apprehension but normal life went on as before. They took upon themselves the management of the city so that every soldier could be made available to fight the enemy. "The common people of Kashmir rose to the occasion. They gauged the seriousness of the situation and decided that after carrying on a struggle against the rule of the Maharaja they must not surrender to an invading army without giving a proper fight, and they have achieved success in their work."

The formation of an Azad Provisional Government of Kashmir was announced from Pakistan, but the people of Kashmir were not taken in by such propaganda. They could not mistake the invading armies for "fighters for their freedom."

Referring to Pakistan Government's explanation that it could not check tribesmen from crossing over to Kashmir boundary, the Prime Minister said that this could mean only two things. Either the Government of Pakistan was too weak to stop its own men or it was a willing party to what the tribesmen did.

The attitude of the Pakistan Government and the manner in which its members had expressed themselves on this issue made it clear that the raiders had their wholehearted support.

India had made it quite clear that all States must accede to a particular dominion at the will of their people, and that the question should not be decided by the rulers alone. Wherever there was a dispute over the issue of accession, India suggested that a plebiscite be held to get the verdict of the people.

It had proposed such a procedure for Junagadh and had not the slightest hesitation in doing so in the case of Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru then referred to the complaint that the Union Government's statements on the issue were tame as compared with those coming from the Government of the other Dominion which were couched in strong words. Use of abusive language, the Prime Minister said, did not denote strength. The Government of India could not stoop to using the expressions employed by the members of the Pakistan Government. Their declarations had always been sober and dignified, as was proper for a responsible Government, and they had no intention of giving up that practice.

What was the duty of the people of India at this critical juncture, he asked. They must strive to strengthen the hands of their Government in order to enable her to cope effectively with dangers which threatened her. For this peace at home was absolutely essential.

At present the Indian armies were employed in maintaining law and order in cities like Delhi. This was not their real job, he said.

The Prime Minister advised them to build the military strength of India and to add to the country's production. "You must not be carried away by momentary passions. If we cannot get rid of our internal problems immediately we shall see ourselves coming to a sad end."

"Communal fighting has resulted in the transfer from one dominion to the other of several million persons and it has dislocated the entire life of the country. If communal warfare goes on any longer, it will make India absolutely bankrupt," he declared.

Hatred for members of other communities would carry them nowhere. It was wrong to decide whether a person was an enemy or a friend on the basis of the religion that he professed. Maybe it was being done in Pakistan, but "why must we degrade ourselves by comparing our actions with those the people of Pakistan?"

It was a pity, he said, that the first page of the history of free India would be a record of killings and other such deeds.

Pandit Nehru criticised the demand for a Hindu State or "Rajastan." It was basically wrong and was a complete negation of the principle for which they had fought and which were accepted by all civilised nations of the world.

Mr. Menon Speaks in London

The High Commissioner for India, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, told his first conference with representatives of the world Press in London today that inescapable conclusions on the situation in Kashmir were that the passage of the invaders into Kashmir had the sanction or connivance of the Pakistan Government, or that the latter had not the desire or the power to stop them.

These were also the most charitable conclusions, added Mr. Menon. The invaders could not have got into Kashmir except through Pakistan, and there were large formations of Pakistan troops in the various areas through which the raiders had gone.

The invaders were heavily armed with small arms, but the fact that they also had trench mortars, machine-guns and even flame-throwers, showed without the slightest doubt that there was a proper organisation behind them. It was wrong to call it a raid, it was an invasion.

Stressing that Kashmir's future must depend upon the will of the people of that State, Mr. Menon said the Government of India had persuaded

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Maharajah Sir Hari Singh to abide with that will both in regard to the internal organisation of the country and its relations with neighbouring States.

Praising the Indian Army, he said they had been told that it took 28 years to make a General. In India they seemed to be made overnight. No British personnel had been used in Kashmir and they did not propose to use any.

Questioned as to where the flame-throwers came from, Mr. Menon replied : "They are not made in India. They may have come from army dumps. They came through Pakistan territory, but we are not prepared to say from which locality."

Asked if he could indicate whether any other Power outside India and Pakistan was interested in getting arms into Kashmir, Mr. Menon said "no." The question, he added, was not where the arms came from, but who brought them here.

Mr. Menon said, the Indian Government had full confidence that so far as its own territories were concerned, the Dominion would settle down as a democratic State. No situation had so far arisen for reference to the United Nations, but Pandit Nehru had said that if supervision of a plebiscite in Kashmir by the United Nations was desired, the Indian Government would welcome it. They had nothing to hide. All they wanted was to be "fair and square."

India was emerging from what by and large was a peaceful revolution, a tremendous transition from age-long foreign rule. The overwhelming part of the Dominion was peaceful and economic development, education and public health had not been retarded by recent events.

Junagadh

The Junagadh situation, already explosive, had taken a definite turn for the worse when over 800 "visitors" were reported to have arrived in that State from Pakistan. Majority of them were ex-servicemen. They had since been armed by the State and besides there had been a general release of criminals from the State prison.

Meanwhile, it was revealed in New Delhi, that the Government of India had not received any reply from the Pakistan Government to the Note they had sent seeking an immediate and unqualified referendum under impartial auspices in the State.

It is now learnt that till August 15, Government of India had little doubt of Junagadh acceding to the Indian Dominion. In fact, an official announcement which appeared in Junagadh *State Gazette* categorically repudiated the suggestion that the State might join the future Pakistan.

Soon after it became known that the State had acceded to Pakistan, it is understood, the Government of India informed Karachi on the impropriety of the accession as it clearly violated the principle of geographical contiguity which was recognised as the first criterion for the accession of any State to the respective Dominions. There was no reply forthcoming from Pakistan and after nearly a month the Government of India made a second representation to Karachi pointing out that if the Nawab was not willing to agree and abide by the verdict of a referendum, the Government of India could not be expected to acquiesce in any arrangement he might enter into with Pakistan.

Certain other States such as Babariawad and Mongrol, which Junagadh claims as its vassals though it is contended that they are vassals no longer because their subordinate position in the past was the result of an agreement imposed by the Crown and with the lapse of paramountcy such agreements lapsed, acceded to the Indian Union.

Meanwhile, the provisional Government of Junagadh, formed by Shree Samaldas Gandhi in Bombay towards the end of September, entered Junagadh. On October 25, it was reported that they had captured 12 villages inside Junagadh State territory. The march of the Provisional Government continued practically unopposed. The Nawab of Junagadh, with all the members of his family, left the State and flew to Karachi.

Troops of the Indian Dominion entered the territories of Babariawad and Mongrol on November 1, and the Government of India took over the administration of these areas. The Government of India had made it clear in their *communiques*, dated September 25 and October 5, that the military and police forces stationed by Junagadh in Babariwad and Mongrol should be withdrawn at once since these States had acceded to the Dominion of India. These forces had not been withdrawn. On the same day the resignations of the Dewan of Junagadh and the Commissioner of Police were reported from Rajkot and it was also stated that they were flying to Karachi.

Negotiations were started between the Junagadh authorities and the Provisional Government of Junagadh. On November 10, it was reported that the negotiations had been concluded and that the Junagadh Ruler had agreed to join the Indian Union. Major Harvey Jones was understood to have brought a letter from the Nawab and the Dewan to the India Government's Regional Commissioner at Rajkot intimating that the situation in Junagadh was serious and that the Government of India should take over. The Regional Commissioner referred the matter to Delhi and on getting Delhi's permission to take over control of Junagadh, sent his Deputy with units of Indian Army to Junagadh. Major Harvey Jones also accompanied the Deputy Regional Commissioner.

The entry of the Indian troops was hailed by the people of the State. Major Harvey Jones, the Naib Dewan, held consultations with Sj. Samaldas Gandhi, head of the Provisional Government and conveyed the unanimous decision of the Executive Council of Junagadh State that in order to avoid a serious situation that was developing in the State, which threatened law and order, the Indian Dominion should take over the administration of Junagadh.

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Tripura

The following report was published by the *Hindusthan Standard* on November 6 :

Comilla, November 4—Three public meetings were held at Comilla during the last week by some Muslim Leaguers demanding the accession of Tripura State to Pakistan. They also demanded redress of grievances of the tenants of Chakla-Roshanabad zemindary, an appendage to the State. The zemindary falls within the East Bengal province.

Resolutions were passed in the meetings urging the State authorities to accede to Pakistan and remove the grievances of the tenants within fifteen days, failing which 'Direct Action' movement will be launched. Speakers exhorted the people to get ready for 'no rent' campaign and the boycott of the Tripura State.

Meetings were held and leaflets distributed in Feni Sub-division also for the same purpose. The Tripura State authorities were asked to join Pakistan. The movement is as yet confined to Chakla-Roshanabad zemindary.

The late Maharaja joined the Indian Constituent Assembly during the period of the Interim Government and since then there has been no agitation or expression of discontent against the Maharaja's decision. The State subjects consisting of Bengali Hindus, tribal Hindus and Moslems are peaceful and loyal.

Hill tribes—Tripurs, Manipuries and ten other clans speaking different dialects and still retaining predominantly traces of primitive culture and civilisation in their dresses, art, music and dance constitute a major part of the population and the Moslems are about 25 per cent in the State. The population of the State is about six lakhs and area 3,116 miles. The present Maharaja Kirit Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur is a minor. The State is governed by a Council of Regency, with Maharani Kanchanprava Debi, mother of the ruler and a daughter of the Ruler of Panna State as Regent.

The late Maharaja announced the introduction of responsible Government in the State and owing to his sudden and premature death his declaration could not be carried into effect.

The situation in Tripura was considered very critical in view of the preparations that were being made for attacking the State from neighbouring East Bengal districts. The Maharani of Tripura visited Shillong and impressed upon the Premier of Assam the immediate need of having a road connection with the State with the Indian Union through Karimganj in Assam. At present all ingress and egress to and from Tripura State lie through Pakistan territory. The Assam Premier assured that the work for the construction of a road would commence by the middle of November.

Sardar Patel, being apprised of the seriousness of Tripura situation, invited the Maharani to Delhi in order to have a consultation with her. It was fully realised on all quarters that under cover of the grievances of the tenants of Chakla zemindary which lies parallel to the boundary line of the Tripura State, which touches Noakhali, Tipperah and Sylhet districts, the demand for accession of the Tripura State to Pakistan has been put forward. Mammoth mass meetings were organised and they were addressed by very prominent leaders of the Muslim League including members of the East Bengal Legislature. A Committee of Action was formed and in addition to it an organisation named Eastern Pakistan Frontier Proja Union was also formed to conduct the movement for forcing the accession of Tripura to Pakistan. The whole movement was being organised by a section of prominent members of the Muslim League while the parent organisation maintained studied silence. On enquiry from the official Muslim League circles, the *Hindusthan Standard* understood that they had nothing to do with the movement although they held the view that having regard to contiguity and economic connection, the State should join Pakistan and that the issue could only be solved by the people of the State. It may, however, be mentioned here that the decision of the late Maharaja to join the Indian Constituent Assembly was ratified by the Tripura Sangha in an open session attended by about 20,000 hillmen of various classes, and by the Anjuman Islamia, Moslem Proja Majlis and all other political organisations. It is also significant that none of the leaders of this movement except one, belong to the State. Within the State Muslims are opposed to any lawless movement directed against the State.

The Government of India acted very quickly as soon as a concentration of "Muslim sojourners" in Chakla-Roshanabad, threatening to launch inroads into the State, was reported. Movements of these "Muslim sojourners" seemed to be the precursor of a regular invasion. There were also signs of economic blocade. On November 11, Indian troops were ordered to be sent to Tripura.

As soon as troops began to arrive in Tripura, the East Bengal authorities, who had so long maintained complete silence about this month-old agitation and preparation, which had been very widely publicised in the League press, came out with statements trying to minimise the entire affair. Mr. Nazimuddin, Premier of East Bengal, told the *A. P. I.* that "some irresponsible persons had said something in a meeting and on the report of that they had sent troops." The overt and covert complicity of several League leaders in this whole affair was well-known and the Premier, before troops reached Tripura, had wholly ignored them.

The Maharani, in a statement to the press on November 13, assured the State subjects that the defences of the State would be strengthened in every way. She said that she had been permitted to assure the subjects of Tripura State that the Indian Union would help them if they stood in need of it as the State had acceded to the Indian Dominion before August 15. She also revealed that a direct air service between Gauhati and Calcutta *via* Agartala was being arranged. A radio station had been established at the State capital so that messages could be sent expeditiously and without interference.

Hyderabad

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in a statement issued from Madras on November 6, exposed the Nizam's

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sinister game of playing for time through protracted negotiations and securing arms in the meantime. He said :

> It is not so much the number of Hindus that have migrated from Hyderabad that is of concern to us, as is the infiltration of insidious influences, the result of which is to arm the Muslims in the frontier areas between Hyderabad and surrounding districts of Kurnool, Guntur and Kistna.
>
> There is ample evidence to show that much money has flowed across the boundary. One cannot say to what end all this coaxing and cajoling are being directed. In this way in Punjab also, in the earlier stages, warnings were not heeded and at later stages they became too late. The Madras Government cannot lie supine when there is incipient fire in these areas, which may, any day, threaten to burst into a conflagration. There is a strong rumour in the country that a steamer called at the port of Vizagapatam, but forthwith departed, whither people cannot say. This must be traced. If arms are being imported from abroad, they must be scrutinized and their entry into State must be dealt with as law permits, or as occasion demands.
>
> The Nizam's Government has been deliberately gaining time and the Central Government has been generously granting it. It looks as though they are waiting to see what will be the up-shot of Kashmir. I have always had a presentiment that the Nizam's Government was kept fully posted with the nature of the developments awaiting Kashmir and that Hyderabad is playing for time only to see how the Kashmir drama would end.
>
> If Hyderabad is going to learn a lesson from Kashmir, well and good. Otherwise, we may have a bad time of it in South India. The time has gone for mincing matters or maintaining undue silence over affairs which rightly call for investigation and prompt treatment. All along we have been moved by a sense of delicacy, fairness and even generosity in dealing with the Muslim question, but we have not had a response on similar lines from the other side. Throughout the past one and a half years, the Muslim section has prospered by their own wickedness and our virtue, their own lawlessness and our law-abiding character. By 'our,' I mean Hindus, and by 'Muslims,' I mean Pakistanis.
>
> I trust that the Home Minister of Madras will act betimes and verify the rumours that reach him instead of disposing them of as mere gossip or looking upon them as affecting any particular areas. A disease that affects one organ affects the whole organism. Civil strife that may issue in the border districts of Nizam affects the peace and tranquillity of the rest of the Madras province, its economic position including its food and clothing, its transport and the whole of its civil government. I appeal to the Premier, the Home Minister and the whole Ministry of Madras—each member of whom is just now engrossed in his own department and with his own legislation—to take a wider view of the political situation in the country and recognise that what is but a mist of cloud today may burst into a storm any moment.

Next day the Madras Government issued a Press Note which said that very strict instructions were given to local authorities in the districts adjoining the Hyderabad State to guard against the smuggling of arms and infiltration of undesirable elements into the Madras districts. An assurance that the Central Provinces Government was keeping a close watch on the situation in Hyderabad was given by the Premier of C. P. to a deputation of Congress leaders. The Tungabhadra bridge was so long guarded by the Nizam's police. Indian armed police have now been sent to guard it and the Nizam's police have withdrawn peacefully.

From the beginning of November, the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin Party of Hyderabad had started a Direct Action movement directed to coerce Hindu opinion by violence including arson and murder. A large number of persons were killed in Hyderabad and flames in the city were visible from the Hyderabad Railway Station. Sj. Jashowant Rao Joshi, President, Hindu Sabha, was seriously injured and succumbed to his injuries. The Nizam's police fired upon the members of the State Congress and other organisations who carried out their movement against the Nizam's tyranny.

On November 12, addressing a mass meeting at Rajkot, Sardar Patel reviewed Government of India's policy regarding the Indian States and referring to Hyderabad said :

> The future of Kashmir like that of Hyderabad rests with the people. Despite the attempts of Pakistan to avoid this commitment in the case of Hyderabad and despite their attempts to avoid facing facts in Junagadh the will of the people will have its way. If Hyderabad does not see the writing on the wall it goes the way Junagadh has gone.

On November 14, eight villages belonging to the Nizam's State, but situated in the Kistna district, Madras Presidency, declared independence and expressed their desire to join the Indian Union. The State officials either left the villages or identified themselves with the villagers. The special feature in the people's struggle against the tyranny of the Nizam was that the ruling power was supported by a whole community in the name of Ittehad-ul-Muslemin.

In addition to the Muslims in the State, well-organised and fully armed, the Nizam has another great support in the diehard Britons residing in India. The *Statesman*, a British-owned daily, published at Calcutta and New Delhi, has latterly added subtle and insidious propaganda to its decade-old campaign in support of the Muslim League and Pakistan. Recently, it has published articles and letters on Hyderabad, supported by an editorial article which begins with the following words, "Hyderabad is not Junagadh. It is bigger, sturdier, better armed, better governed, economically more self-sufficient—and (important fact) has not joined Pakistan. We are satisfied that it has no intention of doing so. Further, it enjoys, unlike Junagadh, international prestige, having long been viewed throughout the Islamic world with respect as the premier Indian State, a semi-independent ancient monarchy, impressive survival of Moghul power, focus of modern Muslim culture." In Hyderabad, nearly 88 per cent of the population are Hindus but the Nizam's firman is the law and the medium of instruction is Urdu. To all intents and purposes, it is a theocratic State. Here the Muslim Ruler's will is law, and the entire Government is in Muslim hands, and

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as the *Statesman* admits, "it is an impressive survival of Moghul power, focus of modern Muslim culture." It should have been stated, likewise, that the overwhelming majority of the subjects under its heels are Hindus who have no civil or cultural liberties in the State. Advancing arguments in support of the Nizam's "gain-time-and-prepare" tactics, the *Statesman* pleads for the grant of at least a yeer's time to Hyderabad to drag on the "negotiations" and having idolised a Muslim theocratic State in the opening paragraph of the article, the *Statesman* concludes, "Hindu-Muslim affairs are so maladjusted that to expect the intricate problem of this large unit's future to be capable of final settlement now, on lines mutually considered fair, might be excessive. The alternative would be to contrive, with forbearance and with hard bargaining, an elastic transitional arrangement ensuring continuance of normal trade and transport, decision on Hyderabad's permanent relations to the Indian Union being deliberately postponed for a period say a year, when times may be hoped to have improved, communal suspicions to have lessened, and faith in the Union's capacity to become a secular State to have consolidated."

The poisonous article by Godfrey Barass, which was featured along with this editorial is reproduced below :

> The Press in general throughout India, and certain of that Dominion's leaders, have chosen to adopt a schoolmasterly attitude towards Hyderabad. At no time has there been justification for this ; nor is there justification now, when conditions with the Dominion of India are still chaotic, when the Dominion Government has shown itself insufficiently capable of controlling violence, *and when its troops are engaged beyond its borders in what may prove ill-advised adventure.*
>
> Particularly today, when discussions are proceeding about Hyderabad's future relations with India, pinpricks and accusations are untimely. This was clearly recognized by India's Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, when on October 11, with regard to a "reported" statement from London (later shown to be misreported) he referred to Hyderabad's "wise and seasoned counsellors . . . engaged in delicate negotiations," and to "conversations carried on in a most friendly and peaceful atmosphere." Yet on November 13, with those delicate negotiations still in progress, he chose Junagadh as a suitable platform from which to make provocative utterances, later scarce-headlined in the Press as a "Warning to Hyderabad,"
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> What occurred between October 11 and November 13 to induce a Deputy Prime Minister to be less squeamish about prejudicing delicate negotiations ? As one reads the resignation speech of the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, moving pictures of Kashmir and Junagadh again flash across the mental screen. Having frankly stated the inability of the Dominion of India Government to protect its Muslim minority merely by its police and army, and having declared that these "would not afford their protection unless they knew that their co-religionists in Pakistan were getting a fair deal," he came out with the flat pronouncement that the India Government "would not recognize or tolerate the so-called independence of Hyderabad."
>
> To some of us who, as journalists or in other capacity, were able to watch for a number of years, on the spot, the stage being set for World War II, these utterances, at present hurled at Hyderabad *arouse unpleasant Hitlerian echoes.* They were not then methods conducive to maintenance of peace and goodwill, and still are not.
>
> Not including the rich territory of Berar (*which, follownig the repudiation by the British of certain treaties, should revert to the Nizam, but seemingly will not*) Hyderabad is a landlocked country about the size of Italy, and has a mixed population, predominantly Hindu, of some 16 millions. Dr. Hamidullah's article published by the *Statesman* on November 14/15 shed reasonable light on the position of Hindus in Hyderabad. *There is no evidence that the police and military forces of the State are unwilling or unable,* as clearly they have been in the Dominion of India, to control acts of violence—whether against Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, or Parsis or others—regardless of the religion of those who commit them.
>
> The past has woven into the historical fabric of the communities of Hyderabad a fascinating pattern. *The State is a repository of a real patriotism, wherein today is found a unity that goes far to transcend the bitterness of communal feud.* Were this patriotism heedlessly cast aside, India would be a loser. Loyalty to the Sovereign in Hyderabad, as in India, has a deeper meaning than in those countries where it has become merely a sentiment of respect to the political head of the State and acknowledgement of his supremacy of power.
>
> Were such facts more widely recognized, that might check the fallacious reports of those who have forgotten or do not know that in the past Hyderabad has had practically no communal problem, and has little now except that fomented from outside and magnified in the Dominion of India Press into major incidents. Economic problems there are, which did not exist before August 15. But given a reasonable measure of goodwill beyond the State's borders, they need be problems no longer. Switzerland, for example, is but little handicapped economically by being landlocked, and in addition to maintaining cordial relations with its powerful neighbours, has contrived to remain neutral throughout two great wars. Like Switzerland, Hyderabad threatens none, but must also depend on the goodwill of its neighbour for maintaining communications with the outside world and developing its internal economy.
>
> *Contrary to common reports Hyderabad does not seriously restrict civil liberties.* The ceremonial hoisting of the Dominion of India flag in public places might foment communal trouble and is therefore forbidden—even as is the ceremonial hoisting of the nations' flags, but anyone who chooses may fly the Dominion of India flag on private buildings. Nor does Hyderabad stand in the way of political activities, such as demands for joining the Dominion of India, provided these are conducted lawfully.
>
> What Hyderabad's relationship might have been with an all-India Union is a matter for speculation. But it is a fact that, after protracted negotiations conducted by three successive Viceroys during years of alternating waves of pessimism and optimism about India's future, two Dominions have now been created—on the basis of communal division. Except for a comparatively small voluntary exodus and influx, both resulting

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mainly from fear at what has occurred at a distance in the Dominions of India and Pakistan, and both of which have now been checked, Hyderabad's own minority and majority levels remain little changed; and at present the status of Hyderabad remains factually unaltered except for the departure of the British.

It is not easy to foretell the results of the talks between the Hyderabad delegation and the Government of the Dominion of India, : but all—and notably the Press in that Dominion—can refrain from prejudicing the outcome by rash and inflammatory statements. H. E. H. the Nizam has expressed the wish that each of the two new Dominions may achieve greatness and glory in their tasks of national reconstruction, and that there may soon be established some form of Standing Conference whose meetings may help them, and such States as may decide to remain autonomous, to co-operate in all matters concerning their common welfare as members of what may grow to be a United Commonwealth.

These words of wisdom, if digested soberly and considered in that spirit of generosity which the leaders of the Dominion of India can afford, may augur well for the future of Hyderabad, and of India as a whole. (*Italics ours—Ed. M. R.*)

We have seldom come across an article with so much perversion and suppression of truth. It is evidently propaganda meant for foreign consumption. The *Statesman* is following the same path as was trodden by the British-owned press in China between 1930-37, when submission to Japan was strongly advocated by all British interests.

The Hyderabad "Anachronism"

A member of the editorial staff of the *Nagpur Times* has described conditions in the State of Hyderabad that are no credit to the majority of its people. His contribution appeared in the paper's November 2 issue. And as we read it, we felt the same lack of leadership that characterized the handling of other "Pakistani" matters. The writer says that the Nizam's Government is an instrument of communal politics; the 15 per cent of the population who happen to be Muslims have been nursed in the traditions that they are the "ruling class," and that the majority must agree to do their will. There is nothing new in this verdict. The Asafjahi dynasty which helped in breaking the Mughal Empire have not been moved during the last two hundred years by any inspiration other than the communalism that has found its outstanding manifestation in the Muslim League. Not to go further back than the days of Lord Ripon, we find in Scawen Blunt's *India Under Ripon*, a picture of the dominant thought and practice of the State. Apart from its native set-up, the narrowness in the State was nurtured by Muslims from "British India" who had been smarting under the loss of opportunities for rule, for profits and preferments that their class had enjoyed under the rulers belonging to their religious persuasion. Through Blunt's book flit figures that are the lineal predecessors of the Rizvis of today; the Bilgramis of those days are indistinguishable from the Chattaris of today. With traditions like these to remember, the events in Hyderabad cause us no surprise.

Failure to Build a "United Front"

But what has surprised us is the failure of the majority of 85 per cent to build up a "united front." The *Nagpur Times* article describes with nauseating reiteration the jealousies that stand in the way of such a common effort. Three language groups constitute the majority in the State—Telugus about 70 lakhs ; Marhattas about 30 lakhs ; the Kannadigas (Canarese-speaking) about 20 lakhs. The differences created by these three languages complex have disabled the majority from any concerted action. Words like "lack of social and political cohesion," like "isolated group of sectarian interests," better express the causes of the debacle that has overtaken the majority community in Hyderabad. Confronting them stand the *Ittehad-ul-Muslemin*, a frankly communalist well-knit organization, drawing inspiration from officialdom, from the conduct of "the feudal ruler and the ruling clique of Nawabs and money magnates" who are afraid of their future in a democratic India. The "intellectuals" are rootless in the thought and life of their people. So are the Communists attached to the "three groups" in the State Congress on "the same confusing lines as in our provinces." The impression left on the mind by this particular article is one of hopeless disorganization in the ranks of the progressives. The States Peoples Conference organization on the platform of which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayaya so often thunders has not been much of a help. We should like to know the reason or reasons, why.

India's Defence Problem

The *Liberator* is an organ of Sikh opinion, published from New Delhi. Its writings are characterized by a bitterness that is not unnatural in the circumstances that they have been experiencing during the last nine months since the "Direct Action" of the Muslim League in March last when, incidentally, a British Governor was in charge of the Punjab administration. The events since August 15 in West Punjab have not helped to calm their feelings. But even these sufferings and sacrifices have not blinded them to the need for vigilance on the part of the Indian Union with which they have identified themselves. In an article entitled "The Partition and New India's Defence Problem," appearing in its October 20 number, the writer laid down the principles and policies that should be adopted and followed by the governing authorities of the Union. Naturally enough the writer feels more concerned with the defence of the western border as sketched by the Radcliffe Award. But it is equally true where the Indian Union's eastern marches in Assam, along the borders of the Murshidabad and the new Navadwip districts of West Bengal are concerned. The agitation that is being organized by Muslims in Noakhali wherein are there certain landed properties of the Maharaja of Tripura should

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be regarded as a warning against a repetition of the Kashmir-Jammu experience. The New Delhi Government has shown some alertness of late but we do not know whether the West Bengal and Assam Governments have at all realized the significance of this particular agitation. We hope and trust that they will not be caught napping as the New Delhi Government had been in the matter of the West Punjab *pogroms*, and in the Kashmir affair.

A Shock Absorber?

The last three months have shown that the leaders of the Congress, who constitute the Government of the Indian Union, were labouring under the impression that the division of the country would calm down the forces that the Muslim League had stirred into frenzy and that the acceptance of their "Pakistan" demand would satisfy their conceits and ambitions. The general public do not know the details of the negotiations that were held between the two rival parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—with Lord Mountbatten as intermediary. His Excellency is still the "independent" Chairman of the Joint Defence Council, set up to solve certain controversies between the two States. We do not know why His Excellency should still agree to serve as shock-absorber between the two States, and allow his Ministers in the Indian Union to avoid coming face to face with the hard realists who constitute the Government of "Pakistan." We are afraid that this arrangement, made with the best of intentions, has been fostering a sort of irresponsibility in the members of Government of the Indian Union.

The Logic of "Two-Nations" Theory

Meanwhile, frothy sentimentalism should cease to affect the conduct of the leaders of the Union. War between India and Pakistan is on the lips of many of the men who influence, directly and indirectly, the conduct of the two States. A Bengalee proverb has it that what is much talked of materializes sooner or later. And with the tactics of the "Pakistanis" revealed in Kashmir, in Junagadh, in Hyderabad and in the neighbourhood of the State of Tripura, there is no longer any excuse for complacence. The June 3 (1947) decision has set up two States in the territories of India, independent of one another with divergent interests to serve and capable of following conflicting policies. Even Gandhiji cannot change the logic of the June 3 arrangement. Any wishful thinking to the contrary can only arrange to heap up more sorrows and sufferings for the common men and women of the Indian sub-continent.

The situation today leaves no choice to us in the Indian Union. We have been put on the defensive in Kashmir in the north, in Junagadh in the west, in Hyderabad at the centre, and may be in Tripura in the east. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Government have to declare whether or not they accept this interpretation of events in India. We should no longer be put off with tirades against the Nazi tactics of the Muslim League. The situation that faces us today is too serious to be treated as a mere ideological controversy and conflict. The public mind is growing impatient of the policy of dilatoriness that has been so far in the ascendant in the Government at New Delhi. The radios from Karachi, the broadcasts by Ministers of the Central Government of "Pakistan," do not indicate any indecisive speculations or ideological inhibitions in that quarter. The public in the Union of India cannot help contrasting these different attitudes and moods. It would be dangerous to strain their loyalty to the Congress much further. The Nehru Cabinet might have thought that with Muslim League intransigence removed from the Central Government by the agreement of June 3, they would have freedom to concentrate on constructive Nationalism, on building up a better social and economic order in India. But today there is no further scope for indulging in those day-dreams about the peaceful way. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's cohorts have pricked the bubble of this complacence. The defence of our realm has become the foremost duty of our rulers. "Pakistan" has driven this sense into us, perhaps, without realizing the danger of its policy. We may yet live to thank it for thus rousing us from our day-dreams.

And, it is possible to indicate with a certain amount of precision the lines of the policy that can safeguard the integrity of our Union. There is nothing esoteric in the matter. Our dependent political existence might have relieved us of the trouble of devoting thoughts to military matters. It may be that the decision of June 3 (1947) hustled us into a position for which we were not prepared in the military sense. But by August 15, our leaders should have been fully conscious of the duties and responsibilities of rulership of a free State. They could not have been unaware of the "Pakistani" leaders' mental reactions to the division of the Punjab and of Bengal. Even conceding that they were not prepared for West Punjab *pogroms* and the Kashmir disturbances, organized by Pakistan's war-mongers, there is no excuse any further for such a vacillating mood to persist. The *Liberator* article, to which we have referred, indicates the thoughts of the public, growing restive with "Pakistani" jingoism, and calling for action. There is an unmistakable and growing demand for compulsory military training. The people are in the mood and they would enthusiastically accept this discipline. A fully equipped reserve force should be raised in which preference should be given to ex-servicemen and ex-members of the Azad Hind Fauz. The people living in the borders of the Indian Union's territories, east and west, must be specially organized, their mind and body should be specially attuned to their duties as the frontier guards of India.

Inner Contradictions in Muslim Community

The article in the *Liberator* has sought to bring out the logic of the "Two-Nations" theory which makes out those Muslims, who happen to be in the Indian Union now but who prior to the partition swore by the ideology of the Muslim League, as being so many

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"fifth columnists." In the hard school of real politics this phrase need not necessarily be taken for abuse. The inner contradictions in the mind of the Muslim community that are mirrored in the poems and writings of successive generations, from Altaf Hoseyn "Hali" to Mohammad Iqbal, the failure of the law-givers of Islam, represented in the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, to free their community from the detailed delusion of the "Two-Nations" theory, are pointers that we ignore only at our peril. The lessons, imbibed by the majority of them, during the last ten years and more, were not any freak development. It was the culminating effect of the loss of political power. During the previous centuries the Muslims had enjoyed the monopoly of the profits and preferments ensuing from their theocratic rule. This loss created a sense of frustration among them. Historians have told us that the Wahabi movement in India, that persisted for about forty years from 1825 to 1875, was an attempt to assert the "separate" entity of their community that could not make common cause with their neighbours in India. This lesson of history should be fully appreciated by everybody. Sir William Hunter's book, *The Musalmans of India*, published in 1871, which has become the charter of their separatism, has recorded the fact that "the Hindustani fanatics, mostly Muhammadans from the Indian provinces" were constant in their support of Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareilly, the most successful propagator of the Wahabi cult in India.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. In India, we cannot expect any relaxation of this rule in our favour. And therefore we must realise facts as they are by separating them fully from fiction or from the products of wishful thinking.

The Arab League

While Mohammad Ali Jinnah's brain child has been frantically appealing to the Islamic countries for help in its manufactured emergencies, it is up to the Indian publicist to be awake to the implications of this attempt to revive a Pan-Islamic sentiment that Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey tried to exploit in support of his irresponsibility. The rise of political nationalism in Arabia, in Egypt broke the back of that attempt. But the inchoate appeal of Pan-Islamism remains, the rise of the Arab League notwithstanding. An article in the *Middle East Journal* throws light on the forces represented in this organisation. The following quotation is relevant to our interpretation of this development:

> "However, the Arab League, while it is not reactionary, xenophobic, or extreme, is inevitably Pan-Arab. There is no good reason why an Arab nationalist should be interested in the freedom and unification of part of the Arab world and not of the whole; or draw the frontiers of Arab world at Libya. And thus inevitably the League, both by its own constitution and by the forces which move it, must interest itself in the liberation of the entire Arab world. There may be differences among Arab nationalists about the order of importance of certain Arab questions, but there is no disagreement about fundamental aims, which cannot stop short of the entire Arab world from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, and which embraces all levels of Arab society—the social, economic, and intellectual no less than the political.
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> But in saying that Arab nationalism as embodied in the Arab League is Pan-Arabism, it should not be understood that there is any comparison with or resemblance to such movements as Pan-Germanism or Pan-Slavism. There is a radical difference between Arab and European political ideology. In Europe nationalism has been built on two concepts: that of the State inherited from the traditions of Roman law and society; and that of a homogeneous racial group. Arab nationalism is based on neither. On the one hand, Arab society was not based on the Greco-Roman political tradition, and has never had a concept of a strong sovereign State. On the other, Arab society has never been exclusively racial, but has consisted of racially and religiously heterogeneous groups bound together by a common Arabic culture and world of thought.

Bengalees in Assam

Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, did well in referring to the outburst of anti-Bengalee activities in Assam proper, in course of his speech opening the November session of the Assam Assembly. His Excellency tried to hold the balance even; he hinted at the conceit of the Bengalee and the latest exhibition of resentment of the Assamese. The latter has drawn upon it increasing disapproval from the Indian public which is growing more and more conscious of the sinister possibilities of "provincialism." The *Forum* (weekly) of Bombay in its issue of November 2 has under the caption of "Applied Independence" something to say with regard to this sorry phenomenon, caustic in its truth. Our contemporary has taken note how "day after day the two Assamese dailies are dishing out anti-Bengalee fodder to keep the passion of their clientele burning;" he has spotted out the mischief-makers behind. "Reportedly some Marwaris and other non-Bengalee interests have a share in pulling the wires." In Cachar across the hills that separate the Brahmaputra Valley from this predominantly Bengalee area, "an embryonic agitation is afoot to bang the door . . . against Sylhetis and Bengalees, reportedly inspired and financed by this section . . .;" the Government employees hailing from Sylhet who had opted for service in the Indian Union had to "face flat refusal" from the Bardoloi Ministry; on appeal to Sardar Patel "a grudging accommodation" was made. But it is not being honestly implemented by the Assam Administration.

"Valley-Jealousy" has been a factor in the public life of Assam, the jealousy between the people of the Surma Valley, comprising the districts of Sylhet and Cachar and the people of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam proper. There are records in history which said that men bearing Bengalee names, hailing from Bengalee-speaking areas, had made their homes in Assam contributing to Assam's greatness and to the enrichment of her culture. Certain of their families are indistinguishable today from the Assamese families proper. The Assamese script is borrowed from and is

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practically identical with Bengali. Yet today, some Assamese, amazingly undeterred or heartened by patronisingly mild governmental rebukes, are out to storm Bengalee shops, stone Bengalee persons, jeer at Bengalee ladies, remove Bengalee sign-boards, demand of Bengalees to part with their titles of recognition and to forget the very language," to describe conditions in the words of the *Forum*. The reasons for this aggressiveness might have been dismissed as spring fever, as expressions of "inferiority complex," the feeling that "Bengalee culture" is a thing to be kept at arm's length, that the values of life that the Assamese language represented have a special place in the India of today. This mingling of conflicting ideas and ambitions is not peculiar to Assam ; in every area in India these fears and ambitions are causing headache to administrators and leaders of public opinion. In our neighbourhood in Assam, these have been poisoning relations not only between the Bengalee-speaking people and the Assamese-speaking but between the latter and the "Tribals" in the hills and plains. The population figures do not sustain the claim of the Assamese that their language should be allowed to dominate the scene. Assam's Advocate-General, Mr. Fakruddin Ahmad has become unpopular for saying that "the Assamese are a minority in Assam." This province, as constituted today as a result of the Sylhet Referendum, has a population of 76 lakhs; of these the Assamese-speaking are 22 lakhs; the Bengalee-speaking are 26 lakhs, the rest are "Tribals," speaking about 30 dialects.

That Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi and his present Ministry are parties in accentuating the jealousy is no longer a secret. Before the Sylhet Referendum the Bengalees were represented in the Congress Ministry in strength though not commensurate with their number, as the Muslim Bengalees under the spell of Muslim League ideology had been non-co-operating with the progressive forces in the province. Mr. Basanta Kumar Das held the portfolio of Law and Order, a key position, and therefore his Assamese colleagues could not with decency give full play to their anti-Bengalee feelings. Now they feel free and think that they can ride rough-shod over their rivals.

Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar

The departure from the field of his mundane activities of this Marhatta publicist, public man and literary man leaves a void in Maharashtra's life. The present generation of politically-minded people in India do not know what part Narasimharao played in building up the traditions of political life associated with the name of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak. Early in his youth he came in contact with this maker of new India, and through good report and evil, through public exaltation and unpopularity, he held fast to the truth as the Master had enabled him to realize it. Temperamentally he belonged to the school founded by Mahadev Govind Ranade, of which the most effulgent figure was Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society of Poona (1905). Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar developed the same qualities, and in interpreting his party's politics he never betrayed himself into partisanship. The rank and file were uneasy with him, but the Master knew the disciple. Narasimha Chintamon Kelkar was left as the custodian of its integrity, as heir to the leadership of the school of Tilak politics. And he proved more than adequate to the trust. He differed from the Gandhian practice, though he never failed when under Gandhiji's lead any movement was started for the assertion of national dignity, for the capture of political power from alien hands. In later life, he found himself more in sympathy with the Hindu Mahasabha over an annual session of which (Ajmere) he presided. A spirit of sweet reasonableness informed all he said and did. We mourn today a watchful public man and a journalist of note associated with the *Kesari* and *Marhatta* of Poona. Narasimharao has raised his own memorial in and through Marhatta literature.

Sudhir Kumar Lahiri

We mourn the death of a colleague who preferred to avoid the limelight and to work for all good causes in silent unobstrusiveness. By dint of his own exertions he made up for the lack of University education and passed through many experiences acquiring therefrom wide interests in all departments of human activity. Entering the service of the Calcutta Municipality, he was brought to public life by Dr. Nilratan Sarkar, requesting Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray to take an interest in the aspiring young man. The latter put him into touch with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, then a member of the Indian Legislative Council. Calcutta was then the capital of India, and Sudhir Kumar found his vocation and by his earnestness impressed all the public men who used to foregather in our city. With Gokhale's recommendation he went to Lucknow as *de facto* editor of the *Advocate* of Babu Ganga Prasad Verma, the most outstanding of English-language weeklies of the day in the province. From there he went to Lahore as joint editor of the *Punjabee*, the daily started by Lala Lajpat Rai. The Martial Law terrorism started by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh massacres claimed Sudhir Kumar's paper as a victim, and he left Lahore to become adviser to Seth Ghanasyam Das Birla on the recommendation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Here he became connected with activities concerned with breaking up the monopoly of European jute merchants over this trade. But when he found that an Indian monopoly would replace European monopoly without any improvement to the lot of the cultivators of jute, Sudhir Kumar threw his lot with the poorer millions of his people He came into intimate relation with Jamini Mohun Mitter who on behalf of the Bengal Government had been striving to organize the sale of jute on a co-operative basis. And to the last day of his life he devoted himself to energizing the Co-operative Movement in Bengal and was editor of its English and Bengalee-language journals.

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THE FOOD PROBLEM

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

In the midst of rapid and startling constitutional changes and the upheavals that have flowed from them, some of our equally vital and pressing problems get over-shadowed though the problems themselves continue to oppress us. One such is that of food, whose heavy shadow grows longer and blacker, with whole areas in our country facing bleak, empty, grainless existence day by day, week by week. The statements on food by our Provincial and Central Governments in a more normal atmosphere, would have made the people sit up and wonder whether the new Governments have been just a passing dream and we are still in the days of the antiquated administration and the statements made by our old erst-while Knights of the old regime.

The food problem, many naively believed for a long time, to be merely a symptom of war. It is, however, dawning even on our ill-instructed masses that it is a more basic and complicated affair than a mere war exigency. Careful study into our food economy has revealed to us the alarming fact that India is sadly deficient in the production of food. Within the Indian Peninsula itself, Sind, one of the surplus areas, has already announced its inability to ship any further supplies. The Punjab, another surplus area, is in too disturbed a condition to be depended upon. The total production of food in the entire Indian Peninsula is far below, as we have already seen, what would be necessary for providing a balanced diet for the population. The following table will give an idea of the existing position :

Ounces per day per adult

Foodstuffs	*Requirements for a balanced diet*	*Available at present*
Cereals	18	17·5
Whole Milk	8	2·5
		Butter milk 3·0
Vegetables	6	3·0
Pulses	3	0·5
Meat, Fish, Eggs	2 to 3	0·5
Sugar	2	1·8
Fruits	2	2·0
Fats and Oils		

India's annual demand for cereals is about 64 million tons while the average production is roundabout 56 million tons only. With a rapidly rising population on an average 5 millions annually, the problem assumes increasingly serious proportions and we are unable to provide even the miserably low diet which we do now, 1500-2000 calories per day (whereas the irreducible minimum is 2400 calories a day), without heavy imports of food-stuffs, bought abroad at almost fancy prices. Even before the war, India was a net importer of food to the extent of 120 thousand tons of cereals, some parts being deficit and importing as much as 220 thousand tons cereals, particulatrly the South, South-East and South-West. Obviously some 10 lakh tons surplus was available within the country itself, the rest flowing in from outside. But in a country where the major people live in chronic starvation or semi-starvation, the reality of the problem as a whole in its national setting has to be realised.

The wartime pressure tilted this dangerously balanced scale, for the total availability actually never worked out to more than one pound of foodgrain per head per day. In other words, there never was at any time enough food to go round even were such an attempt made. The war demands which actually resulted in export of foodgrains after the occupation of Burma leading up to the food crisis of 1943, eventually forced the then Government of India to formulate specific food policies, which meant compulsory food procurement and food rationing. One important item in the recommendations of the then Food Policy Committee was the building up of food reserves without which the ration system would become unworkable. For without this any fall in domestic production or procurement, or in the imports would inevitably mean continued crisis. But the country did not attempt building up these reserves so absolutely essential for the security of our country. Not only have we failed to increase our production, what is equally serious, the Government has failed in procuring even the available quantity. So instead we take the line of least resistance, we purchase from abroad. Even at the present rate of rationing which is only 12 ounces of all grains per adult, the total required is 8 million tons per annum. Of this in 1946 we imported 230 thousand tons and for 1947 we put the imports at something over 4 million tons, which we know is an utter impossibility. In fact, we shall get nowhere near such a figure in the present state of world scarcity. We, therefore, continue to live in a perpetual state of hand to mouth existence and in the meantime wait breathlessly for the periodical allocation of foodgrains by surplus countries. Our Minister for Food made the staggering revelation, India has had to invest to the pathetic tune of over a 100 crore of rupees only for the purchase of foodgrains abroad, with an additional item of 25 crores to keep the prices of these imported grains in level with the prices obtaining in India. He also admitted that a poor country like India could not go on paying such heavy sums on imported foodstuffs, particularly as India was herself a predominantly agricultural country. In addition to the already exist-

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ing food shortage, is added a fresh deficit due to the destruction of wheat by rust. The total deficit in wheat is put at 2 million tons, which is a terrific figure. Side by side is the discouraging prospect of desperate attempts made to secure further allocation of quotas from the International Food Council for the next six months.

It is necessary for us to realise that food has now passed into the realm of high power politics even as commodities like oil, tin or rubber. The last war brought home the fact that the army marched to victory as much on food as on trucks and tanks. Food has therefore become one of the highest stakes in the international game. The food-supplying areas have become as much targets under "Spheres of Control" as bases for war strategy.

In fact, we are being almost forced to think of the world problem more and more in terms of calories than in mere ideologies. For the basic factors that face humanity everywhere are hunger and destruction and the compelling cry is for food and reconstruction. The problem the powers should have applied their minds to is how to contribute to world recovery in order to secure stability and prosperity through measures that would fit in with all our common interests. Instead the powers are caught in an unseen scramble for gaining influence by backing groups and parties. With the result, there is a temptation to follow the way of least resistance—inflation. Under inflation prices rise higher than wages, while higher profits attract investment. Thus production can increase for a while but consumption is bound to be restricted. Eventually, however, when the results begin to tell, there is a flight from the currency and a collapse. The key to permanent reconstruction lies in finding the incentive to increased production for that is of paramount importance.

One has to start by realising the basic fact that there has been a general decline in essential world food crops, something as follows :

In millions of tons

	Pre-war-average	1946-47
Rice	7·8	2·7
Cereals	29	25
Fats and oils	6	3
Sugar	11	8

Machinery for solving this terrifying problem was proposed in the shape of a world Food Board after the Copenhagen International Conference on Food and Agriculture. The function of the Food Board was to be an ageney that would buy in the open market where prices were low, and dispose of its food to countries that needed it at rates they could afford. By the time the Preparatory Commission on Food and Agricultural Organisation met to consider the plans for this international machinery and related proposals, the U. S. had stepped back. England had in any case always been a cautious party. The U. S. had retreated from the original proposal on the ground that it would give the Board an incentive to dabble in international commodity markets which in the American creed was the sole prerogative of the private vested interests, a convention so zealously cherished by America. Under these bleak auspices, the Preparatory Commission could suggest a world Food Council with advisory powers only and participation on a purely voluntary basis. It was obvious that the replacing of an executive body by an advisory one and making co-operation voluntary, were designed to play politics with food. Actually this has tended to become a "benevolent" Uncle Sam's Show with Britain following close on its heels, for Russia rarely attended. The U. S. has been described in these international food gatherings as a Gulliver stalking amidst the Lilliputians. For, it alone has ample quantities of food, money, the means to transport and above all, world leadership to command.

The strained conditions resulting from war and other calamities have depleted all too rapidly the usual saved-up stocks, in all countries. Complete dislocation in the normal lines of communication and transport, destruction of food-producing areas, a complete upset in the already heavily undermined economy, all these have left some countries prostrate and pathetically dependent on outside help, India being one such out of several. In fact, out of the total world population only 877 millions get 2400 calories and above, that is, the minimum and above, as against 1208 millions who live on a below subsistence diet, which in statistical tabulation is marked as "death by starvation level." India ranks the lowest in this list. The population for the lowest consumption of calories, 1500 to 2000 is almost the largest, around 600 million while that for 3000 calories and above is only 289 million. In reality these figures convey little. For one thing calories intake alone cannot measure either hunger or a healthy diet or human contentment. A balanced diet insuring sufficient protective vitamins and minerals alone is the test of adequacy in food supply. Mr. Henryson, an expert on agricultural economy, reporting on world food situation, says of balanced diets that "the amount of such foods consumed in India and China is too small to be recorded." The over-all picture reveals that around 200 million people have improved their already adequate diet while 2 billion inhabitants are just as hungry, in some cases hungrier than before the war. Definitely people in India and China are much worse off, where in certain parts people get even less than 500 calories with the result about 32 per cent are suffering from famine and are forced to live on leaves, stems of plants or some types of grass. In striking contrast, a few countries like the U. S., Argentine, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, are actually eating much more than before the war. For instance, their figures for fats and animal products in Northern and Western Europe has dropped from 35 per cent of total caloric intake before the war to 26 per cent today, whereas in the U.S., Canada, etc., it has risen from 43 per cent to 46 per cent. It is interesting to read two reports that recently appeared in the press. First

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by the F. A. O. (Food and Agricultural Organisation of the U. N.) which reads as follows :

"A major food crisis still confronts the world. Over wide areas famine conditions have prevailed for many months. Many are living on a diet of 1500 calories or less, and the situation will deteriorate sharply, since in several countries domestic food supplies will become exhausted."

Such consumption levels, especially over a long period, are insufficient to maintain a population year after year, to say nothing of rehabilitating lost body weight and capacity of work. Side by side is another statement in the Wall Street Journal that runs thus :

"This year we in America can look forward to a more varied and abundant diet than ever. Supplies of most food are ample...During the current food year, our consumption per head will be well above pre-war level."

Actually it will be about 15 per cent higher. Then follows a sharp cryptic sentence that just stings you in the eye :

"The spectre of a wheat surplus in 1947 worries Washington !"

The same Wall Street Journal had prophesied earlier :

"Uncle Sam faces billion dollar losses as growers step up output despite falling prices...Agricultural officials see production limits as the only safeguard."

Such tit-bits which shoot across our weary eyes bewilder the man in the street who naively but naturally asks, in this age of rationale and science, cannot this corpulant ghost which haunts the American capital be stradled across the ocean and made to disgorge some of its over-abundance in those lean famine-stricken countries, and thus ease the American officials of their headache, and the starving people of their hunger ?

Oh no ! Commodity exchanges cannot be reduced to such simplifications, he is promptly reminded. That is why the world Food Board Scheme which would have devised some kind of an ever-normal world granary by pooling all available resources from which the needy nations could draw upon without being under obligation to any particular country and without political factors intervening, was torpedoed like the UNRRA, to propitiate the insatiability of capitalist greed ; for an international agency seemed to hold out a threat to the American fetish of private enterprise. Now international relief has been put on a bilateral basis, with those handful of nations with surpluses alone in a position to afford aid on their own to those down and out ; and it is left entirely to them to decide as to who they shall aid and on what terms. The Food Council is thereby reduced to a special Committee with an advisory capacity on relief-needs which merely reports to member Governments who then at their sweet will and pleasure allot food to the begging countries. Wheat exports from United States and Canada are below even last season's figures. In fact, there has been a steady decline in the quantities shipped, from 11 million tons in the latter part of 1945 from North America, to 7 million in the corresponding period of 1946, this when there has been no corresponding improvement in the food situation in any of the deficit areas. If anything, further deterioration.

The U. S. position in the food world is decisive for reasons which have already been stated. The U. S. crop Report is that the 1947 wheat will be the greatest in U. S. history, and food prices 50 per cent higher than last year !

Ironically enough the U. S. has not only to dispose of surplus food but the government is also *forced to take it off the hands of the growers* for which it has to shell out huge amounts in order to bolster up prices, which must otherwise tumble in the event of vast quantities coming on the market. The estimates for governmental subsidies only for wheat will run to 500 million dollars next year, not to speak of other items, such as barley, corn, peanuts, eggs, potatoes, etc. On shoring up the prices of potatoes alone the government spent last year something like 800 million dollars. But instead of considering the American farm-surplus in terms of international relief, the former is being treated like a domestic item and the latter, high politics. Restrictive policies based on political considerations governing relief have already become a feature, which means increased expenditure for the support of farm price and an additional burden on the tax-payer. In effect the American government will continue to buy the surplus from the growers in any event, only instead of shipping it readily and expeditiously to hungry people, the grain will pile up in Warehouse and begin to rot pending the political settlements and understandings which go on behind closed doors, in other words await the outcome of power politics. The U. S. A. offers loans to countries that cannot pay for their food, but on purely bi-lateral basis.

Apart from this international political racketeering that goes on, on the high power plane, there is equal racketeering that goes on on this earthly plane within our own frontiers. It is a well-known fact that actually food scarcity in India need not be as desperate as is now made. It is an open secret that food-growers hide a part of the grain that should be handed over to the government for the general pool, especially the better quality stuff, with the tacit aid or connivance of people that sometimes include those directly responsible for preventing this very evil, such as members of food councils, legislatures, etc. This ill-gotten grain is then allowed to find its way into the black market. It is also known that sometimes superior quality of seeds supplied by government for the production of "more and better food" to growers, is also sold into the black market. With the result, both from an immediate as well as long-range point of view, the larger public is subjected to continued under-nourishment, especially such as the larger student community which is compelled to live in hostels, hotels, restaurants and messes, not to speak of the lower income groups who

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unable to pay the black market prices for good quality stuff have to try and sustain themselves on the poor stuff available at controlled rates. This is undermining the entire nation at an alarming rate. The effect of this on especially the young, is disastrous.

In times of scarcity all food producers tend to hoard, partly out of a general sense of insecurity, partly to get the best bargain price. In some countries, the growers prefer to feed to their live-stock rather than sell. The result is city famine, although this does not become apparent. For every government rushes the available food from the rural to the urban areas. For the urban areas are articulate while the rural ones are dumb. Whatever happens in the former gets a press and publicity. What goes on in the latter gets buried in the brown earth. This government policy however only serves to further accentuate scarcity.

In inflationary countries, the grain problem is ever harder to solve, for when prices keep soaring, the desire of the farmers to hold back in order to get better prices, necessarily grows. Procurement works successfully, as for instance in England, because it is heavily subsidised. Where this has not been done, there has been a widening and strengthening of the black market, vitiating any scheme for food control, weakening of governmental authority and general demoralisation. This means, no minimum standard of living can be maintained and at the same time there is wastage of indigenous supplies.

The responsibility for this crime has to be borne equally by inefficient administrators, especially the village officers, and even more so by the leaders and representatives of the people elected to safeguard the larger interests. This gross betrayal of their duty only reveals once more the superficiality of our sense of national and civic responsibilities. Unless greater vigilance is exercised, India will continue to carry on at "Starvation Level" as the experts term it, and the government will continue to buy food stocks abroad at fabulous prices, drawing on the country's meagre treasury, especially when every coin is needed to undertake the long neglected nation-building activities, and foreign currency is so preciously wanted to import machinery for setting up our basic heavy industries.

Our entire rationing seems to revolve on a most unstable foundation and unless some drastic action is taken to ensure greater stability, the entire structure is in danger of collapsing. It is morally and materially undermining for a nation to have to build her food front on imports. It merely serves to emphasise our own weaknesses, for it is most disheartening for a country like India with her enormous resources to indefinitely plead for mercy at others' doors. Obviously the home front is still being neglected. If the growers fail to co-operate with the government, it shows want of confidence. The government has failed somehow to strike the proper chord and therefore its procurement scheme fails to work successfully. Either government must find a way of securing that co-operation from the growers or an alternative method for persuading the growers to bring the grain they hold back to ultimately unload on the black market, into the normal market. The root cause of the people's failure to increase food production even in the face of so grave a crisis as has been facing us and the growers' shying away from procurement even when it means starvation for hundreds of thousands, calls for serious thought.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

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II

A significant change in the Royal style and title is effected by sub-section (2) of section (7) bringing it into conformity with the new status of India by the omission of the words "Emperor of India",—an omission symbolic of the end of British Imperialism in India. In terms of the Statute of Westminister a change in the royal title cannot be effected by the unilateral action of the British Parliament but requires the concurrence of other members of the British Commonwealth, which, it is hoped, would be forthcoming readily.

The next two sections of the Act, *viz.*, sections (8) and (9) are very important ones as providing for a smooth change-over from the point of transfer of power to the coming into force of the new constitutions for the two new Dominions that are now in the making. On the 15th of August the old constitutional structure based on the India Act of 1935 comes to an end and it would take time to bring the new constitutions into working order. The problem was how to fill up the gap. The solution has been found by adapting the Act of 1935, which, with the necessary adaptations for each Dominion was to serve as the basic constitution, for the transition period, of both the Dominions. Adaptations have been necessitated firstly because the 1935 Act was designed for a united India, while now it has to serve the purposes of a divided India and secondly because the original Act contained many limitations on the powers of the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, and also armed the Governor-General and Provincial Governors with special powers which would be completely out of place in the new set-up. Provisions of

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sub-section (2) of the section sweep off all such special powers along with the powers of reservation and disallowance of provincial legislation and all forms of control by His Majesty's Government over the affairs of the Dominions or the Provinces or any part thereof. The Constituent Assemblies in the interim period are invested with a dual role, that is, to exercise the powers of the Federal Legislature, *i.e.*, the Indian Legislature under the 1935 Act with necessary adaptations besides the framing of the constitutions for which they are expressly meant. Sub-section (3) of section (8) is intended to continue the existing position as between the Centre and the Provinces until other provisions are made by a law enacted by the Constituent Assembly of the relevant Dominion acting as a legislative body. Section (9) is supplementary to the preceding one and creates the machinery for the adaptation of the Government of India Act, 1935 to the needs of the transitional period and provides for the means by which all difficulties of the transition period may be overcome. This has been done by vesting wide powers in the Governor-General to make by orders having the force of laws such provisions as appear to him necessary and expedient, *inter alia*,—(*a*) for bringing the provisions of the Independence Act into effective operation; (*b*) for dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new Provinces to be constituted under the Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council and of the relevant provinces; (*c*) for making omissions from, additions to, and adaptations and modifications of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder in their application to the separate new Dominions; (*d*) for removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act; (*e*) for regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India; and last though not the least, (*f*) for varying the constitution, powers or jurisdiction of any Legislature, Court or other authority in the new Dominions and creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities there. A very formidable array of powers indeed! In fact, the Governors-General of the two Dominions are clothed with all the necessary powers, almost dictatorial in character, to keep the ship of the state on an even keel during the period of transition. That these powers are not merely nominal would be evident from the fact that quite a large number of orders have already been issued in the two Dominions in various spheres under this section. Only one illustration will be enough to demonstrate the vastness of the power. In effecting the adaptation of the Government of India Act, 1935, under this section it is stated that as many as 105 out of the total 321 sections of the Act, dealing with all the obnoxious features of the Act from the nationalist point of view, such as special responsibilities of the Governor-General and Governors, relations of the Crown *vis-a-vis* the Indian States, the commercial safeguards, etc., are to disappear. Further, numerous sub-sections of the various clauses of the Act have been deleted and a number of new provisions added. The First and Second schedules have been omitted and the Third and Fourth schedules remain deleted, observed:

Besides these over two hundred changes have been effected. The whole face of the Act has been changed beyond recognition. No doubt the powers with which the Governor-General has been armed under this section are of a sweeping and all-embracing character having retrospective effect as from June 3, 1947. The only redeeming features are,—(1) the Governors-General as constitutional heads in the exercise of these powers are to be guided by the advice of their ministers; (2) they would be temporary, remaining in force up to March 31, 1948, at the latest and terminable even earlier by the Dominion Legislatures; (3) such orders shall be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of each Dominion. Yet they are of a very extraordinary nature, so far as they go, to be vested in the executive authority of any country and can be justified only by the extraordinary circumstances prevailing in the transition period. But what is still more noteworthy is the lurking danger of deadlocks implicit in the arrangement. Both Sir John Anderson and Mr. Butler raised the point in course of the debate on the Bill in the House of Commons. Many of the orders to be issued by the Governor-General under this section would relate to only one of the Dominions. No difficulty would arise there. But perhaps many more would relate to both the Dominions and in such cases under section 19(1) joint action is contemplated. Even if there had been one Governor-General he would be in difficulty if the two ministries tendered conflicting advice on the same question, but the position has become still more complicated by the institution of two separate Governors-General for the two Dominions. Many big questions of policy such as those relating to the division of assets and liabilities between the new Dominions or between the new Provinces or those regulating the monetary system or matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank are bound to arise in the interim period. Now if the two Governors-General and also the two ministries see eye to eye on all such questions, well and good, but what if they do not, and in the circumstances of the case and in the historical context of the partition of India chances of disagreement are perhaps more in respect of many such questions than those of agreement. The Act has no provision for such a contingency, nor do the statements of Prime Minister Attlee or Mr. Henderson or the Attorney-General Shawcross in reply to the debate serve to clarify the situation. They have all ultimately banked upon the good sense and the spirit of accommodation of the parties, but it should be remembered that accommodation is possible only when the differences are of a minor nature, but not where they are of a fundamental character. Mr. Henderson frankly admitted helplessness in the matter. He said:

> "I frankly say I can see no real means of resolving such a deadlock. If you have a difference of viewpoint on the part of the two Governors, it is quite clear that the deadlock or difference can only be resolved by some action on the part of these Governors and by nothing that we could put into the Bill."

Mr. Attlee's reply was also in the same strain. He

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"It is clear that it can only be worked effectively by agreement between the two Governors-General."

The Attorney General's explanation as to why the Bill did not attempt to make any provision for the resolution of such differences is that the Bill could not attempt to do so consistent with giving complete sovereignty to each of the Dominions. But we think that some machinery for the resolution of such disputes is essential if there is to be a smooth change-over and this can be provided for by relegating all such questions to an arbitration tribunal like the one already functioning in regard to disputes arising out of the division of assets and liabilities between the two Dominions. Inasmuch as such a tribunal as also the sanction for the enforcement of its decisions would presumably rest on the consent of both parties the arrangement would not in any way derogate from the sovereignty of the Dominions. It should be noted here that the Governor-General of either Dominion as also the Provincial Governors are no longer to be bound by the Instrument of Instructions issued to them before the passing of the Independence Act. Sub-section (4) of section (18) of the Act provides that such instruments are to lapse as from the appointed day and any provision of the Act of 1935 relating to such instruments is also to cease to continue in force. This is just in keeping with the changed position of the Governor-General or Governors who cease henceforth to be the agents of His Majesty's Government in the U. K. but are to be constitutional executive heads drawing their inspiration from the people they govern.

The so-called Secretary of State's services have hitherto occupied a somewhat privileged position in the Indian polity that would be out of place in the new set-up. Section (10) of the Act while putting an end to this privileged position of services at the same time assures protection of existing rights and privileges of those members of the services who would continue in the new regime and compensation to those who would retire prematurely due to the change in regime. Under sub-section (1) of section (10), the provisions of the Act of 1935 relating to appointments to the civil services of and civil posts under the Crown by the Secretary of State as also the provisions relating to reservation of posts are to cease to have effect. Sub-section (2) provides that members of the services either appointed by the Secretary of State or Secretary of State in Council who continue to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any province or part thereof or persons appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a judge of the Federal Court or any High Court who continue after that day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and provinces as the case may be, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters, or as respects the tenure of his office, or rights similar thereto as *changed circumstances may permit* as the person was entitled to before the appointed day. The clause as "changed circumstances may permit" is introduced to allow the Dominion Governments to effect changes, say like a general revision of scales of pay that may be necessitated from time to time by exigencies of time. Although the wording of the clause as regards the protection of existing rights and privileges covers only the members of the Secretary of State's Services and superior judges it was announced by both the Prime Minister and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Henderson on the floor of the House of Commons during the passage of the bill that the leaders of the Indian parties agreed to guarantee existing terms and conditions of service to all persons in Government service, whether Central or Provincial. Inasmuch as the British Government had a special degree of responsibility for the members of the Secretary of State's Services the protection of their rights and conditions of service have been placed on a statutory basis, while with regard to others the matter would rest on a sort of gentleman's agreement. Mr. Attlee made it clear that the guarantee would cover pensionary and Provident Fund liabilities, but would exclude any question of discrimination between Indian and non-Indian, though it was not meant to exclude the right of any Government to revise the salaries of their servants from time to time. It was also stated that this would be one of the questions that would be included in the treaty that would eventually be concluded between the British Government and the Dominion Governments covering matters arising out of transfer of power. What led the Indian leaders to offer this inducement to the European members of the Superior Services to continue in service after the transfer of power is perhaps the anxiety to avoid something like a land-slide and to maintain a continuity and it has been purchased with a price. This is no doubt a very important consideration but in the light of events so far one feels misgivings in one's mind as to the wisdom of the course taken. The conduct of the British officers who have continued in service after the appointed day has not been at least above suspicion particularly in relation to the communal disturbances. Whether the suspicion is well-founded or not, it is doubtful if these officers reared in altogether different surroundings and with different traditions are capable at all of adjusting themselves to the new regime.

Sections (11) to (13) deal with the armed and naval forces of India during the transition. It was decided by the Partition Council that until the division of forces is complete and the Dominion Governments are in a position to administer them all the existing armed forces in India would remain under the administration and control of the present Commander-in-Chief who in turn would be under the control of the Joint Defence Council. Section 11(1) provides for this division of the armed forces between the two Dominions by orders to be made by the Governor-General under section (9) of the Act. Mr. Attlee assured on the floor of the House of Commons that immediately after the transfer of power the British armed forces would begin to be withdrawn from India but the process of withdrawal would necessarily be limited by available shipping accommodation. In the intervening period there were to be two Commanders-in-Chief to command the British forces in the two Dominions over whom there would be a supreme Commander-in-Chief who would have operational control and administrative responsibilities

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for the British forces. As far as these forces were concerned he would be directly responsible to the Chiefs of Staff in London instead of the Dominion authorities. British personnel attached to the Indian Army establishments even were not to be subject to the law governing the Indian forces to which they were attached. The Third Schedule lays down the modifications of the Army Act in its application to the British troops during their stay in India. The underlying principle of such modifications is the removal of all powers of interference by the Governor-General and other civilian authorities in India with the internal affairs of the British Army while preserving their powers and duties to the extent that they do not amount to such interference. It was further clarified in course of debate on the Bill that British troops would not be used for maintaining internal order or to take sides as between the two Dominions. Yet the existence of British troops on Indian soil must be viewed as an anomaly in an independent India and in direct conflict with the principle of political independence.

Section (14) deals with the position of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State as the Minister of Crown in charge of Indian affairs was the symbol of British domination over India. In the new set-up the Secretary of State can have therefore no place. Section (14) practically provides for the liquidation of the office together with those of his satellites, the Advisers, and the conduct of relations with India would be transferred to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth relations. During the transition period, however, there would be a considerable volume of work of the nature of outstanding liabilities arising out of past transactions in relation to both the Dominions of India and Pakistan which requires a special machinery to cope with. Section (14), sub-section (1) provides for the institution of a special minister for this purpose and a Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations has been appointed in pursuance of this section. Sub-section (2) sets out the functions which he will be called upon specially to perform, such as "functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, Government debt." Under section 315 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Secretary of State alone was empowered to contract and the Government of India was precluded from contracting sterling loans. That limitation on the power of the latter is, however, to disappear. Section (15) provides that all legal proceedings pending on the appointed day, by and against the Secretary of State shall cease, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned and all such proceedings shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner. We have discussed above only the more important provisions of the Act, but the Act itself does not give us a complete picture of the process of transfer of power. It will have to be followed up and supplemented eventually by a treaty or treaties to be concluded between H. M. Government in U. K. and the Governments of the two Dominions covering all outstanding matters arising out of the transfer of power in India. Negotiations for these treaties are expected to begin as soon as the two Dominions are free from their manifold problems besetting them at the moment and they get into stride. Prime Minister Attlee declared in the House of Commons at the Second Reading of the Bill on July 10 last :

> "Apart from the matters arising out of the transfer of power, there are other very important matters on which we hope to have negotiations with the Indian and Pakistan Governments. We desire to establish by free negotiations, close cordial and effective arrangements with both the Dominions in all fields affecting our common interests and particularly in regard to defence matters and in the economic field."

The Indian Independence Bill come into force on the 15th of August last and the system that it inaugurated is hardly two months old. It is too short a period and we are too near the event to make a correct assessment of its effects or to view it in the true perspective. One is likely to overdraw the picture either as to its good or evil effects according to one's own predisposition towards the measure. We shall not therefore attempt a detailed review of its effects. One or two broad facts of the situation may, however, be noted. In the first place its title is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. The Act confers Dominion status, on the two political entities carved out of what was 'India'. Although Dominion status, as it is at the present day, carries with it the substance of independence, at least juristically and technically speaking it is something different from independenec. It marks, of course, a mile-post on the way to complete independence inasmuch as it leaves the two Dominions free to choose between Dominion status and independence as the basis of the constitutions they are engaged in making for themselves.

Secondly, the fact of the British quittance of India and transfer of power is to be found woven into the whole texture of the legislation. That is no doubt a great thing. As Sardar Patel told a Press Conference some time back :

> "This is a bill, the object of which is to transfer power as quickly as possible. It is not that on all points everybody can be satisfied. There may be some lacuna, some gaps, some difficulties and some doubts but all constitutions are like that. . . On the whole one thing is certain, that is that on August 15, India is completely free. And that is the greatest achievement of India and, one may say, it is one of the greatest acts done in history by any power."

It is an achievement both for India and Britain that political emancipation of over three hundred million people was effected without bloodshed, at any rate at the final stage. As Mr. Attlee remarked :

> "The Bill brings to an end one chapter in the long connection between Britain and India."

At the same time he believed that it would open another chapter which Sir Stafford hoped would usher in an era of co-operation between the two countries. Sir Stafford said that he believed that complete co-operation on the part of India would never be achieved until they *i.e.*, Britain and India could deal with each other on the basis of absolute equality. He thought, "It was that equality which that bill would establish for the first time creating the basis of a greater and more significant friendship between our two countries." Sir Stafford further added :

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"We have started to build the bridge between two great world civilisations, which have much to learn from each other and should have much to contribute to one another. The success which we can show the world in the years that lie ahead in this co-operation may well have a profound effect on world history."

If these hopes of Sir Stafford are realised that alone would be an ample justification for the enactment of the legislation.

Against this achievement we have to set, however, the incalculable loss inflicted on the country by the partition effected by the Act. Whether partition was the best and perhaps the only course in the circumstances, history alone can give the correct answer in future. But the fact remains that the partition has rendered the country poorer and weaker economically, militarily, morally and spiritually and we are reaping perhaps the first fruits of the partition in the shameful events of the Punjab, Delhi and other places. The seeds of disruption that were cleverly sown by the agents of British imperialism years ago have grown into a mighty poison tree which has borne fruit in the partition and fratricidal warfare all around. Let us only hope that now that the British have quit we shall be able to view things in their proper prospective, sanity and sobriety will return to us and the very absurdity and the wholly unnatural character of the thing will lead us to undo the evil machinations of British imperialism. Even the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee himself expressed the hope at the third reading of the Bill in the House of Commons that the partition would only be a temporary phase which would eventually result in a federation in which the parts would have full scope and at the same time unity. Perhaps the Congress leaders who have been valiant fighters in the cause of both freedom and unity all their lives, when they agreed to sacrifice unity for the sake of freedom had also this hope in their mind that freedom would eventually bring back also unity. We shall all live in the fond hope that the day when the two States created by the Act would voluntarily come together and reunite in a bond of perpetual friendship will not be too long to come.

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THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND BREAK-DOWN OF THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

The Political and Administrative Context

By Rai Bahadur BEJOY BIHARI MUKHERJI

VII

We may now turn to discuss briefly the achievements of Bengal's Legislature and its administrative machinery. It is enough if one examines in brief its handling of finance, its effect on the administration, its facing up to economic problems, its post-war reconstruction work, its solution for unemployment and its activities for fighting insanitation and disease.

The first test of efficient administration is the control of finance and the solvency of the Public Exchequer. It may be noted initially that up till 1906 there was a single unit of Government for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The top administrative set-up consisted of one Lieutenant-Governor with one Private Secretary of the Junior grade of the Indian Civil Service, and the Secretariat consisted of one Chief Secretary and three Secretaries. Today there are three Governors in the three Provinces *viz.*, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, over the area what was only the one Province of Bengal, without any addition of any area except that of a small district called Sambalpore. Each one of the Governorships has a complete hierarchy of Secretariat and personal staff. In place of the one British Lieutenant-Governor taken from the Indian Civil Service, there is one British Governor recruited from the public life of the British Empire, in the other two provinces there are two taken from the British members of the Indian Civil Service (in 1947 an Indian member of the Indian Civil Service has been appointed). One must confine oneself, however, only to the province of the present-day Bengal. The financial position stands thus :

	Income (In 10 millions)	*Expenditure* (In 10 millions)	*Result*	*Remarks*
1905-6	5·15	5·35	—·20	Bengal, Bihar Orissa as one Unit
1917-18	9·19	6·80	2·39	
1946-47	31·77 (excluding development)	44·98 (excluding development)	—13·21	

It will be noted that receipts from taxation had gone up and up from five crores to forty-seven crores while expenditure mounted higher still from five crores thirty-five lakhs to forty-five crores. On the other hand, the Bengal Famine Commission and the Flood Commission Report give a lurid picture of the economic collapse of the people. From having near about a balanced budget, the annual deficit had reached near about thirteen crores. The Finance Member, Hon'ble Mahammad Ali of Bengal, in presenting the budget for 1947-48 to the Legislature, stated :

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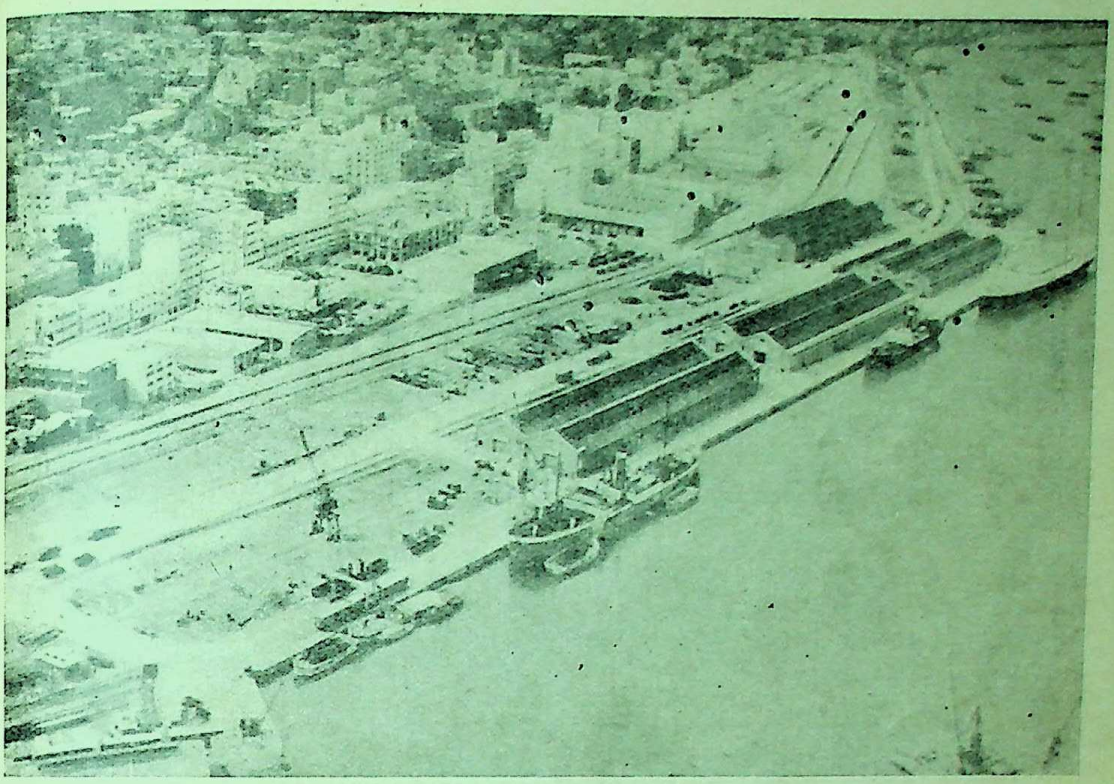
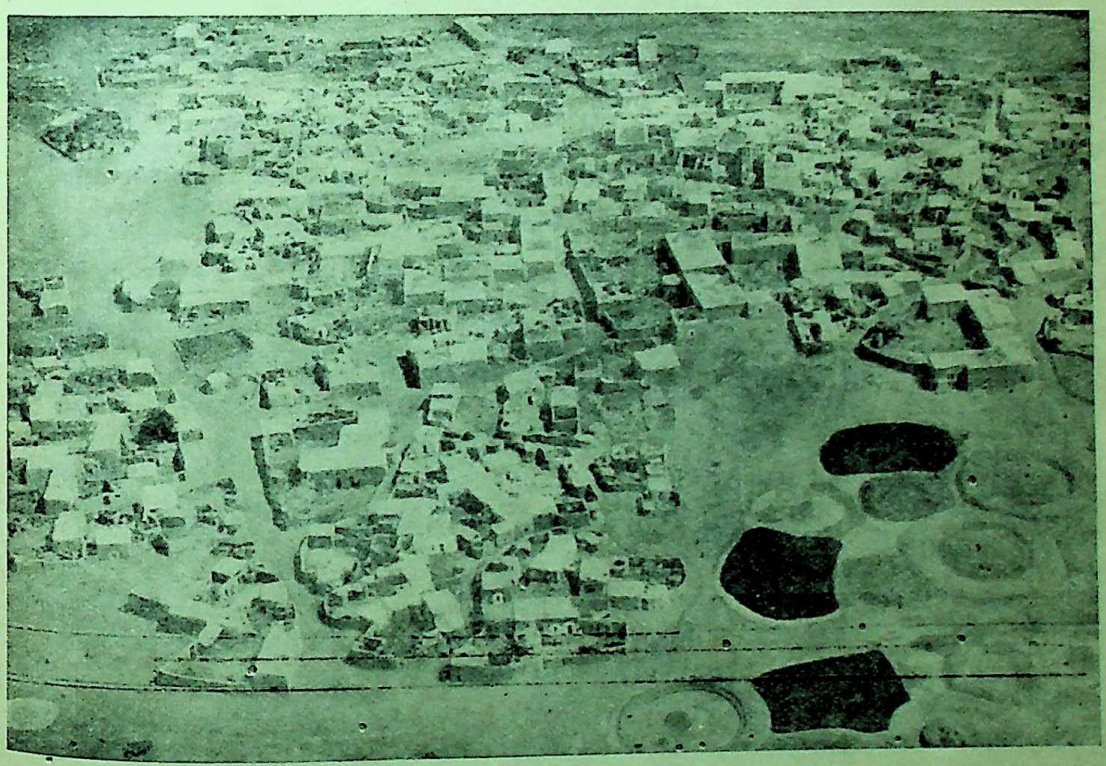


Haifa : A Jewish settlement



An Arab settlement

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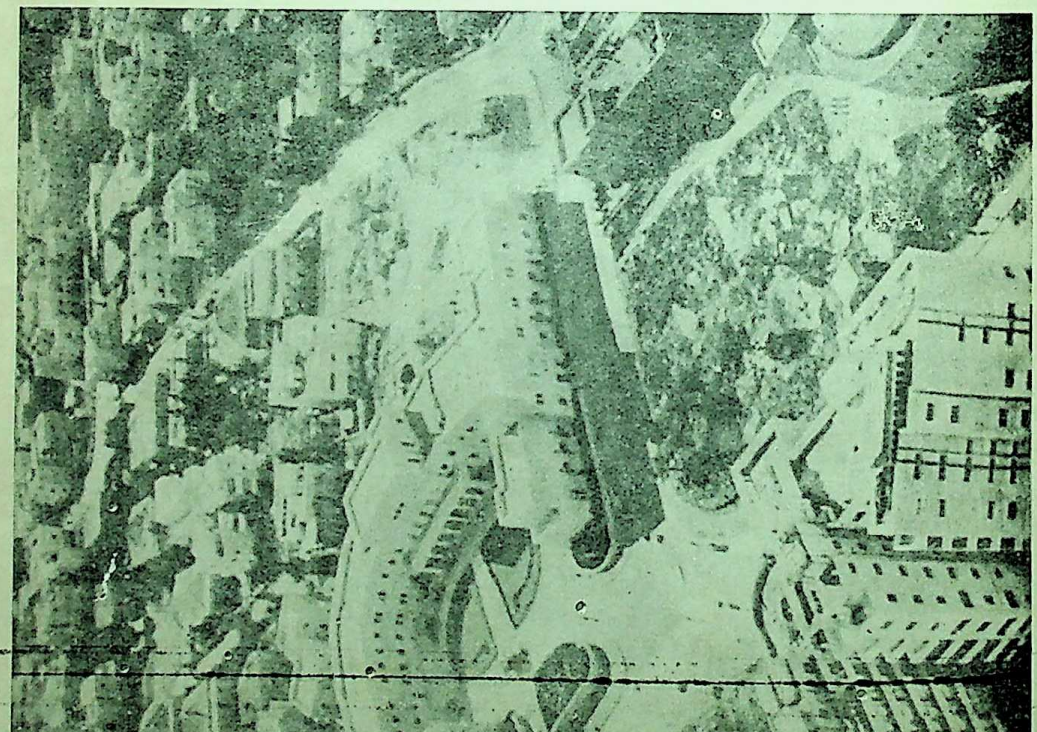
A view of soil erosion along the banks of the Jordan River



An aerial view of Jerusalem

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"It is not wise shutting our eyes to the fact that the financial position of the province is extremely disquieting. No exchequer can contemplate with equanimity the idea of having to support a revenue deficit of the order of twelve crores from year to year for an indefinite period of time."

In the note published in the press,* the Leader of the Opposition submitted to the Vice-President of the Interim Government a protest against the granting of a subvention without close scrutiny of the finances of the Government of Bengal :

"Corruption in recent years has increased manifold, largely as a result of Government's avowed policy of giving contracts, whether in construction or trading, to Muslims whenever possible. No standards are required to be fulfilled by the Muslims. Ministers themselves take active part in the distribution of contracts and other business or in commercial opportunities such as the allocation of spindles to new textile mills or machinery for manufacture of sugar. The control exercised by Government over the various types of consumer goods, as also over industrial raw materials, has greatly widened the scope of distribution of patronage, and of corrupt practices."

The Government continued to issue 'schemes' for post-war development. So far except the Damodar-Rhondihar Canal Scheme, constructed in 1934-36, no scheme worth mentioning has been completed and even the Rhondihar scheme irrigates a fraction of the area of one district. Its further expansion was sterilised by the interplay of subtle forces among political parties. Other schemes mostly were schoolboy sketches or unworkable utopias. Public works were budgeted, and the expenditure duly appeared in proper columns but the actual people on the spot hardly realised the fact of the execution of the work. The "Minorities Pact" referred to before operated. There was nothing on record to show that any European legislator had cared to test on the spot any large-scale expenditure. No Hindu legislator and responsible Hindu officer could dare to criticise, for such criticism was already tarred as "prejudicial judgement."

But the net result of the splendid management had been summed up by the Finance Minister as quoted above. It could hardly be urged that there was lack of officers. In the Secretariat itself in place of one Chief Secretary and three secretaries in 1905, managing as one unit of administration Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, there are now not one but two Chief Secretaries (for a time there were three) with eight secretaries, and with "additionals" the total came to thirteen in the Province of Bengal. In the lower rung, i.e., Sub-Deputy Collectors on the grades of Rs. 100 to Rs. 250 per month had been re-graded on time scale to Rs. 450 as maximum, and the number went up to 498 in 1945 from 105 in 1905 in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Each crisis for the Muslim League Government led to further expansion of cadre, and even to the creation of new classes of officers (Lawyer Magistrate, Jute Development Officer, etc.). Votes for the Government had to be secured, and neither legislators nor partymen would agree to deliver "votes" without at least having a relative provided. Even the "opposition", imbued with the practical sense of "making hay when the sun shines," modified their tone according to plan. There was for example, the "boat" scandal, where about a crore of public money was allocated to build boats. The boats, it is alleged, kept intact on land but melted away with the touch of water and some even refused to be counted when a checker was ultimately sent. The boat-building contract was held by the big-wigs of the Muslim League, some of whom were related to the then Ministers. A committee at long last was appointed and probably in due time would have reported that there was nothing in the contract specifying that boats, when built, must float, but the partition has probably saved them the trouble.

VIII

Economic Conditions

The effect of the administration on the economic conditions was as should be expected. In 1942-43 Bengal had a famine unprecedented in the annals of this province. The Famine Commission, presided over by one of the most experienced and level-headed retired members of the I.C.S. untainted by communal virus, namely, Sir John Woodhead, recorded :

> "A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to the circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed, there was a moral and a social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown."—Report of Sir John Woodhead Famine Enquiry Committee, p. 107.

The number which in itself was a gross underestimate did not include subsequent deaths due to privations suffered.

> "The Bengal famine of 1943 stands out as a great calamity even in an age all too familiar with human suffering and death on a tragic scale."—Sir John Woodhead's Commission, page 1 of the Report.

It might be asked if such catastrophes are chronic in Bengal. No.

> "During the 19th century and the twentieth up to 1943 Bengal was almost entirely free from famine."—The Commission's Report, page 1.

There was a Muslim League Ministry, there was a British Governor with a British member of the I.C.S. as Secretary, a British member of the I.C.S. was the Chief Secretary, a British member of the I.C.S. was the senior member, Board of Revenue, *i.e.*, the highest Revenue authority, there were five British members of the I.C.S. as Commissioners of Division, a British member of the I.C.S. as Director of Food, when this calamity took place. Some say that the prospective Japanese attack (actually only some stray bombs fell thrice in parts of Bengal) upset the machinery of administration, but it is on record that with almost

* *A. B. Patrika*, April 20, 1947.

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daily bombing by a close and far more ruthless and relentless enemy (the Nazis) the people of London actually improved in health and not one died. Sir John Woodhead's Commission concludes :

> "Between the Government in office and the various political parties, between the Governor and his Ministry, between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."—Page 105 of the Report.

It is well-known that almost all the officials mentioned in this article had had many letters of the alphabet added to their names "for devoted and signal service to India." But the "Order of Merit" should have been awarded to the authors of this admirable *divide et impera* plan starting with that Mr. Archibald who brought about the Muslim deputation in 1906-7, and including Lord Minto, the author of Communal Electorate, Lord Curzon, the Empire builder, Lord Morley, the "liberal" statesman who embodied it in the scheme, Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford, Sir John Simon, Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who all played their part in the evolution of this excellent machine used for the retardation of all progress in India, and above all, certainly it should have been given to Winston Churchill, Sir Samuel Hoare and all the authors of the Minority Pact, and to the distinguished group of "fact finding" and "Award-proposing" members of the distinguished Indian Civil Service.

IX

Law and Order

Law and order is supposed to be, in the main, the minimum of state requirements. But latterly, over and above the "normal" crimes, crimes in Railways, with trains held up and with the derailment of trains for murder and plunder, in certain sections in Eastern Bengal, were reported in newspapers, as being frequent occurrences. The ratio of property recovered to property stolen became smaller and smaller, the percentages of convictions for more heinous classes of crimes also began getting smaller. Finally, the Direct Action day declared by Quad-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah and preached with the utmost virulence of language—for which no action was taken—led to the tragic events which have since then been known as the "Great Calcutta Killing." The matter was under enquiry by a Commission presided over by Sir Frederick Spens of the Federal Court prior to partition, but was abandoned afterwards.

Even the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, British owned, which is by no means pro-Indian and still less pro-Hindu, wrote on August 23, 1946, thus :

> "As previously remarked the unparalleled tragedy in Calcutta, the frightful scenes of brutality and destruction during the great killing have inevitably besmirched the name of the Muslim League before India and the world."—*Statesman*, August 23, 1946.

The Direct Action was for "Independence" and was therefore proclaimed naturally against "British Imperialism" but strange to say not one Britisher was hurt. Mr. Casey, the late Governor of Bengal, has correctly remarked :

> "The Muslim League keeps up a certain tempo of anti-British feeling in the Press and on the platform. *But there is no great sting in its fulminations against us.*"—*An Australian in India*, page 111.

The sting is in reality all for the Nationalist Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others. The world knows what is the impelling force behind all the stage-shouts of Quad-e-Azam Jinnah and his Muslim League and whose tune they play in reality. So play-acted also Sir Edward Carson, as De Valera and all patriotic Irishmen know. The Jinnah spirit spread over districts from Calcutta. From the statistics supplied to the Legislature by the Government the following figures are given just as a measure of the suffering of the Hindus. They are for the districts of Tipperah and Noakhali :

	Tipperah	*Noakhali*
Houses burnt	1718	881
Houses looted	2170	2266
Huts burnt	6520	not given
Deaths in riots	40	178
Deaths by police firing	12	—
Deaths by police, military forces action	11	42
Women abducted	5	not given
Forcible conversion	9895	figure not known but ran to thousands

The victims were all members of the "minority community" which does not accept the figure as being anywhere near correct. But they have at least the merit of admission. In reply to the question as to whether the Government deputed any responsible officers to enquire into details of destruction, abduction, etc., and if so whether their reports would be laid before the Legislature it was stated :

> "Mr. Simpson, I.C.S. and Mr. R. Gupta, I.C.S. were deputed but it is not considered desirable that copies of their reports should be made available."—*A. B. Patrika*, **May 2, 1947.**

The world must draw its own conclusions. But the one conclusion on which it is presumed that there will be no difference is that there is complete break-down "in Law and Order." If people were left in complete anarchy possibly some defence as best as possible would have been organised. But while there was not enough strength in the agency of order to prevent victimisation, the law functioned readily to completely control and prevent the possession of arms by the law-abiding citizens while the lawless had the freedom to secure illicit arms to use them. How they were procured and who procured them for the lawless elements, the guardians of law and order cannot or will not find out.

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X.

Corruption in Public Administration

The communal representation in services, the control of details of administration by the League Ministers, the complete disregard of the rules of business which makes it possible for any member in the services to directly approach the ministers, the wide-spread system of canvassing carried on by legislators many of whom, as remarked by Maulvi Fazlul Huq, late Chief Minister, in the conference of teachers, "had not been to school," had resulted in appointments on malafide qualifications on the basis of communalism and nepotism, have had as was only to be expected disastrous effects on the morale of the public services.

So widespread was corruption that the late Governor, Right Hon'ble Mr. Casey, was compelled to draw public attention to it in a broadcast delivered on 10th January, 1944 :

> "It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal and with a great many of decent people in Bengal I very greatly deplore it."

The Government of Bengal appointed an Administration Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Archibald Rowlands, K.C.B., with Mr. N. Baliol Scott as associate member and Mr. J. L. Llewyllyn of the Indian Civil Service as Secretary. In their report submitted in 1945 the Committee observed :

> "We have been told that there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the framework of the Permanent Administration. The services apprehend that amenability to Ministerial pressure and a 'correct attitude' towards questions in which the party for the time being in office is particularly interested, are more likely to lead to promotion than administrative efficiency."—Para 219.
>
> "The Public Service in Bengal enjoyed a high reputation for integrity but that in recent years the position has greatly deteriorated," etc.—Para 223.
>
> "So widespread has corruption become and so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the Public Services and the public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of its population and who in the end have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and the dishonest."—Para 227.

It may be noted that the "defeatist attitude" is the inevitable result when the public seldom finds anyone who is interested in removing his grievances. Neither a moral attitude, nor love of country, nor anxiety to make a stand on principles inspired anyone in authority.

This brief summary, confined only to the statements of authorities, will indicate the rapid financial decline, more than rapid economic decline, the dismemberment of the vestige of law and order and the breakdown of administrative machinery in Bengal consequent to the communal administration. The dismal figures of death and destitution, of insecurity and corruption tell their own tale. This is the system that a group of diehard imperialists of England, who are entrenched in the commercial life of Bengal and in the services, zealously worked for, through the Communal Award, the communal electorate and communal representation in services, by stirring up jealousies and feuds and by setting up reactionary individuals.

XI

There is no record in the history of India that communal groups of Hindus or Muslims or Depressed classes in mass had ever been set against each other at any time in the past. In the battle-field of Prassey in 1757 two generals fought gallantly for Nawab Serajuddoula, they were Mohanlal and Mir Madan, one a Hindu and the other a Muslim. On traversing the field of Plassey and its neighbourhood, the tourist is still shown the place where Mir Madan's horse left his dead body in the village of Fandpore—a shrine worshipped even today by Hindus and Muslims. The place where Mohanlal, the Hindu General, fought the last battle is still pointed out.

Throughout the period from 1765 when the right to collect revenue (the Diwani) was transferred to the East India Company right up to 1858—up till when the East India Company held sway—periodical reports were submitted to Parliament. Not in one report is there any mention of mass murder and rape or of mass arson and looting, either between caste Hindus (and caste was still more rigid then) and the so-called "scheduled" castes, or between Hindus and Muslims. Throughout the great Sepoy Mutiny, when the British "Raj" for the time being was trembling in the balance, is there any record in even British-written history of mass conflicts between Hindus and Muslims? None. The earliest record of such antagonism in Bengal is the history written by Mr. Stewart in 1813 where there is a reference to the enmity between "polytheistic idolatrous Hindus" and "monotheistic and God-worshipping Muslims"—terms which not only indicate the vulgarity and the low spiritual level but also the complete lack of comprehension of the religious ideology in the classes from which Britain recruited some of her Governors-General, Governors and Indian Civil Servants.

In the British-written history of *Bengal Under Lieutenant-Governors*, written by Mr. C. E. Buckland, I.C.S., who was a Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which covered the period from 1853 to the first few years of the 20th century, there is no reference to Hindu-Muslim mass conflicts. As a matter of fact, these two volumes which were published in 1901 there is not even a mention of the Hindu-Muslim question as being a problem.

The Government started printing and publishing annual administration reports of each branch of administration—Judicial, Police, Education, General Administration—from the early forties. There is no mention of Hindu-Muslim mass conflict in those re-

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ports till 1906, the ill-fated year of Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal. Yet as stated before Bengal contains more than one-third of the total Muslim population of the whole of India. In the 18th century, when British rule was non-existent till the latter half, when British rule was barely on its saddle, then throughout the 19th century and right up to the first five years of the 20th century, there is no mention in all the numerous documents and books, written by British officials, British historians, and by British administrators, of Hindu-Muslim conflict or even of the Hindu-Muslim problem in Bengal. The only trouble mentioned in Bengal's history is that of Titu Miyan in 1830 who rose in revolt, plundered both Hindu and Muslim families in a restricted locality where he and his colleagues proclaimed "the extinction of the English rule and the re-establishment of the Mahomedan power. A body of native infantry with some horse artillery...hastened out from Calcutta. The insurgents met the troops with the mangled remains of a European who had been killed on the previous day, suspended in front of the line. A stubborn engagement decided the fate. Titu Mian fell in action." Some surviving adherents were tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.* During the whole of the 19th century, when British rule was being consolidated, there were occasional upheavals—upheavals against the resumption of Revenue grants, upheavals against the "watch and ward" being taken away from local people (Chuai rebellion), the Indigo disturbances against European Planter Masters which led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission in 1861, the disputes between landlords and tenants on the question of adjustment of cash rent with the rise in prices leading to Agrarian Disputes Act of 1867, and disputes about tenancy rights leading to the appointment of Rent Law Commission in 1881. In all these the contesting elements with the same economic interests aligned themselves irrespective of caste, creed, or communal categories. The numerous published and unpublished Government reports make that abundantly clear.

XII

In the meantime, however, other events were occurring. The advantages of a system of commercial-*cum*-administrative exploitation of a colonial people were becoming clearer to a group of British people. On the other hand, the victims in India were feeling the effect. This led to the widespread insurrection which was deliberately misnamed the "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857, which led to ruthless atrocities on either side. The Mutiny, as was natural, was suppressed by the superior organised forces of the Government. In that mutiny Hindus and Muslims had joined forces without stint and declared Bahadur Shah—the descendant of the Emperors of Delhi—as Emperor. The dangers of Hindu-Muslim unity to British rule was brought home to a section of the ruling group. A new psychology took hold of the British rulers. That psychology had two aspects. The one showed up the unity of the people of India as a danger to the existence of British rule in India and the consequent urgent necessity of creating schisms while the other, in which the spirit of vengeance and reprisal dominated, reacted by denying to Indians as a class all chances of growth and strength.

The effect of the unity of Hindus and Muslims in India as a danger to British rule was thus expressed, in veiled language, by Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I.:

> "Nothing could be more opposed to the policy and universal practice of our Government in India than the old maxim of divide and rule; the maintenance of peace among all classes has always been recognised as the most essential duties of our 'belligerent civilisation,' but this should not blind us to the fact that the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better class of Mahomedans are a source of strength and not of weakness."—*India : Its Administration and Progress*, page 338.

Some others were more explicit. Dr. Syed Hossain in his *Revisiting India* records :

> "Lord Elphinstone said in 1859, *Divide et Impera* is the old Roman motto and it should be ours."

Lord Elgin left on record for his successors the advice :

> "Keep the Hindus and the Muslims divided."—*Patrika*, Puja Number, 1946, page 39.

This psychology was intensified by the widespread Muslim Wahabi movement and the murders of Viceroy Lord Mayo and of Mr. Justice Norris by Wahabi Muslim assassins followed by the trial, for conspiracy, of the Muslim Wahabi leaders in 1864. The necessity for the division of the nation into "communities," and for the development of fissiparous tendencies, for the continuance of the British rule, was the one lesson and the need to avoid the chances of Muslim fanaticism and eliminate that dread was another lesson of the Sepoy Mutiny and of the Wahabi movement. Both, it was thought, could be usefully harnessed for the same object. It was along that line of reasoning that Sir William Hunter wrote the book *Mussalmans of Bengal* in 1871, which is full of wrong conclusions and self-contradictory premises. For example, at one place he mentions that the Muslims lack opportunities for education, and at another place quotes the report of the Government Committee of 1871 that Muslim students in the special educational institutions provided by Government were found spending their time with unmentionable women. He concluded that concessions must, none the less, be made for Muslims.

While the better elements of England were speaking through Lord Canning and Queen Victoria's Proclamation, other elements, more powerful though vile, had been working, through the Services and the commercial community, to undo all efforts to improve the position of Indians.

* Sir W. Hunter's *Mussalmans of Bengal*, pages 46-47.

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Lord Canning's letter to Queen Victoria describes the position of the other group thus :

"One of the greatest difficulties which lie ahead —and Lord Canning grieves to say so to Your Majesty—is the violent rancour of a very large proportion of the English community against every native of every class. Nor does it occur to those who talk and write most upon the matter that for the Sovereign of England to hold and govern India without employing and, to a great degree, trusting natives, both in civil and military service, is simply impossible. It is no exaggeration to say that a vast number of the European community would hear with pleasure and approval that every Hindu and Muslim had been proscribed and that none would be admitted to serve the Government except in a menial office. That which they desire to see is a broad line of separation and of declared distrust, drawn between us Englishmen and every subject of Your Majesty who is not a Christian and who has a dark skin. There are some who entirely refuse to believe in the fidelity or goodwill of any native towards any European although many instances of the kindness and generosity of both Hindus and Mahomedans have come up on record during these troubles."—*Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III, page 251.

It is this group which had persistently stood for and succeeded in sterilising largely all efforts to speed up the progress of India and thwart the efforts of those, Indians as well as Englishmen, who were working for that object. It was this group which drew up the blue-print of hatred and war between communities and communal interests and worked it out with scientific precision, linking it up and developing it as the exigencies of the situation demanded. The lines of reaction became more and more aggressive with the tempo of the growth of nationalism in India, particularly in Bengal. In 1892, when there was just a gesture of advance for self-government, Lord Kimberley, as the spokesman on the Indian Councils Bill of 1892 in the House of Lords, developed a sudden anxiety for the 'minorities' of India. This spring of humanitarianism seems to lie deeply inherent in the Imperialist groups of the British nation. It gushes forth at psychological moments when another nation tries to attain liberty. It gushed forth when Lenin attempted to free Russia from the misrule of the Romanoff Czars and led Great Britain into organising and sending the White Russian army to suppress the Bolsheviks. The White Russian army was smashed but the memory haunts the Kremlin and overshadows every conference in which Russia takes part. Similarly, it worked in the secret support of Franco against the Spanish Republicans. In Ireland it resulted in the separation of Ulster, as a reminder of the historic role of English landlordism in that long-suffering but brave land. Similarly it worked in devious and crooked ways in Poland, "Sudeten land" and other areas of Central Europe, as it did recently in Greece. But it was in India, in Bengal, with a helpless and trusting people as its victims, that its operations were bold, outrageous and unrelenting.

"General Dyer's thirty-thousand pounds were largely the result of a sub-conscious argument—this will be a slap in the face for that fellow Montagu, a Jew Secretary of State for India. We will show him what we think of his reforms."—Edward Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal*, page 113.

It was more or less the psychology of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and of the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of which Jallianwalabagh was only the expression of a part. The interest in the Minority taken by Lord Kimberley in 1892, developed later into a love for that community by Lord Minto. "Minto had a liking for Muslims," writes John Buchanon, his famous biographer, and so he worked for and finally obtained sanction for a separate communal electorate. The ground was paved by Lord Curzon.

"Did not Lord Curzon as a Viceroy flout Hindu opinion by the partition of Bengal in the hope of winning favour with the Muslims? And worst of all did not the introduction of communal electorates by the Government of England aggravate and intensify Hindu-Muslim rivalry? Indians have no doubt in their minds that the British policy has always been 'Divide and Rule'—the historic policy of conquerors throughout ages.—V. H. Rutherford, *Modern India*, page 48.

Even the Conservative Lord Salisbury in the Lords debate stated :

"To an Englishman such an arrangement (communal electorate) was the grossest absurdity. It was not self-government at all. There was no means of working self-government on those lines. India does not want the communal award. At least, the Hindus do not want it. They hate it. They form 75 per cent of the country. The Muslims want it and the honest truth of the matter is that the Government are anxious to conciliate Muslim opinion. I hold no brief for either Hindus or Muslims. But even if I preferred the Muslims to Hindus, I must say that there is no future for such a gerry-mandering policy. To draw up a scheme on the grounds that it would please the Muslims rather than Hindus is to found it on a complete constitutional fallacy."

XIII

They could not frame a policy on these grounds, nothing which would last, even if they were not ashamed to do so. However it was not the principle that was determining policy but it was policy that was dictating procedure. The Minority of Lord Kimberley of 1892 grew into the favoured community of Lord Minto in 1908, which, when supported and nursed by the Communal Award of 1934, was finally "born" as a "Nation" in 1940.

The technique is well-known to the die-hard group. It is Lecky who has left it on record :

"Twenty-three practising Barristers voted for the union of Ireland with England in the House of Commons in 1800. In 1803, six of them were on the Bench ; while eight others had received high honours under the Crown. Thirty-two Barristers voted for the Union (166 against) at the Bar debate in 1799. In 1803 not more than five of them were unrewarded."

Mr. Gardiner in his notes on the life of Sir Edward Carson writes :

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"Twenty-three years of resolute government was Salisbury's grim prescription after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, not freedom but a gaol. He sent his nephew to direct the campaign and the sword of vengeance was put in the hand of the young Dublin Barrister. Ireland has always been a generous land to those lawyers who have been willing to serve the Castle."—*Pillars of Society*, page 121.

Mr. Gardiner records that Mr. Carson (later Sir Edward) profited by his loyalty to the Castle, swept through the country as the Crown Prosecutor, imprisoned a score or more of Irish members for daring to address their constituencies and was promptly rewarded for his services by being appointed Solicitor-General. The same group in India and England had less difficulty in boosting Quad-e-Azam Mahammad Ali Jinnah. As a lawyer he had already prospered. In fact, he had made his pile and retired to England, to practise in the Privy Council, and was actually practising there when the "Minority Pact" between the Anglo-Muslim combine that took place at the end of the Round Table Conference in 1932 resurrected him. He had been in the front rank of Congress politicians once but living in his Malabar Hill marble palace he found the non-co-operation movement making too great a demand on him, in asking him to leave all and follow the nation. Gandhi, Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and others had accepted the challenge, but Jinnah's heart quailed before the magnitude of the task. From the Malabar Hill marble palace he went to London to practise in the Privy Council. The group that had provided the sterilising counter-moves to every attempt to the progress of India discovered him there. His frustrations took shape. He had missed the leadership of the Indian nation, therefore he must found a nation and become its leader. The escape mechanism was thus put in his hand

XIV

"Ireland was a poor country in fact but a rich country to sell," said an Irish Judge who had himself profited by the process. So is India. The buyer is rich in resources. "A Barrister," said Carlyle, "is a loaded blunderbuss; if you hire it, you blow out the other man's brains; if he hires it, he blows out yours." Here was Quad-e-Azam Mahammed Ali Jinnah who knew Indian politics from A to Z, a lawyer, a clever lawyer at that, suffering from the frustrations of missed leadership. The group—that had been England's evil genius in India—found a kindred spirit very handy.

"It is doubtless difficult for fair-minded persons, acquainted with the enlightened nature of democracy in England, to believe that the British laid aside many scruples in the Empire and exploited and presented religious, social and political division, in order to keep a firm hold on the colony. But it is no simple task to dominate four hundred million people with a small administrative apparatus and an army and navy. It was a difficult task in view of the rising tide of Indian self-assertion. The British, therefore, took Indian support where they found it. They took it from puppet Maharajahs—they took it during the war from Communists who secured concrete help from the British administration because, loyal to Moscow instructions, they were the only pro-war party. They utilised Hindu-Muslim differences and Hindu untouchability hostility to bolster their position. They rule because they can divide."—Louis Fischer, *The Great Challenge*, page 168.

"Jinnah told me that 75 per cent of all Moslems in India were formerly Hindus converted to Islam—Nehru put the figure at 95 per cent. In any case, the bulk of the Hindus and the Muslims are of the same racial origin. A Hindu Bengalee is indistinguishable from a Muslim Bengalee in appearance and language. Ethnographically India is much more homogeneous than the Soviet Union or Switzerland and probably than the United States. . . .

"The Viceroy Sir Archibald Wavell, many key British officials I consulted. Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Azad the Muslim President of the Congress, in fact, every person I talked within India—affirmed that there was little or no friction between Hindu and Muslims in the villages and India is 90 per cent village. The Hindu-Muslim problem is a man-made city problem, a problem of the job-poor city."—Louis Fischer, *The Great Challenge*, page 150.

The source that inspired the publication of the Pakistan scheme in Cambridge, the source that scattered anonymous pamphlets known as "Red Pamphlets." in tens of thousands broadcast through Bengal, exciting Muslims to attack the Hindus, in the stormy days of political excitement, could easily, under a clever Muslim spokesman or one of subsidised scheduled-caste speakers, bolster up a movement with its full equipment of twisted history, of group-psychology stimulants, and the technique of Western diplomacy and propaganda. It was found easy to bluff Englishmen at home and to bluff undeveloped sections in India and excite them and thereby to bluff the world. The worst effect was in Bengal. It has already been shown what the constitution, so sedulously camouflaged as democracy, had done in impoverishing the Public Exchequer, in the breakdown of law and order in the Famine of 1942-43, in the corruption of public administration and public morals. The long and scientifically laid down blue-print of civil war was thus worked out in detail with malicious intent. The last 40 years of Indo-British misrule of Bengal forms the darkest chapter of its history. The vindictive rancour with which the Hindus generally and the caste-Hindus in particular were being persecuted is possibly without a parallel in history. Its presentation in full is called for in the interests of the Englishmen at home, of India and of the world.

Bengal stands spiritually shaken today. Its progress has been thwarted. Its economics has been broken up. Its culture has been vulgarised. Its intellect has been suppressed and its emotions smothered. All these have been brought about because the Bengal Hindus generally and the Caste Hindus in particular had striven and fought hard for freedom.

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RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND

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By T. K. MOOKERJI

The stranger who would form a correct opinion of English character, must not confine his observations to the metropolis. He must go into the country; he must visit castles, villas, farm-houses, cottages; he must sojourn in villages and hamlets; he must wander through parks and gardens; along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend fairs, and other rural festivals; and meet the people in all their conditions, and all their habits and humours.

In some countries the large cities absorb the wealth and fashion of the nation; they are the only mixed abodes of elegant and intelligent society, and the country is inhabited almost entirely by boorish peasantry. In England, on the contrary, the metropolis is a mere gathering place, or general rendezvous of the polite classes, where they devote a small portion of the year to a particular hurry of gaeity, and having indulged this kind of carnival, return again to the apparently more congenial habits of rural life. The various orders of society are therefore diffused over the whole surface of the kingdom, and the most retired neighbourhood affords specimens of the different ranks.

The English, in fact, are strongly gifted with the rural feeling. They possess a quick sensibility to the beauties of nature and art, and a very keen relish for the pleasures and enjoyments of the country. This passion seems inherent in them in general. Even the inhabitants of cities, born and brought up among brick-walls and bustling streets, enter with great facility into rural habits, and evince a tact for rural occupation. The merchant has his snug retreat in the vicinity of the metropolis, where he often displays as much pride and zeal in the cultivation of his flower-garden, and the maturing of his fruits, as he does in the conduct of his business and the success of a commercial enterprise. Even those less fortunate individuals, who are doomed to pass their lives in the midst of din and traffic, contrive to have something that shall remind them of the green aspect of nature. In the city the drawing-room window resembles frequently a bank of flowers; every spot capable of vegetation has its grass-plot and flower-bed; and every square its mimic park, laid out with picturesque taste, and gleaming with refreshing verdure.

Those who see the Englishman only in town are apt to form an unfavourable opinion of his social character. He is either absorbed in business, or distracted by the thousand engagements that dissipate time, thought, and feeling in this huge metropolis. He has, therefore, too commonly a look of hurry and abstraction. Wherever he happens to be, he is on the point of going somewhere else; at the moment he is talking on one subject, his mind is wandering to another; and while paying a friendly visit he is calculating how he shall economise time so as to pay other visits in the morning. An immense Metropolis, like London, is calculated to make men active and smart. In their casual and transient meeting they can but deal most briefly in commonplaces. They present but the cold superficies of general character—its rich and genial qualities have no time to be warmed into a flow.'

It is in the country that the Englishman gives vivid scope to his natural feelings. He breaks loose gladly from the cold formalities of the town; throws off his habits of shy reserve, and becomes joyous and free-hearted. He manages to collect round him all the conveniences and elegancies of polite life, and to banish its restraints. His country-seats abound with every requisite, either for studious retirement, tasteful gratification, or rural exercise. Books, paintings, music, horses, dogs, and sporting implements of all kinds, are at hand. He puts no constraint either upon his guests or himself, but in the true spirit of hospitality provides all the means of good enjoyment, and leaves everyone to partake according to his inclination.

* * * *

The taste of the English in the cultivation of land, and in what is called landscape gardening, is unrivalled. They have studied Nature intently, and discovered an exquisite sense of beautiful forms and most harmonious combinations. Those charms, which in other countries she lavishes in wild solitudes, are here assembled round the haunts of domestic life. They seem to have caught her coy and furtive graces, and spread them, like witchery, about their rural abodes.

Nothing can be more imposing than the magnificence of English park scenery. Vast lawns that extend like sheets of vivid green, with here and there clumps of gigantic trees, heading up rich piles of foliage; the solemn pomp of groves and woodland glades, with the deer trooping in silent herds across them; the hare bounding away to the covert; or the pheasant, suddenly bursting upon the wing; the brook taught to wind in natural meanderings, or expand into a glassy-lake; the sequestered pool, reflecting the quivering trees, with the yellow leaf sleeping on its bosom, and the trout roaming fearlessly about its limpid waters, while some rustic temple or statue, grown green and dark with age, gives an air of classic sanctity to the seclusion.

* * * *

These are but a few of the features of a park scenery; but what most delights me, is the creative talent with which the English decorate the abodes of middle life. The rudest habitation, the most unpromising and scanty portion of land, in the hands of an Englishman of taste, becomes undoubtedly a little paradise. With a nicely discriminating eye he seizes at once upon its capabilities, and pictures in his mind the future landscape. The sterile spot grows into loveliness under his hand; and yet the operations of art which produce the effect are scarce to be perceived. The cherishing and training of some trees; the cautious pruning of others; the distribution of flowers and tender and graceful foliage; the introduction of a

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green shop of velvet turf, the partial opening to a peep of blue distance, or silver gleam of water; all these are managed with a delicate tact, like the magic touchings with which a painter finishes up a favourite picture.

The residence of people of fortune and refinement in the country has diffused a degree of taste and elegance in rural economy, that descends to the lowest class. The very labourer, with his thatched cottage and narrow slip of ground, attends to their embellishment. The trim hedge, the grass-plot before the door, the little flower-bed bordered with snug box, the woodbine trained up against the wall, and hanging in its blossom about the lattice, the pot of flowers in the window, the holly, providentially planted about the house, to cheat winter of its dreariness, and to throw in a semblance of green summer to cheer the fireside; all these bespeak the influence of taste, flowing down from high sources, and pervading the lowest levels of public mind. If I ever love, as poets sing, delights to visit a cottage, it must be the cottage of an English peasant.

The fondness of rural life among the higher classes of the English has had a great and salutary effect upon the national character. Instead of the softness and effiminacy which characterise the men of rank in most countries they exhibit a union of elegance and strength, a robustness of frame and freshness of complexion, which I am inclined to attribute to their living so much in the open air, and pursuing so eagerly the invigorating recreations of the country. These hardy exercises produce also a healthful tone of mind and spirits, and a manliness and simplicity of manners, which even the follies and dissipations of the town can't easily pervert, and can never entirely destroy. In the country, too, the different orders of society seem to approach more freely, to be more disposed to blend and operate favourably upon each other. The distinctions between them do not appear to be so marked and impassable as in the cities.

In rural occupation there is nothing mean and debasing. It leads a man forth among scenes of natural grandeur and beauty; it leaves him to the workings of his own mind, operated upon by the purest and most elevating of external influences. Such a man may be simple or rough, but he can't be vulgar. The man of refinement, therefore finds nothing revolting in an intercourse with the lower orders in rural life, as he does when he casually mingles with the lower orders of the cities. He lays aside his distance and reserve, and is glad to waive the distinctions of rank, and to enter into the honest heart-felt enjoyments of common life. Indeed the very amusements of the country bring men more and more together; and the sound of the hound and horn blend all feelings of harmony. I earnestly believe that this is one great reason why the nobility and gentry are more popular among the inferior orders in England than they are in any other country; and why the latter have endured so many excessive pressures and extremities, without repining more generally at the unequal distribution of fortune and privilege.

* * * * *

To this mingling of cultivated and rustic society may also be attributed the rural feeling that runs through British literature; the frequent use of illustrations from rural life; those incomparable descriptions of nature that abound in the British poets and philosophers, that have continued to carry down from *The Flower and the Leaf* of Chaucer, fragrance of the dewy landscape. The pastoral writers of other countries appear as if they had paid Nature an occasional visit and become acquainted with her general charms; but the British poets and philosophers have lived and revelled with her—they have wooed her in her most secret haunts—they have watched her minutest caprices. A spray couldn't tremble in the breeze—a leaf could not rustle to the ground—a diamond drop could not patter in the stream—a fragrance couldn't exhale from the humble violet, nor even a daisy unfold its crimson tints to the morning, but it has been noticed by these impassioned and delicate observers of nature, thoughts and sentiments, and wrought up into some beautiful morality.

The effect of this devotion of elegant minds to rural occupations has been wonderful on the face of the country. A great part of the island is rather level and would be monotonous, were it not for the charms of culture and art: but it is studded and gemmed, as it were, with castles and palaces, and embroidered with parks and gardens. It doesn't abound in grand and sublime prospects, but rather in little home scenes of rural repose and sheltered quiet. Every antique farmhouse and moss-grown cottage is an excellent picture, as the roads are continually winding, and the view is shut in by a continual succession of small landscapes of captivating loveliness.

The great charm, however, of English scenery is the moral feeling that seems to pervade it. It is associated in the mind with ideas of order, of quiet, of sober, well-established principles, or hoary usage and reverend custom. Everything seems to be the growth of ages of regular and peaceful existence. The old church of remote architecture, with its low, massive portal, its tower, its windows rich with tracery and painted glass, in scrupulous preservation; its stately monuments of warriors and worthies of the olden time, ancestors of the present soil; its tombstones, recording the successive generations of sturdy yeomanry, whose progeny still plough the same fields, and kneel at the same altar—the parsonage, a quaint irregular pile, partly antiquated, but repaired and altered in the tastes of various ages and occupants—the footpaths leading from the churchyard, across pleasant fields, and long shady hedge-rows according to an immemorial right of way—the neighbouring village, with its venerable cottages, its public green sheltered by trees under which the forefathers of the present race have sported—the antique family mansion, standing apart in some little rural domain, but looking down with a protecting air of surrounding scene; all these common features of English landscape evince a calm and settled security, and hereditary transmission of home-bred virtues and local attachments, that speak deeply and touchingly for the moral character of the nation.

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PHILIPPINE ISLANDS BECOME INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC ON JULY 4, 1946

July 4, 1946, ushers in a new era for the Philippines, for on this day in keeping with the United States pledge, the Islands become a sovereign republic. The date was set more than ten years ago in the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, and World War Two has not been allowed to delay independence.

The late President Roosevelt signing the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 granting the Philippines independence

From the beginning five decades ago, the United States extended control over the islands after the Spanish-American War in 1898, independence was set as the goal by both the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States. Beginning with the Organic Act passed by the U. S. Congress in 1902, which provided for a general election and a bicameral legislature, Congress further extended the Filipinos' governmental powers under the Jons Act in 1916, and in 1935 under the Tydings-McDuffie Act passed a year earlier, the Philippine Commonwealth was set up in preparation for complete independence in 1946.

The Phillippine Islands cover an area in the western Pacific a little smaller than the British Isles—4,000 square miles. Although they comprise more than 7,000 islands, only 2, 773 have names and only 462 have an area of one square mile or more. The nothernmost island is 65 miles from Formosa and the southernmost 30 miles from Borneo. By occupying these islands the Japanese attempted to set up a defensive wall protecting the whole east coast of Asia.

The Philippines are mountainous and in the larger islands the ranges, volcanic in origin, are continuous and reach a height of 10,000 feet. Large rivers are few. small streams many.

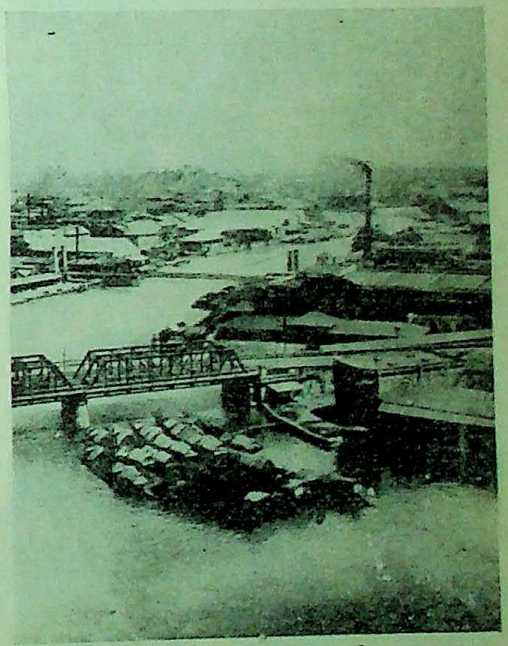
The 1939 census gave the population of the Philippines as 16 million, with Filipinos numbering 15,800,000. Of the foreign population the Chinese led with 117,000. There are 43 ethnographic groups, speaking 87 languages and dialects.

Education in the Philippines is free, secular and co-educational. In 1941 there were 12,000 public schools and 439 private schools and colleges. The population is 48 per cent literate on the basis of Tagalog, which is the national language, and English.

Agricultural Economy

The Philippines are primarily agricultural, though little more than 12 per cent of their area, half of which is wooded, is cultivated. Eighty per cent of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The Islands before the war ranked fifth in the world's sugar production, have one of the world's great stands of timber and enjoy virtually a world monopoly of hemp.

More than three years of Japanese occupation, pillaging and destruction have changed economic conditions in the Islands. The acreage of rice had to be drastically reduced owing to the loss of 40 per cent of the *carabaos*, the sturdy water buffalo, without which rice cultivation is almost impossible. The great export industries—sugar, copra, abaca and tobacco—which were the Philippines' most important pre-war sources of revenue, were badly damaged.



The Pasig River, which winds through the heart of Manila, carries much small shipping

In April, 1946, two major steps were taken by the United States to bolster the Philippines in their acquisition of independence on July 4. They are the enactment of

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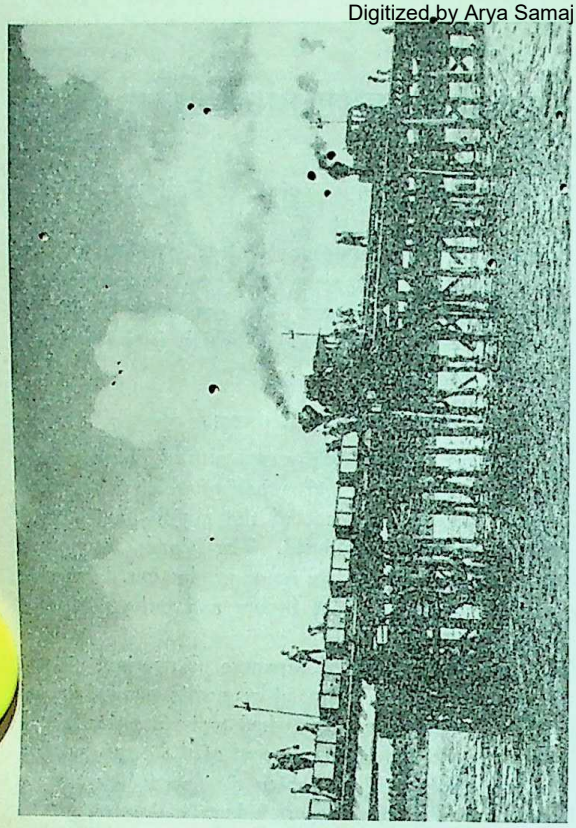
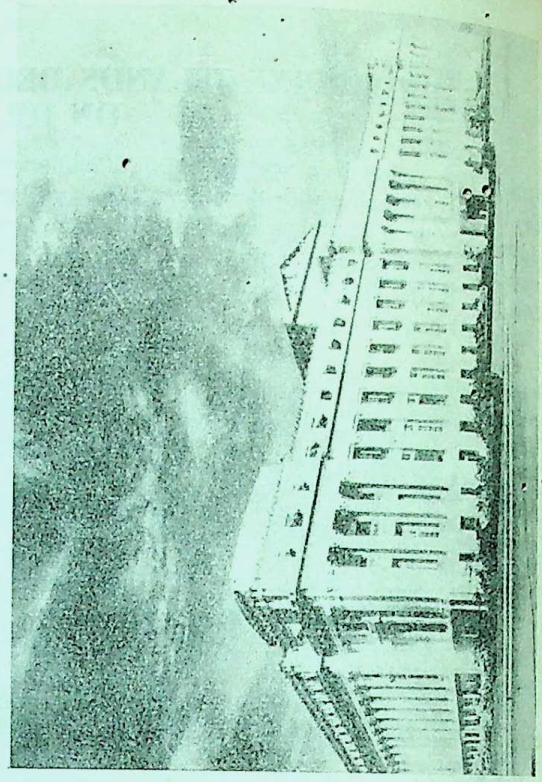
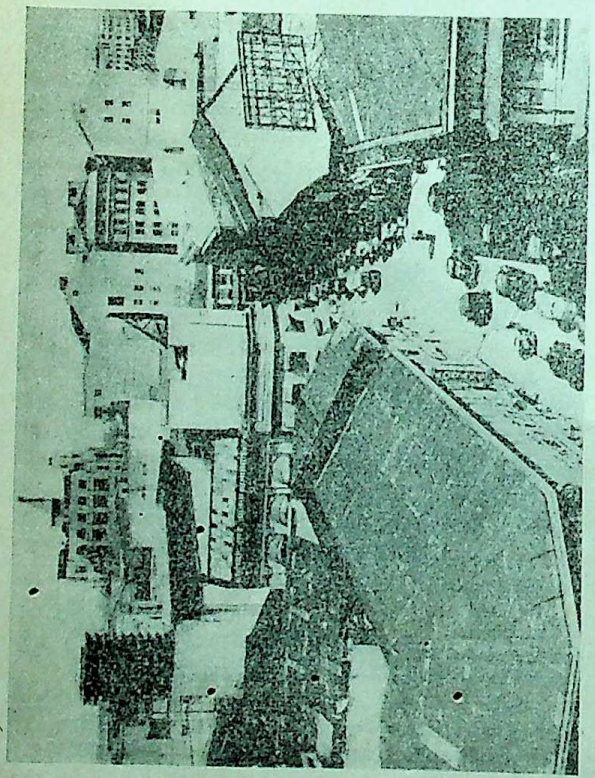
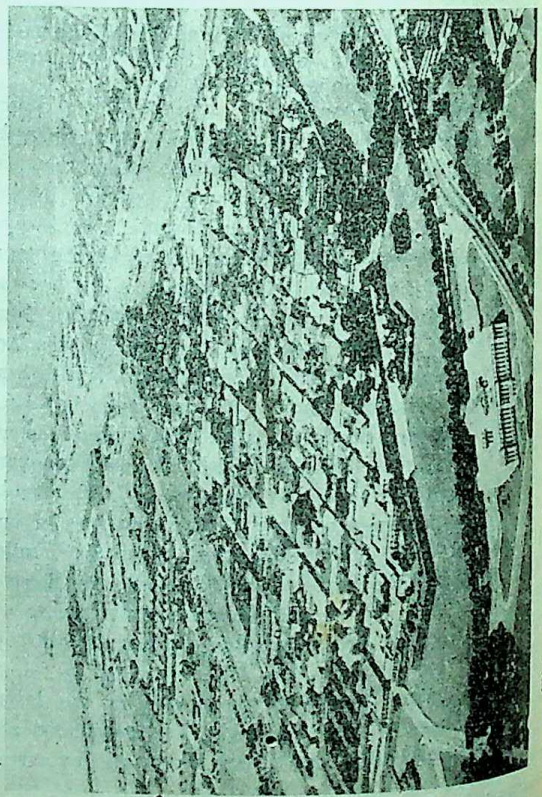


Iron ore being hauled out to the pier, Luzon, Philippine Islands





The Escolta, main business street of Manila, capital of Philippines



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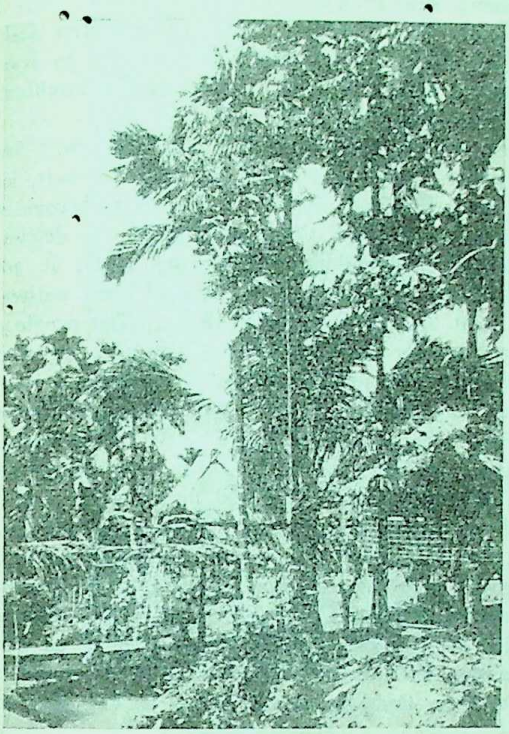
the Philippines Rehabilitation Act and the Bell Trade Act. These bills take cognizance of the double task of guiding the Philippine economy towards the self-sufficiency of a sovercign people—formidable enough under normal conditions—and rehabilitation.



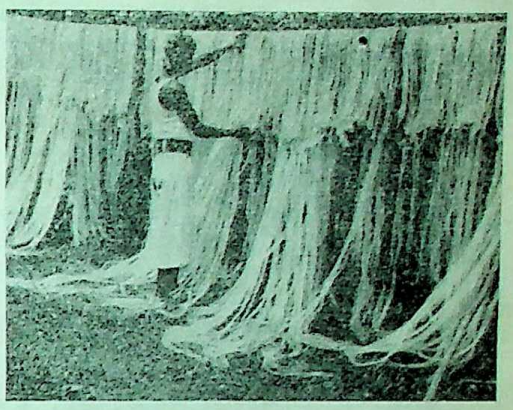
A tiny coccanut farm in Luzon

The Philippine Rehabilitation Act provides for compensation of 450 million dollars in war damages. Of this 330 million dollars is allocated to private property, beginning with the reconstruction of the building materials industry and elementary production facilities. The rest of the appropriation provides for the restitution of public property, such as government buildings, schools, hospitals and roads.

In addition, 30 million dollars worth of war surplus property are to be turned over to the Philippine administration. Subsidiary programs are to be undertaken with funds allocated by the U. S. President from unexpected appropriations. Under this heading airplanes, and ships for fishing and transport will be made available.

Tariff Benefits Provided

The restoration of the former productive facilities alone would not fully solve the economic problems of the Philippines as an independent state. The economic progress of the Islands was based to a large extent on the duty-free exchange of goods with the United States, which resulted in wages and living standards well above the Orient avarage.



Drying Manila hemp at Jolo

To avoid the disruptive effects of a sudden withdrawal of tariff benefits, the Bell Trade Relations Act provides for duty-free imports of Philippine goods for eight years subject to quotas (for example, 760,000 tons of sugar, six million pounds of cordage, 200 million cigars, 6.500.000 lb. of tobacco). Tariffs would be introduced from 1954, with a levy of five per cent of the regular duty, to be increased by yearly steps of five per cent until the full duty is levied—which will not be till 1974.

As a further step in the program to aid Philippine rehabilitation, the United States is sending an agricultural mission to the Islands to advise on actions to meet the emergency problems and on the long-range steps to be taken to raise production and consumption levels, build purchasing power and higher living standards and make order out of chaos in the nation's economy. The mission will also indicate in what manner the United States can collaborate to expedite the rehabilitation program.—*USIS*

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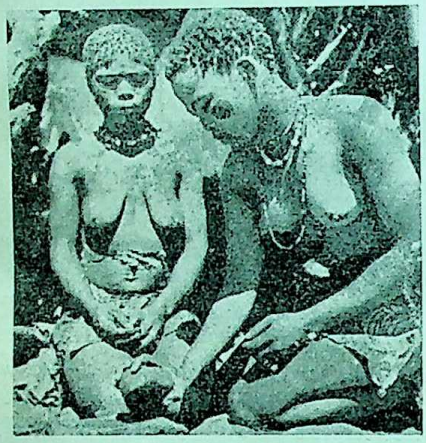
IN THE DESERTS OF AFRICA

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

AFRICA can no longer be claimed as a game for adventurous European Powers. The Pan-African Congress may not have been fully representative in the sense its title would suggest, but its voice has always been the voice of Africa's teeming millions, the expression of the collective thought of the African Youth who are the initiators of the future. The *Negro World* has stimulated a movement among the Negroes of Africa to make Negro consciousness stand out defiantly against White domination.

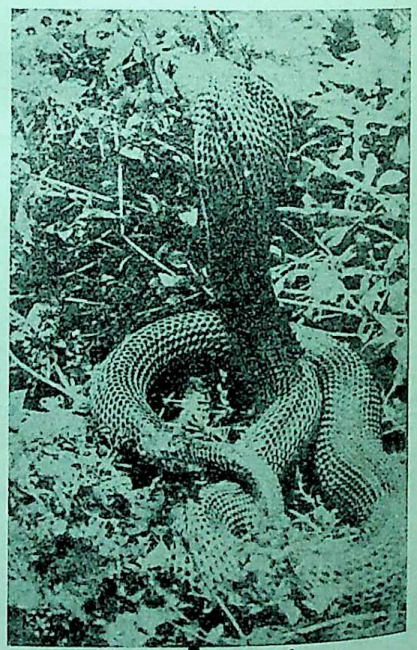


African women making cosmetics

Although very little is known in India about the magnificence of African deserts, yet artists and travellers have provided interesting accounts to readers. I went to Africa at a time when the German submarine menace during World War I was at its worst off the Indian Ocean and the use of ships accordingly was curtailed for transport of troops and war materials from India into the hinterlands of Africa.

The troop-ship in which I sailed for Africa landed me on the big East African harbour Dar-es-salaam. Climbing past the forests and villages of Kenya and the Sudan, which are linked with the epic Middle Age and bearing indelible marks of the ever-changing phenomena of varied historical influences, the Sahara and the Lybian Deserts have been a source of inspiration to many poets, historians and warriors alike. A cross-country drive along the left bank of the Nile unfolds a thrilling, ennobling spectacle of vast masses of brick and stone with inner chambers and subterranean entrances. Silhouetted against the dark blue sky in the distant background you see the Great Pyramid built by Cheops, the Egyptian king for his tomb and there he was buried. It is supposed to have been originally enclosed in a marble casing and has a height of 480 feet and its base is 764 feet square. Lying majestically between the Sudan and the Barbary States and extending up to the Atlantic coast you come across large, barren, uninhabited tracts of the country which are noted for lions, snakes, and elephants. It is stated that in the Lybian and Nubias Deserts and in the jungles surrounding them lions and elephants are found in abundance. Outmatching the grandeur of large towns and cities, the Lybian and Nubian Deserts, after dusk, present an idyllic sight in which one appears to live in a dreamland with lights now glimmering, now brightening in the dense shrubbery of the woods.

In most of the deserts of Africa you will find the tall yellow-brown people with lightly tufted hair, lobeless ears, narrow eyelids, dry skin that tends to become wrinkled with old age, and the singular ability to defend their women-folk and children from enemy raids; in addition to their own racial peculiarity some of these natives have both Arab and Mongol characteristics. The people of the deserts are nomads living without livestock, agriculture or permanent dwellings, moving as the seasons change in a never-ending search for food and water. These negroes are said to be the most primitive people of the world. For centuries they have been victims of powerful White domination. These white people moved into their area and later butchered thousands of them during the raids in their hunt for slaves, ivory and gold. Livingstone pictured this tragedy in most pathetic terms. "Blood, blood, everywhere," he wailed. Africa was bleeding to death. Nearly two million souls a year were carried elsewhere as slaves in Livingstone's days. This increasing slave traffic of the Royal Nigar Company, the East African Company and the



A king cobra, East Africa

Chartered Company made it inevitable to add over one million square miles with more than twenty-five million inhabitants to the British Empire. Today the inhabitants of Africa are protected by social and political mandates. Their leaders like Kilama, Burghardt Du Bois, Prof.

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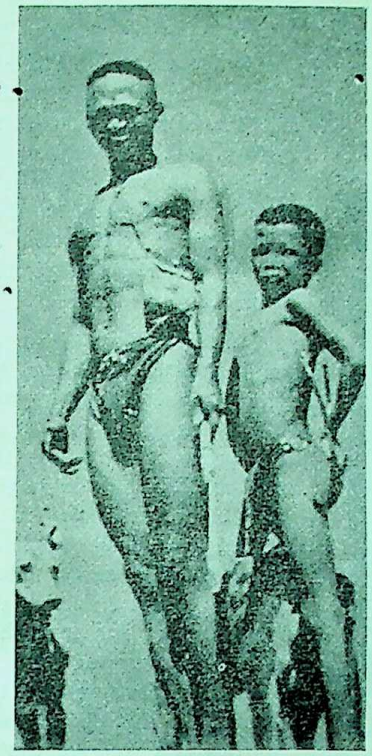
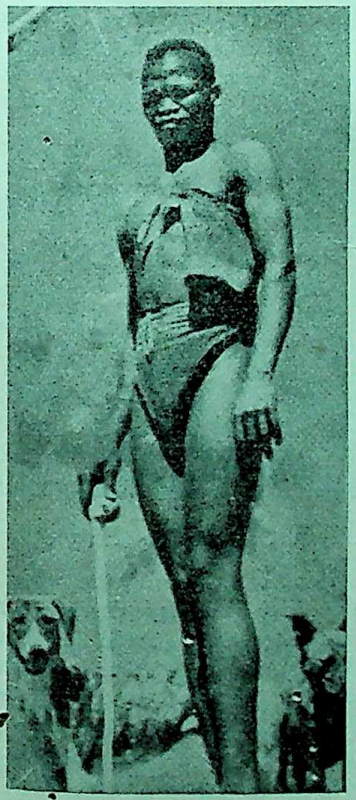
Davidson Don Tengo Jabava have tried to bring in drastic changes in the lives of the African people. An intense race-consciousness has been aroused in the minds of the African and the American negroes. Divided by thousands of miles of land (and in the case of the American negro by three thousand miles of water) they are yet one in their cry of liberty and self-determination.

The surviving wild tribes of Africa are divided into many groups who speak the same dialect, and live in collective families in their desert hunting grounds. Each tribe consists of several big families often polygamous, who travel together within a large, well-defined area which they consider to be their absolute property. They camp in small, temporary grass huts which serve as their only shelter from the sun and wind. The oldest and the wisest hunter of the group acts as a benevolent chief. Although the members of a tribe are not governed by formal laws, their group life has a definite pattern and organisation. Their customs are based on the necessity for doing certain things in certain ways in order to survive in a harsh environment. If a man kills an animal, he must share its meat with the whole group, but if he finds some ostrich eggs or wild melons, he may keep them for himself and his family. Although every African learns at an early age to be self-sufficient, there is some specialization with each tribe. Men are the hunters, butchers, tailors and farmers of the tribe. Women are the food gatherers and cooks. Children have no special task to perform, but by helping their parents and watching them work they learn how to do things that will be expected of them when they grow up.



The native hunters of East African desert

A group of hunters with desert dogs



A desert chief, Central Africa

When food and water are plentiful, African children lead pleasant, easy lives with few rules and regulations to hamper them. Like all children, they invent games to play and burn up their excess energy in violent acrobatics. Like all children, they also have a deep interest in the

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things their elders do and are eager to learn from them. Adolescent boys follow grown-up persons, who often try to teach them tricks of stalking and hunting. Little girls help to prepare family meals and go into the veldt with the women to learn how food is found and collected. Children have little formal instruction, but they have plenty of opportunity to learn the things they must know to become self-reliant. When night comes, they sit around

Dancing in sun-light is not distressing to the people of Central Africa

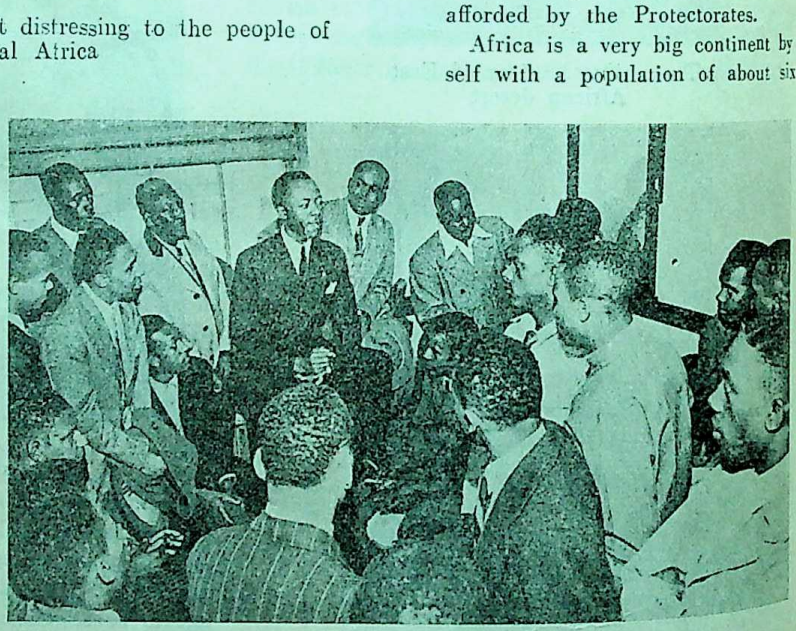
a fire with their elders, listening to an old man's stories. They begin to understand that the tribe is a united group to which they belong and without which they cannot live.

Through the many centuries of their dependence on wild games, the natives in wastelands of Africa have acquired an amazing ability to follow a spoor across the trackless desert and to move quickly and invisibly across open specks. Their weapons are primitive, but they use them well. Most Africans favour poisoned arrows, which are effective against the great variety of desert games ranging from fleet jockals to big, lumbering gemsbok. But the poisoned arrow has a disadvantage. It works slowly and sometimes lets a wounded beast escape into the hunting territory of another tribe where the hunters dare not follow. African hunters are tireless. Occasionally a hunter simply trots along after his prey until the animal collapses from exhaustion, whereupon he overtakes it and clubs it to death. But in some deserts the African hunter prefers to let the dogs bring an animal to bay in the open desert, then close in to kill it with a spear.

The most striking feature about Africa is that it offers a variety of climate, scenery and natural vegetation. It is rich in natural resources and raw materials, especially in her forest wealth in the equatorial forests in the East and the West, with ebony, acacia, mahogany, bamboo etc. With the development of irrigation and with an industrious and civilised population, Africa can become a great producer of foodstuffs and raw materials especially cotton, rubber, maize, etc. Though much of the northern Africa is arid and desert and a large area in the Central Africa marshy and covered with tropical jungles, the vast stretches of fertile savanna, lying between the two and well-suited to agriculture and stock-raising, are really a region of great promise.

A considerable number of Africans are intermixed with the Arabs; they have Arab blood and profess Islam. This is especially so in the northern and eastern Africa where the Muslims form tre bulk of the population. In the Central and Western Africa the vast majority of the people are nomads. They comprise many tribes like the Maoris. Shilukas, Dinkas etc. and are very backward and lazy, though in recent years many of them have taken to settled agriculture with the facilities afforded by the Protectorates.

Africa is a very big continent by itself with a population of about sixty-



Members of African Communities League

four million Negroes which is sparse when compared to India. The defence and easy development of so vast and backward a country would be rather difficult for the Africans for some time to come with its present population, economic resources, technical skill and military prowess. But negro-politicians have devoted much thought on the economic and cultural aspects of the African tribes, like the establishment of a uniform educational system and type of learning, and unity among various tribes of Africa with the object of safeguarding

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their common interests and achievement of independence. Marcus Garvey, the creator of the Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League with the *Negro World* as its organ, hurled the following sentences at an audience of twenty-five thousand Negroes :

"What is good for the whiteman is equally good for the negro, namely, freedom, liberty, and equality. We have no apology, no compromise to offer. If the Englishman claims England, the Frenchman France, the Italians Italy as their native habitat, then the negroes claim Africa and will shed blood for their claim. We shall draw up a bill of rights for all negro races, with a constitution to govern their destinies."

Then he clinched his argument with the following sentence :

"The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the negroes' opportunity to draw sword for Africa's redemption."

It is wise to avoid prophecy, but judging merely by

The Writer

facts one can see that the future history of Africa will not be smooth and peaceful.

———:O:———

POTATO FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

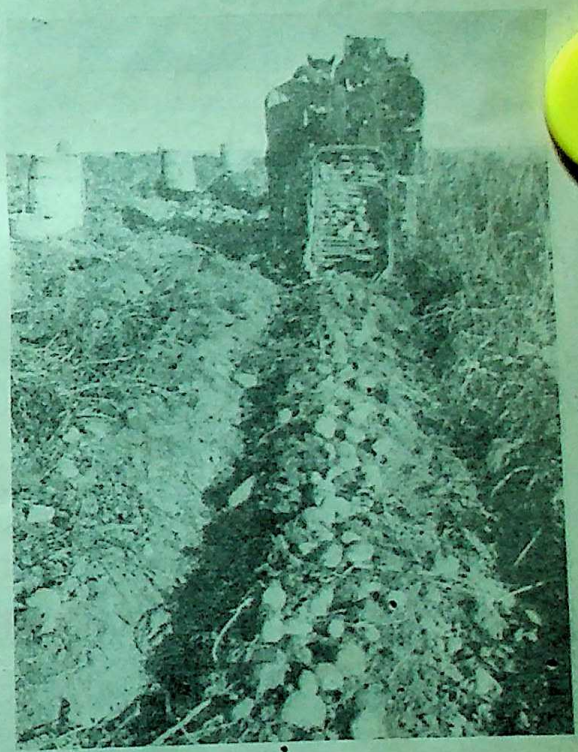
In American meal planning the potato occupies the position that rice does in India. The average American family does not feel as if the meal has been complete unless potatoes are part of it. The American housewife uses the same ingenuity in cooking potatoes as the Indian mother does in the preparation of rice. They may arrive

This is the method of cutting and planting seed potatoes as practised on the Levesque farm

at the table fried, mashed, baked, boiled, creamed, in salad or in any other of countless forms, but the important thing is that they do arrive. Considering this habitual consumption of the potatoes it is not surprising that it is one of America's largest vegetable crops.

Potato farms are scattered throughout the United States but the two states best known for their potato crops are Idaho and Maine. Most of Idaho's surface is arid though extensive irrigation produced 32,800,000 bushels of spuds from 124,000 acres of land in 1940.

Maine, the most northern of the United States on the east coast, is famous for its rocky shores, its pine trees,



Harvesting seed potatoes, Maine

lakes and blue-berry covered hills. The first settlers in Maine made a fine living from the rich resources of fish and lumber they found, but gradually the forests were thinned, and as the population increased farmers replaced the woodsman.

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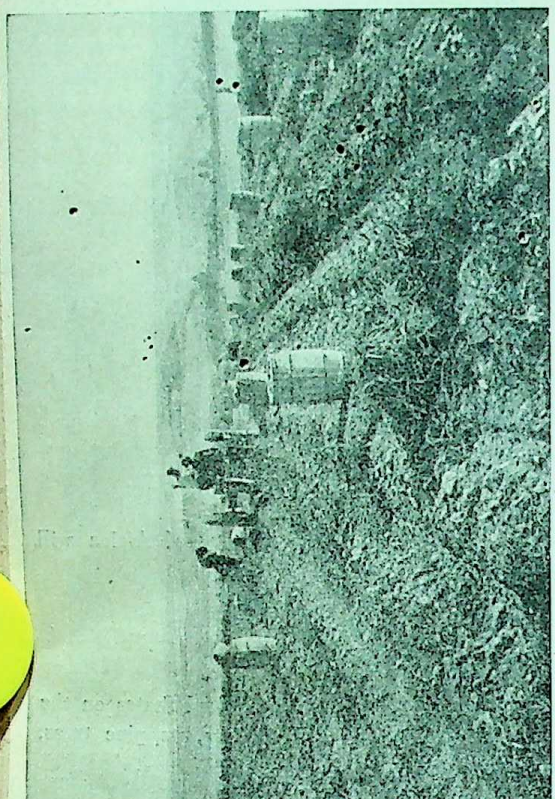
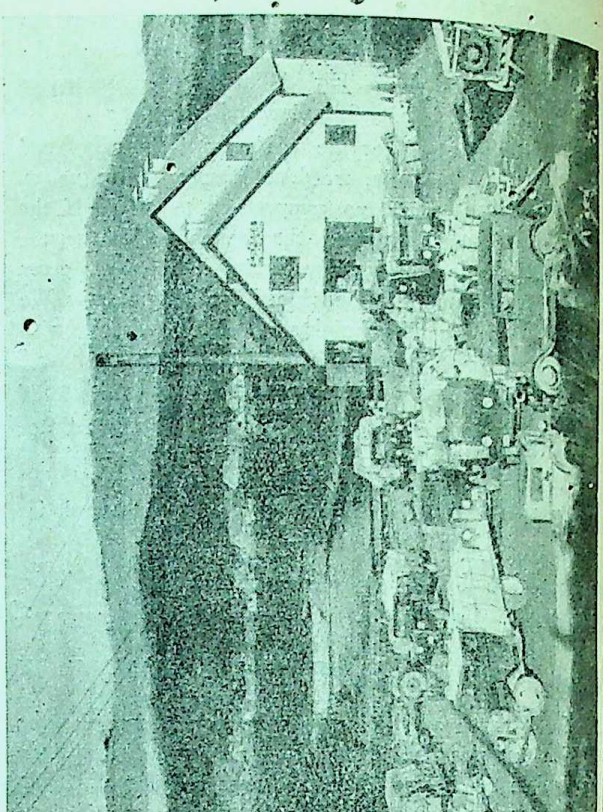
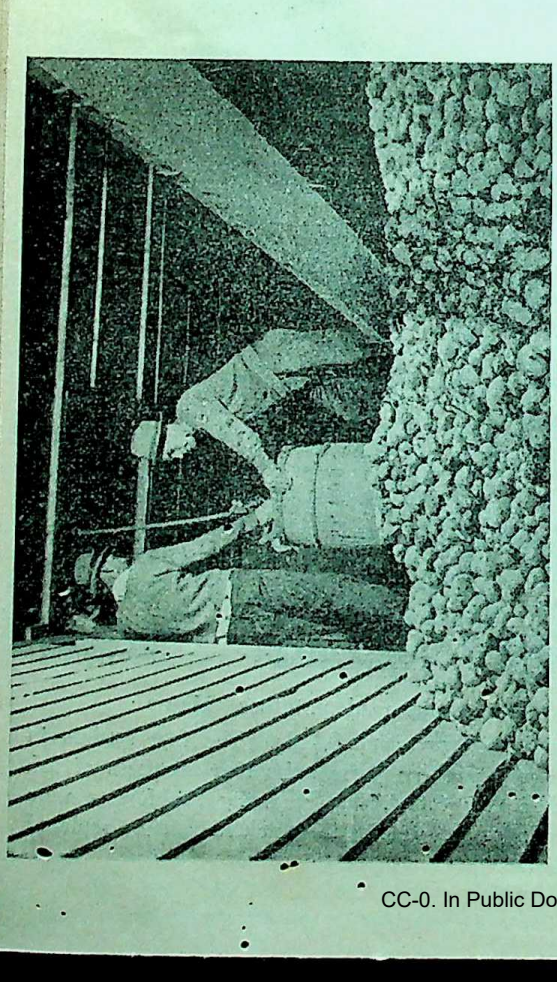
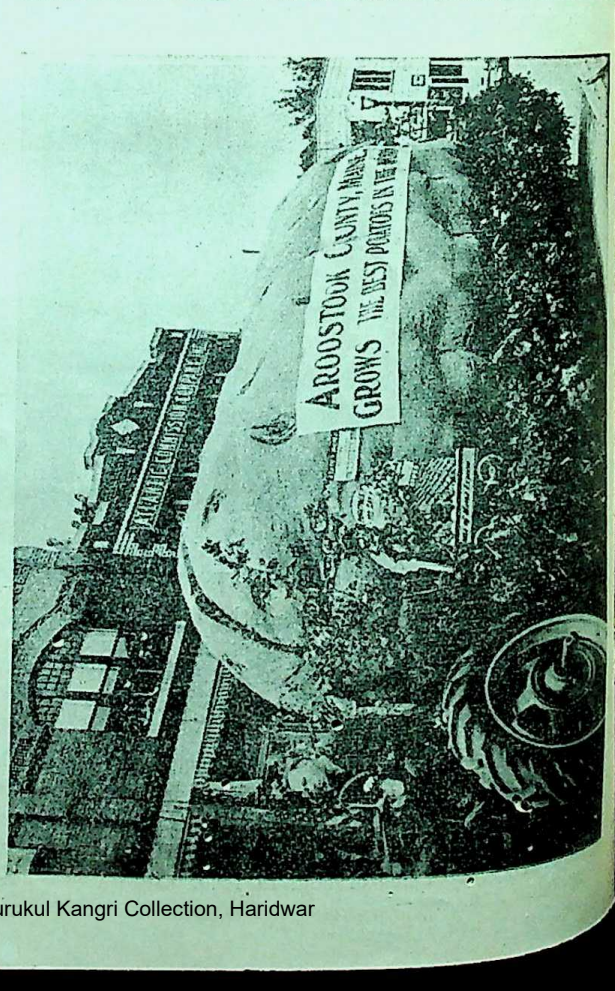


A tractor-d awn potato-digger in a field of the Woodman Potato Company near Caribou, Maine





Storing potatoes at the Woodman Company warehouse in Caribou, Maine



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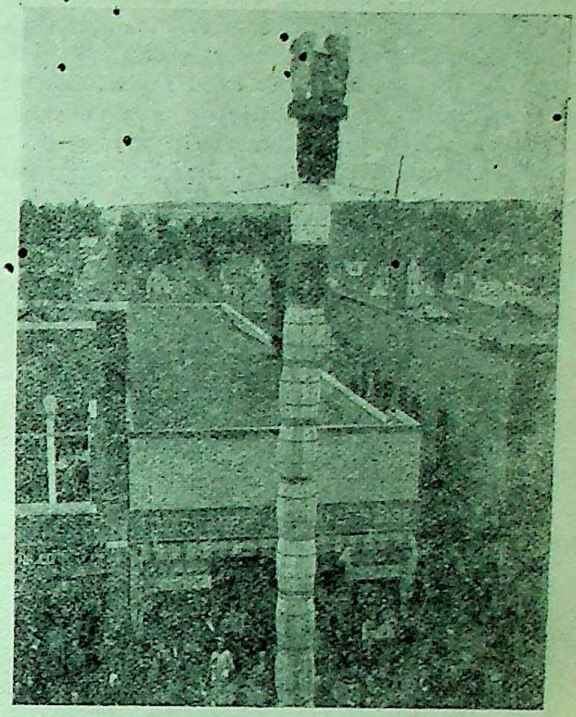
In the northern part of the state is a flat fertile plain covering 165,000 acres, Aroostock County, the source of most Maine potatoes. Its soil and climate are especially suited to the raising of potatoes and they were cultivated widely by the first farmers to settle in the area. Starch factories, which process potatoes below market standards, were built in the middle of the last century but the county did not reach national importance as a potato center until 1894, when the Aroostock railroad was completed. Maine now raises 12 per cent of the United States potato crop, ranks first among the states in number of bushels produced, sixth in number of acres under cultivation. More than half the cash value of Maine's total farm production is invested in her spuds.

The size of Aroostock's potato farms varies considerably, some of the smaller units covering only 30 to 40 acres while the big mechanized enterprises may be 600 to 1000 acres. Most of the farm work is done by French Canadians; just north of Aroostock lies the French Canadian province of Quebec, and many Canadian farmers have crossed the border bringing with them their culture and customs.

Every one in Aroostock is interested in potatoes; schools in the area do not open until the harvest season is over so that the children can help in the fields. Harvesting must be done before the cold weather, for potatoes are perishable and must be kept at an even temperature. Family groups occasionally hire themselves out during the picking season, and father, mother and children travel from farm to farm. The large farm crops are more often harvested by crews of hired pickers who go from one field to the next or, in the case of the largest farms, are hired for the season.

Farms with the greatest amount of mechanical equipment have produced the highest yields per acre, and the smaller independent potato farmers were at the mercy of the crop for a long time—in bad years it was almost impossible for them to break even. To offset the dangers of one crop planting, the Farm Security Administration has introduced beef cattle as a supplementary source of income. The FSA has made considerable progress, moreover, in the fight against bacterial wilt, and other potato diseases, and the system of isolated seed foundation units has helped to give Maine the highest per-acre potato production if any state.



The "Potato" pole standing in the main street of Presque Isle advertises the Barrel Rolling Contest

Potatoes grown from Maine to Idaho, potatoes baked, boiled, roasted, fried; hash brown potatoes, potato chips. When England was hungry she used potato flour to bake her bread. Now that America, too, is conserving food for her own use and to help feed other peoples abroad, Americans are urged to exploit the potato crop, urged to store potatoes in extra rooms and attics, wherever there is an empty, cool space, to release other food for shipment all over the world.—*USIS.*

———:O:———

ROBERT BROWNING
(1812-1889)

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

In a large gloomy house in a fashionable quarter of London, an invalid had lain for years on a couch. Hers was an ethereal beauty; she was pale, with large brilliant eyes. Her quick flashing smile revealed her eagerness to taste the life that lay beyond the threshold of her sick-room. But her father sternly insisted that she must remain confined within that great dismal house. The lovely fragile creature on her couch wrote poetry, some of which was published; and so the name of Elizabeth Barrett became known to those people who were eager to acclaim new voices in literature.

In one of her poems, Elizabeth gave a word of praise to a book she had read. This was the work of another poet, Robert Browning; and he was so charmed with the compliment that he ventured to write to her. So there began one of the greatest romances in literature, for the two poets met and fell passionately in love. Their troubles began when Elizabeth's father objected to any suggestion of their marriage.

The stern Mr. Barrett did not like Robert Browning. Besides, he wanted Elizabeth to be always at home with him. It was not as if Elizabeth were a young girl, unable

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to make up her own mind about the affair, and the domineering attitude of her father made her all the more determined that her love would not be shattered.

Secretly, Robert Browning and Elizabeth laid their plans. On a September morning, when Mr. Barrett was out, they slipped away to a nearby church and were married. By the time Elizabeth's father realized that she had disappeared from her usual place upon the couch, the young couple were well on their way to Paris. Travelling through France, they arrived in Italy, where they made their home.

Robert Browning

By this time, Browning had written a considerable number of important poems. Even as a boy of twelve, he had been busily writing verses, and had decided that he would devote his life to poetry. His first published work, *Pauline*, was produced at the age of twenty—a long poem that is warm with the ardent fires of youth. It reveals many of the characteristics of his later works, and in it we can see the striving of the human soul for perfection which was to animate so much of his poetry in the years to come. A number of other works followed, including the famous *Sordello* and *Pippa Passes*, as well as a few dramas in verse.

There was, indeed, a time when Browning thought that his main development would be as a writer of verse dramas for the stage; but lack of theatrical success showed him where his true path lay; and he developed his dramatic sense in the verse monologues by which he is best known. In these poems, he tells a story through the lips of some person, imaginary or historical, whose character has fascinated him: in *Picture Ignotus*, for example, he makes an unknown painter of sixteenth-century Florence use the language of life in a way that is pregnant with meaning and has its own strange sense of actuality. The number of such lyrical monodramas that he wrote is extraordinary, and each one is a cleanly-cut gem utterly different from the others in that box of glowing jewels.

The middle portion of Browning's life, the years of supreme happiness which he spent with his wife in Italy, was the time when he wrote most of his finest poetry. They had a beautiful house in Florence, where they revelled in the Italian sunshine and they made pilgrimages to other towns where they could enjoy the beauties of painting and sculpture.

Browning was one of the most cosmopolitan of English poets, for he placed the scene of many of his poems outside his native shores. But his love for his own land comes out strikingly every now and then, as in his lines:

Oh, to be in England
Now that April's there,
And whoever wakes in England
Sees, some morning unaware,
That the lowest boughs and the brushwood sheaf
Round the elm-tree bole are in tiny life,
While the chaffinch sings on the orchard bough
In England—now!

As for Elizabeth, her health had greatly improved, and she had written poems that have placed her among the very greatest English women poets—if, indeed, she is not the greatest of all, as Browning himself thought. Her death, after fifteen years of almost unbroken happiness, was a shattering blow to him, and for two years he was in despair.

The lonely and saddened man turned to his work for solace; and still under the influence of his wife's great love he wrote his longest and most important work, *The Ring and the Book*. How this came to be written is a romance in itself, and the story of its origin adds to our enjoyment of a narrative that is full of colour and suspense and dramatic action. Browning returned to England and settled down to work in London. It is significant that his later work suffered from the lack of Elizabeth's inspiration and critical advice, and many of his last poems have passages that are obscure and difficult, although all of them are built upon the strong foundation of Browning's virile philosophy of life. He was an optimist who regarded pessimism as a deadly sin. He believed that life should be lived strenuously, and that the casting out of evil was a necessary process of the soul's development. On the last page of his last book, *Asolando*, published on the day of his death, he speaks in his own robust way of:

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

That is the authentic Browning note—a clarion call to labour!

That call has today a greater potency and value than ever; for in the years immediately before us, a new and better world is waiting to be built by the labour of men who, in the poet's words, will march breast forward.

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ACHARYA JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE

In Memoriam

By ASUTOSH BAGCHI

On the 30th November nine and eighty years ago was born a child in an eastern riverine district of Bengal, now known as Eastern Pakistan. On the immediate eve of his birth a mighty insurrection convulsed Northern India from end to end for tearing off the foreign fetters from her feet. This has been recorded by interested English chroniclers as a mere mutiny of Sepoys in their Indian Army. This child, it seems, was born with a spirit of revolt in his blood. In his manhood, quite unlike his forbears, he left the stereotyped course of life of ease and comfort and started on an untrodden and wearisome path in quest of Truth in a region neglected by his countrymen for centuries. Fortunately, in the ripeness of time gods favoured him with laurels of world renown. He was no other than Sir J. C. Bose whom his countrymen reverently called Acharya Jagadischandra.

That he was the pioneer in the field of scientific research in India in the modern age and was one of the foremost men of science of his days, and was the precursor of wireless telegraphy, prior to its later development and perfection by Marconi, are well-known facts. It is known to many what overwhelming difficulties this sturdy young scientist being born as a member of a subject nation had to struggle with and overcome to open up opportunities of scientific research for Indian scholars in the laboratories of the Calcutta Presidency College and what almost insurmountable hurdles he had to cross to firmly establish his indisputable claims as the forerunner of Plant Physiology. Perhaps it is known only to a limited few that a millionaire proprietor of a telegraph company personally approached the scientist with a patent form in his hand and pointed out to him (Sir J. C.) that there was money in it, and he (the millionaire) might be allowed to take out a patent for him; he would finance it and would take half share in the profit. He also besought him not to disclose the whole thing in his lecture to be delivered a short while after on his newly invented wireless apparatus. Idealist Jagadischandra—a dreamer of great dreams—quietly turned down the tempting offer.

Acharya Jagadishchandra founded and handsomely endowed the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta with his life's savings and finally dedicated it to the nation on 30th November, 1917 so that Indian scholars could carry on there exploration of the mysteries of the Universe. He deprived himself of many creature comforts and his noble spouse voluntarily shared in this self-imposed privation. Together they lived a very plain life. In this way he scraped together every pie from his small income as a professor in the Calcutta Presidency College (of which he was the Emeritus Professor to the last day of his life) and could lay by thirteen lacs of rupees to endow his Institute. The Institute is no mere conglomeration of brick and mortar; it is a temple—a beautiful creation of the imaginative mind of the artist who lurked behind the scientist.

What a keen aesthete and lover of the beautiful the scientist was is known only to those who have visited the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta and the 'Mayapuri' at Darjeeling and have cared to view with the eyes of a connoisseur the beautifully laid-out garden and lawn, the structures around them after the styles of Sanchi, Ellora and Ajanta, the paintings adorning their walls and the artistically designed furniture and other decorations inside them.

Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose

But the memories uppermost in our mind today are those of the patriot Jagadishchandra who was nationalist to the core, who passionately loved his country and did all that he could in his own unobtrusive manner for her regeneration and liberation. He was intensely Indian in everything, in his habits and habiliments. Unlike most of his fellow-Indians he was never known to have attired himself in the manner of a European while sojourning abroad or giving discourses before scientific bodies and distinguished learned associations in Europe and America. He liked cultivation of masculine qualities by his fellow-countrymen. His adoration of the heroes of the *Mahabharata* who incarnated such virtues made him invite the famous artist Nandalal Bose to paint for him some episodes from the great epic. Those paintings are still to be seen on the walls of Sir J. C.'s sitting room. One will also find there the famous picture of "Mother India" from the brush of the Master Abanindranath Tagore. In his earlier days he made long and frequent pilgrimages to places of historical, religious and cultural interest throughout the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent. He had taken photographs of temples, shrines and frescoes long before many educated and even cultured men of those

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days had any knowledge of their existence. The lifelong friendship and deep attachment between Bose and Tagore, two immortal sons of mother India, are a common knowledge to the people of Bengal. The two kindred spirits mingled many of their thoughts and activities for the uplift of the nation. Sister Nivedita who spent her rare intellectual and spiritual energies in the service of India was an ardent admirer of Acharya Jagadis and she spent many of her days almost as a member of the family of Acharya Jagadis at his residence at Calcutta and Darjeeling.

What gnawed at his soul was the humiliation of political subjection and all the indignities inherent in it. The following passage from one of his writings best expresses his feeling in the matter:

"Man expresses his joy and sorrow in the language he learns on his mother's lap. About thirty years ago a few of my scientific and other essays were written in the mother tongue. Then I started investigations into electric-waves and life and in that connection have got entangled in very many controversies. The tribunals in these cases are in foreign lands. Protests and counter-protests are acceptable there through the media of European languages.

"What else can be more humiliating in national life than this?"*

In this connection it may be suggested that the authorities of the Bose Research Institute will be only doing a sacred duty by bringing out the Bengali writings of the Acharya in a collected volume which deserves careful study by the Bengali-speaking people.

To our misfortune and sorrow it is now several years that Jagadischandra has left us. Had he been living to-day how greatly he would have rejoiced at the liberation of his and our motherland after nearly two centuries of foreign servitude.

* "मानुष मातृक्रोड़े ये भाषा शिक्षा करे से भाषातेइ से आपनार सुखदुःख ज्ञापन करे। प्राय त्रिश वत्सर पूर्वे आमार वैज्ञानिक ओ अन्यान्य कयेकटि प्रबन्ध मातृभाषातेइ लिखित हइयाछिल। ताहार पर विद्युत्-तरंग ओ जीवन सम्बन्धे अनुसन्धान आरम्भ करियाछिलाम एवं सेइ उपलक्षे विविध मामलामोकद्दमाय जड़ित हइयाछि। ए विषयेर आदालत विदेशे। सेखाने वाद-प्रतिवाद केवल यूरोपिय भाषातेइ गृहीत हइया थाके।

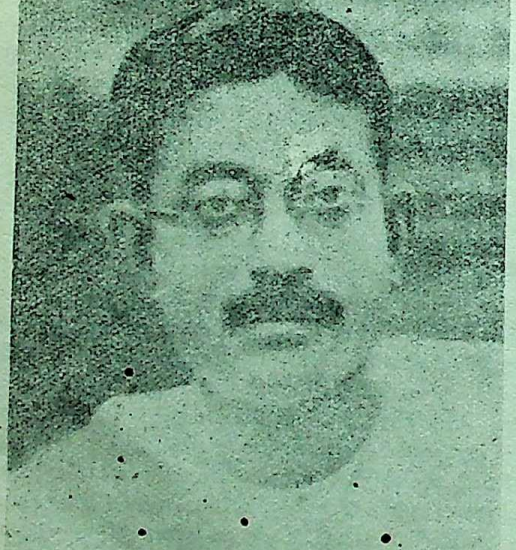
"जातीय जीवनेर पक्षे इहा अपेक्षा अपमान आर कि हइते पारे?"

—:O:—

THE LATE AMBUJ NATH BANERJI

By A. G.

A career full of scholarly and social activities in many fields and promise of high achievements has been cut short by the death on the 29th October, 1947, at the age of 49, of Sj. Ambuj Nath Banerji, eldest son of Sj. Sikhar Nath Banerji and Srijukta Anurupa Debi. Ambuj Nath had a uniformly brilliant academic career and besides being a First Class M.A. of the Patna University, stood first in the First Class in the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University in Ancient Indian History and Culture. His researches on ancient Indian economics won for him the Premchand Roychand Studentship. He thereafter joined the Calcutta High Court and built up a good practice as an Advocate. To a profound knowledge of ancient India's history, numismatics, archaeology and the Fine Arts he added the accomplishments of a linguist and was equally at home in Sanskrit, Pali, French and German. His *European Military Adventurers in India* appeared in instalments in *Vichitra*, a Bengali monthly magazine. He had collected materials for a volume on Asoka, while his notes on ancient Indian numismatics are so valuable that they should be published in book form for the benefit of scholars. He was Vice-President of the Banipith, President of the Management Committee of the Anurupa Balika Vidyalaya, worked wholeheartedly for the I.N.A.C. during the Calcutta disturbances, helped in the evacuation of refugees after the Noakhali riots, took an active part in the movement for separation of West Bengal. His charity was equally unostentatious. His unassuming and amiable disposition endeared him to all who came in contact with him. To his mother, Srijukta Anurupa Debi, he was not merely a devoted son, but a friend and an invaluable assistant in her literary work.



Ambuj Nath Banerji

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CURRY POWDER

By HIRANMAY GHOSHAL

One grey wintry morning when the entire sky above Warsaw seemed to be paring away in showers of snow, Samir Ray who had been convalescing from a nasty attack of grippe, lay snugly tucked up under a thick eiderdown, experiencing patriotic pangs of nostalgia. In all probability his mind was hovering between the conscious and unconscious, a state which you can work yourself up to if you are habitually religious, or are accustomed to snoozing in a public vehicle, with a vague awareness of your destination. The cup of coffee left near an open pane of his window, had long frozen into a cup of ice with coffee flavour. Samir's disembodied spirit had meanwhile taken a stool and sat in a kitchen, thousands of miles away, decorated with cobwebs of soot and the cook's slippery napkin and besmeared with sacred bovine excrement.

Something was happening in the kitchen, of which Samir was not fully aware. Some invisible hand was busy concocting the dishes which remained vivid in his visual self after years of estrangement. Presto! There were metal pots full of bitter gourd in grey sauce, mashed and sweetened spinach, curry of dried pulse-paste, pumpkin and prawn, curry of jack-fruit, of cabbage and of gourd, of carp and of eels, pea-soup with fish's head, goat's meat curry, fried rice with fried cubes of fresh cheese etc., etc.

True, all these were not available in London, but you could get as many of the ingredients as you wished, and prepared just an ordinary dish or two without going into trouble over it. Pea-soup with fish's head, curried potatoes of a hash-up of radish, potato-peelings, spinach, brinjal, beans, spring onions and diminutive prawns, savoured with mustard oil which remained at the bottom of a bottle of condiment of sour Indian olives, were at any rate things for which you did not have to run all the way to Barker's at Piccadilly. The grocer's just round the corner kept tins of curry powder, Bengal curry, Madras curry and Malay curry, small 4 oz. tins and large 1 lb. tins. If you couldn't procure mustard oil then there was an abundance of olive oil as a substitute.

Soon after arriving at Warsaw, Samir had enquired at almost all the important grocers' of the city, but could find no trace of either curry powder or any kitchen explosives simulating it. Then after a thorough ransacking of the University and the Public Library with the help of a professor of Botany he had at last discovered the Latin name of *haldi—curcuma longa.* Failing to trace the existence of this as well in all shops of every description including haberdashers' and book-sellers', he had at last tried at the largest chemist's just off chance. And lo! there it was inside a lustrous glass case in a coloured bottle with curved neck, with *curcuma longa* written on it in ornamental letters; which was an indication that the medicament was held in high regard. The girl assistant delicately and reverently tipped the neatly cut tiny yellow cubes into a dainty little paper bag and weighed the contents on an apothecary's pair of scales to half an ounce, adding one cube after another until the balance was strictly horizontal. Samir had tried all his deadly missiles for discomfiting the fair sex, namely, artificial boyish simplicity, flashing glances of a young genius, facetious remarks. But no, her heart would not melt. Wearing as dignified and serious a look as became her spotless, starched apron she had put the little paper bag before Samir, and clearing her throat a little had said bashfully "That'll cure your child of its worms. Please, when you come next time bring your doctor's prescription. You see, we aren't really expected to sell such medicaments without a doctor's prescription."

Samir had compounded some cayenne and Colman's mustard with half an ounce of that ingredient and had cooked a saucepanful of mutton, after consuming which his Polish friends and amies frankly confessed that they never before had tasted such first class Hungarian *goulash.*

The day was such that had it by some accident appeared in Calcutta, the Bengali housewives would have given their Orya cooks a day off and would have graced the kitchen with their presence to cook some *bhuni kedgeree* with cauliflowers and eggs. No wonder, therefore, that convalescent Samir should suddenly give in to waves of patriotic nostaligia. While feeling the excruciation of separation from curry Samir took up his pen and wrote to a friend of his in London to send him a lb. tin of curry powder post-haste to Warsaw.

He counted the days on his finger-tips and found out that there were clear thirteen days for Christmas. He resolved then and there that he would give his maid a day off, and cook as many as three courses—mutton, fish and egg curry with his own hands. No, it would'nt be an Hungarian *goulash* this time.

Normally it would have taken a week at the most for that tin of curry powder to reach Warsaw. But ten days passed without as much as a whiff of flavour of that celestial sauce blowing anywhere near Warsaw. The postman brought the electric bill along with masses of printed circulars exhorting the purchase of some new make of radio-set or tactfully giving you the address of some tailor who made the best clothes in Warsaw, the name of some newly started laundry or of an eating-house "Under the Golden Goose" with the most elaborate wine-list etc., etc.. But there was no sign of Samir's brown-bodied compatriot even on the eleventh day.

Then at last.....on December 24 the postman came and rang the door-bell, and as soon as the door was opened passed a mysterious slip to Samir's hand, giving him the cutest military salute to remind him of his dues on the boxing-day. Samir gathered from the slip of paper that there was a parcel from London waiting for him at the General Post Office. But the article which was some non-descript brownish powder, could not be delivered to the addressee before its nature and its com-

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ponents could be ascertained. Before the parcel could be delivered it would have to receive the sanction of the ministries of Health and Finance and of the Board of Trade. The postman gave another correct military salute and advised: "Proshem Pana[1], you are a foreign gentleman. If you would only proshem Pana, go to Room No. 54 of the General Post Office, I mean, in person, they will deliver the parcel at once. There is no doubt about that. Room No. 54, proshem Pana. Tak yest[2], proshem Pana." Tucking away the tips in some recess of his great-coat the postman put the wide fur-collar of his coat over his ears and went away, his heavy top-boots squelching on the brittle frost lying about in heaps on the road like minute particles of mica.

Samir looked out of the double window and saw that snow had been gathered into two long thick ramparts on both sides of the road to make a passage for people, who were scurrying about impatiently, obviously hurrying to do their shopping for Christmas. Their black fur-coats had turned shining white with snow. Judging by the hasty movement of the passers-by one could easily surmise that the temperature had gone down to at least 20 degrees below freezing point. And the bleak North Wind had skipped over the frozen Vistula and had been doing a devil dance in the streets of Warsaw.

Samir had to make some calculation as to the degree of frost and the clothing he was to put on. Then stoutly fortified in two over-coats he put on his fur astrakhan cap and fur gloves and goloshes of felt, and drove to the General Post Office in a taxi. Whilst leaving he told his maid that he was going to cook some strange dish so that she could easily have the day off and meet her fiance if she wanted to. On his way he did not forget to stop the taxi and buy some first class mutton. Mutton had to be kept a day soaked in vinegar in Poland in order to kill the muttony smell, and also to make the meat crisp. So the purchase was made a day in advance. There were a few cardamoms at home, and cloves and cinnamon could be bought in any shop. So there was nothing to worry about the final flavouring with *garam masalah*. Now, what about oil? Would he buy olive or the cheaper linseed or poppy-seed oil consumed by the poor alone? Linseed was better as it gave the curry the taste of mustard oil. On his way back he would have to buy some sour milk, bay leaves and ground ginger. Samir reached the post office, making a mental list of the various ingredients he would have to buy that day since all the shops would be closed on Christmas-day.

The back of the General Post Office which contained all the different departments, consisted of rows and rows of doors, arranged in all sorts of geometrical positions. Pushing and passing through a number of them as if he were entering some tresor-vaults in a fairy tale he at last passed through the door No. 54, the Customs Department. The spacious room was divided into two, by a long counter with a long line of postal employees in green uniform on one side, and a multitude of people on the other, those who had come on business similar to Samir's. He stood behind one of the "accused" who was to receive the final verdict. "So it is patent", the official was concluding, "that an album of this kind can be imported only for business purposes. Bound in Morocco, with floral designs in gilt. Don't say, this is for your personal use, my dear Sir." "Proshem Pana", pleaded the "accused", "Panie Direktozhe[3], my uncle left for America just about two months ago. So, you see, he sent this album to me for my personal use as a Christmas present, that is to say, I mean a Christmas present, er, er, because he knows, you see, Panie Direktozhe, that I collect autographs, that is to say er....."

The official dropped the bridge of his steel-framed spectacles down to the tip of his nose, and asked in a portentously grave voice, showing only the white of his eyes. "You mean to say, this album is not for business but for your own personal use?"

"Yes, proshem Pana."
"Are you sure?"
"Yes, proshem Pana."
"Sure?"
"Yes, Panie Dirrektozhe."
"All right then....."

The official brought out a large-sized punching machine from under the counter and pushed the album into its iron jaws, and then pressed the handle with an ease that comes through long practice. Before the other man could resist there was a bull's-eye punched through the letter "B" from one Morocco cover to the other. The official pushed the album across the counter towards its possessor with a dignified, detached non-chalance, and turned a bespectacled, questioning gaze to Samir.

The latter passed the slip of paper to the hand of the august official and declared in Polish with a strong English accent: "Proshem Pana, er, I am a foreigner. I have a parcel waiting for me; so I have come personally to take delivery of the parcel."

The official held his glasses on that slip of paper like a microscope and was lost in thought for a long while, as if he were trying to discover some stunning scientific truth. Then asked in the polished tone of a bank-clerk: "Your passport please." His neighbour, another official, whispered into his ear, "Foreigner with an eye! Another British subject from Nalewki[4], if you ask me, straight from the Mandate of Palestine. And hark at his trying to speak Polish with a foreign accent!"

Having examined Samir's passport scrutinizingly the official enquired: "You were born in.....?" Then answered himself: "Oh, it's written here, I see. Kalkoota, Kalkootta." And rattled off a series of place names as if he were repeating a geography lesson. "Bombai, Madrass, Kalkootta, Osaka, Nagasaki, Delhee, Darjeelink. Tea comes from Darjeelink. You are a Hindus!"

1. In conversation Poles make abundant use of the phrase which means "Please Sir".

2. Tak yest—that is *so*. Polish orthography is avoided to facilitate pronunciation.

3. Panie Direktozhe—Mr. Director (an exaggerated form of politeness).

4. Nalewki—the Jewish district of Warsaw.

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"Yes, proshem Pana."

"Ganji, Tagorey?"

"No, I am no relation of theirs"

Wishing to cut short meaningless talk Samir broached the subject of the parcel again: "I shall be much obliged if you will kindly let me have my parcel."

"What parcel?", the official questioned in a tone as if all this while he had been having a chat with someone in a railway compartment. "Oh, yes, the parcel", he suddenly remembered and continued, "Yes, yes. But you speak very fine Polish, I must say, very fine indeed. Where did you learn it? So Indie Brytyiskie, British India, eh? We were taught to call it Hindustan in our days. Well, proshem Pana, so you are a Hindus, yes? But then where's your turban? Only last year, Panie, a German circus company came to Warsaw, Zee Inklish Circus or something they called it. There, proshem Pana, they showed us twenty Hinduses. All in turban, everyone of them, as if all were Maharayas. What? Maharadjjas? What do you say? Can't catch it exactly. Maharajja, Maharajja. Some time ago there was a Maharajja too right here in Warsaw, would you believe it Panie, he had such a big turban on his head! But the gentleman had one weakness, a very pardonable foible though. I mean he liked the Varshaviankas[5] immensely. He was invited to supper at one of my friend's. And he says, the Maharajja talked of nothing else but Varshaviankas the whole evening. He has been practically all over the world, I mean, been to France, Italy, Spain and all that sort of thing, but he said he had'nt met more beautiful women than Varshaviankas.

Samir gave the official a winning smile of approbation and broached the subject of the parcel again: "Proshem Pana, the parcel....."

"Oh, yes, the parcel! Let me see. I say, Stefan, Stefan, go and tell Pan[6] Direktor that a Pan Hindus has come, straight from Kalkootta. He has a parcel or something waiting for him. Oh yes, the number. Yes, take this slip. The number's on it. Ah yes, this's life! Well, proshem Pana, how do you like our country. Too cold eh? By the way, Panie[7], now I know whom to ask. They say all sorts of things, but I can't believe a word unless I see the things with my own eyes. They say that the Yogas or whatever it is, that the Yogas....."

Pan Direktor came down in person at the intelligence that a Hindus had come to the post office in his corporeal self. He asked Samir in a tone betraying great inner commotion: "So, you are the Hindus, yes? A Maharaya, yes?" Before Samir could open his mouth to reply, the official corrected the Director of the Department: "Panie Direktozhe, allow me to correct you. We have a wrong way of pronouncing the word. It ought to be Maharajja."

Samir thought it wise not to let the topic drift to a discussion of exotic subjects, and mentioned the object of his visit in a most businesslike fashion: "I hear, there is a parcel waiting for me....."

"Parcel? Why yes, indeed, a parcel. But, I am afraid, er, er, I am afraid, much as I would have liked to oblige you, er, it can't be delivered. I mean, such stuff is forbidden to be imported into our country."

"What stuff?"

"You would like to hear, what stuff eh? Stefan, Stefan, go and call the head clerk here, will you? Anyone found in possession of such stuff is heavily fined or imprisoned, proshem Pana!"

The head clerk arrived and eyeing Samir suspiciously from head to foot said rather stiffly: "Proshem Pana, the stuff may be an article of common use in your country, but in Europe (with a stress on the word) it is used only by the worst kind of libertines and that on the sly, avoiding the vigilant eyes of the police, you know!"

"What article, pray?"

"What article? You ought to know best, my respected Sir. If you pretend not to know, then I might as well tell you that I have to mention the name to the police."

"I hope, you are trying to be funny", Samir said deprecatingly. "For your information, I may tell you, my revered Sir, that one of your Ministers ate this and promised to propagate the use of this stuff in this country."

"Is that so? ! ! I hope you are fully aware of the consequences of spreading calumny about an honourable Minister of State?"

"Calumny? !"

"Nothing crediatble at any rate, I can tell you. You won't call it creditable for an honourable Minister of State to use quantities of Hashish or some such narcotics, would you? (pointing to the tin) You mean to say that you are unaware of the fact that this tin contains a whole *foont* (pound) of Hashish or some such thing, made in India, eh?"

"Hashish! Don't be silly, er, I mean don't try to be facetious, my revered Sir, We are accustomed to it from our very infancy, and you with your hashish and what-not....."

"What did you say? You are accustomed to it from your infancy? Well, if you are, then you may stand it all right. But only yesterday a colleague of mine, a man used to very strong tobacco, I might tell you, took only a quarter-pipe-ful of this. He just wanted to try the stuff, you know, on the sly like. Well, he takes hardly a quarter-pipe-ful, and lights his pipe. He had not puffed twice at the pipe when he said he felt terribly ill, and had to go home in a taxi. The poor fellow hasn't turned up for work to-day, if you care to know."

Samir felt a potent nauseating urge within him at the thought that the poor man had inhaled a quantity of smoke of the stuff being burnt, the very smell of which is reputed to exercise the most refractory of evil spirits in India. He gave a short description of the ingredient to dispel the Pan Direktor's pessimism adding: "Proshem Pana, it's not only nourishment for us but more than medicine. If we don't eat some spoonfuls of it twice a day, our gastric juice simply stands like stagnant bilge. Habit is the second nature, you know. It is both food and medicine to me here in your country." Samir tried to strike a sympathetic

5. Varshaviankas—women of Warsaw.
6. Pan—Mister.
7. Panie—Sir.

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chord and added: "Here, in your country, far away from home, with nobody to look after me."

The officials exchanged meaning glances. Then the head clerk's face beamed with grave self-satisfaction like the face of a man who takes snuff lights up with thoughtful complacency after a pinch of that explosive. "Didn't I tell you, Panie Direktozhe", he said triumphantly, "that there is something very fishy about it? Now you see, this really is some secret medicament made in India!" "Do you remember, Panie Direktozhe", he continued, whispering into the Directorial ear, "last year's case? Some Jew boy was doing exactly the same sort of gaescheft-business, you know! He imported some pills from abroad and was ruining the health of the girls of this country!"

The prompting was a sufficient incentive for the Direktor to ask Samir rather brusquely: "You mean to say, this is edible?"

"Oh, yes, Panie Direktozhe. You can try it yourself if you don't believe me."

Pan Direktor opened the tin and urged by the animal instinct of smelling an unfamiliar article of food before eating it, sniffed at the brownish powder, and forthwith losing all control over himself struck the head clerk's bald pate with a tremendous storm of a sneeze.

Samir proposed to demonstrate the innocence of the pulverized spices by offering to eat as much as the lid of the tin contained before the Direktor's very eyes. Hardly had he uttered the words when all the employees of the Department thronged to the counter to watch the incredible trick. Samir gulped down the lidful of the powder with no so much as a twitch on his face. Pan Direktor and the head clerk eyed each other with consternation, and gaped at smiling Samir expecting him to show instantly the rope-trick or some such thing.

One official opened his drawer and bringing out a handful of pins said: "Panie, show this trick also. Zee Inklish Circus advertised that some Yoga would chew and swallow handfuls of nails like Quaker Oats. But didn't. The fellow only swallowed fire." "Yes, yes, Panie, for Heaven's sake", urged the others, "and that trick of chopping off a man's head and making the fellow alive again, and that trick of producing a snake from one's shoes, yes, yes, Panie, bring out the snake from our Pan Direktor's shoes, and that trick of making a tree grow out a seed, and that one of producing a beautiful girl from one's overcoat, please, from my overcoat, please, Panie, I ask you....."

Having with great difficulty rescued himself from the hands of postal officials a fatigued Samir, perspiring on that frosty day, somehow returned home, and lodged a complaint against the management of the Post Office to the appropriate Minister of State.

Then the knee-high petrified ice of the streets of Warsaw melted in the warm sunshine and flowed into the Vistula in a thousand turbid streams. The winter was over and so was the spring, and the Whitsuntide was expected in a day or two. Known as the "Green Holidays" it was a relic of Pagan days, and people made merry in all Poland. Samir had been dreaming of a party treated to goose's liver, breast and legs, delightfully sunk in curry sauce, when his will power struck some telepathic wire high above. The maid came and announced the arrival of the postman, who in his enthusiasm had followed her to the study. As soon as he saw Samir he gave him a correct military salute as much as to hint at a proper pourboire befitting the occasion.

"Dziendobry Panu^{s}", he ejaculated triumphantly, "the parcel has come to you at last. Didn't I tell you, Panie, now didn't I, he, he, he, that you are a foreign gentleman and they wouldn't have the guts to withold your parcel? On top of that, you are a Hindus, a Maharajja! Everybody of our office knows, you are a Maharajja. Well, I know the very first day I met you. I went home and told my missus about it. I met a Hindu gentleman, a real Maharajja I said.....", the postman opened his leather bag bringing out a parcel reverently placed it on the table. Then he handed over another slip of paper and a letter to Samir.

There was a bill of 25 zlotys and 50 groshes (about Rs. 13) to pay. The items were entered as customs duty so much and demurrage for six months and ten days so much. The note accompanying the bill ran thus:

"It is regretfully requested that in future, and for whatever purpose it may be, public, private or commercial, importing of such articles will require a previous sanction of the Ministries of Health and Finance and of the Board of Trade, and the last two in connection with clearing formalities. At first all chemical examinations failed to reveal the nature of the article. Subsequently the label on the tin: 'Curry Powder' served as the proper clue. We have succeeded in receiving the expert opinion of a Beauty specialist (holding a diploma from Paris) of the best Beauty Parlour of Warsaw, to the effect that there is a rage among young women of this country (the fashion is copied from Paris alas!) to get sunburnt and pose as exotic women from the tropics. It is they who import this brownish powder to match their sunburnt skin. You, Sir, made an official, written statement in your complaint to the effect that you use it as a kitchen ingredient. Though it is not the custom in this country to indulge in pleasantries in official correspondence, we are prepared to treat your statement as facetious, however out of keeping it be with the consuetude prevailing in our realm. If you still insist on the veracity of your averment, we can only say: "A la bonne heure! Thrive on it!".....Your most obedient servant."

When Samir saw the postman to the door, and opening the lid in feverish excitement took a long sniff of the powder, he could not recognise the compound of the various ingredients with which he had been familiar from his infancy. Having spent six months and ten days in constant intercourse with Eau de Cologne, Mitsuko, Reine des Roses, Cent Fleurs, Narcisse and a hundred other foreign wenches, the rice-eating son of a Bengali, so to say, that tin of Bengal curry had completely forgotten itself.

Samir put a pinch of that on his tongue and ascertained that it still tasted like curry, but its fragrance it could indeed beat any of the best Coty's face powder.

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^{s} Dziendobry Panu—Good morning, Sir.

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CONTROL OF STRATEGIC MINERALS (1) IN INDIA : MICA

By RAMANI RANJAN CHOWDHURY,

Mica Specialist and Industrial Planner (Late of the Government of India)

Under the British administration of India, matters and details of high strategy and diplomacy were exclusively kept as the close preserve for the white administrators in the government, with strictest control under the "*top secret*" level of official secrecy, so that not an inkling may get into the Indian knowledge. Subjects under this category comprised of various working programmes of high imperial policy. I am, for the present article, concerned with the control of strategic minerals, of which I confine the discussions to mica today. After the British 'quitting', the 'steel-frame-structure' of India has come into the hands of the National leaders but with what mutilation, supression and distortion, who can and will say? Piles of 'secret' files and papers from the official archives have been reported to have been destroyed on the eve of transfer of power. Much of the important information of the type, I am afraid, may not be available to our national leaders in the government, who may have to work up the national policy and strategy in all phases from the scrappy materials that might be available here and there.

Strategic Materials: Minerals

This category is subject to modification, based on experience, inventions and newer developments of war technique and science. In the last war, the following were specially classified as 'strategic materials', indispensable for the victorious conduct of a long-drawn war:

Minerals: Antimony, Asbestos, Cadmium, Chromite, Copper, Cobalt, Graphite, Lead, Manganese, Mica, Molybdenum, Nickel, Tin, Tungsten, Vanadium and Zinc.

Non-minerals: Rubber, Oil, Cotton, Manila-fibre (also sisal), Jute and Silk etc.

In defining the strategic materials and "key commodities", each nation has to take into account the abundance and easy availability or shortage of a particular commodity from its own point of view. What is considered 'strategic' by the United States may not necessarily appear to be 'strategic' for Japan or Australia and also what is judged as a 'key commodity' say during the forties and fifties of the present century, may not be deemed as such in the next forties and fifties,—strategy and scientific achievements of which time, are sure vastly to differ from what we have at our credit today. According to the United States Army and Navy strategy, "to be classed as strategic, a material must not be only a 'key' commodity, but one of which the domestic supply is insufficient." Again there are certain materials, which are absolutely indispensable for war and peace but the reserves of which are providentially distributed fairly throughout the world and the sources and nature of which reserves are also fairly well-known and available in abundance. Such materials may not be classed as "strategic" or "key commodity" from this point of view, for particular nationalities. Iron ore, coal, petroleum, copper, lead, etc., may be cited to fall in this category for U.S.A.

Strategic Minerals Board

I would suggest the setting up of a Strategic Minerals Board for the Union of India and I draw the attention of our Prime Minister and other Ministries concerned, namely, Defence, Mines and Commerce. The Board, of course, should have sub-committees for the various minerals, such as Iron Ore, Mica, Petroleum etc., which for India, constitute 'strategic and key commodities'. There are certain minerals, reserves of which are confined to one or two countries of the world and that too is unknown if not 'unknowable' quantities. Sheet Mica is one such mineral. If by prospecting, you ascertain the occurrence of mica in any particular locality, you cannot ascertain by any known method so far, the approximate size, quality and extent of the reserves discovered, *i.e.* whether it is in usable flawless quality sheets or that it may go in just for scraps, or waste. Mica has thus its own intrinsic and intricate problems of itself and it can better be put in the category of precious metals like diamonds, rubies and similar crystalline natural formations underground.

Anglo-America and Mica Resources

British Government with India as her imperial possession, boasted hitherto as the sole monopolist in ownership of the best mica reserves of the world and during the last two world-wars, she controlled the production and distribution of India Mica, entirely herself and the United States in joint collaboration by means of Mica Ordinance or Control Orders. On the outbreak of the last war, the writer had been called upon by the Government of India, War Board, to advise them on Mica control and a machinery of mica control was brought into being. From the latter half of 1942, an Anglo-American Joint Mica Mission came out to India to make exclusive perchase of all the sheet mica that could be produced under the war impetus and exports other than by this Mission had been prohibited. At certain times mica had to be transported by planes, to avoid delay and the perils of the sea due to enemy actions.

Now that the Union of India holds monopoly of this great national asset, Britain or America shall have to look on India for supply of sheet mica of the Muscovite type. Mica is not only an essential sinew of modern scientific warfare but it is also of equal if not still greater importance for peace-time progress of modern civilisation. It is therefore of extreme importance for the Union Government of India to initiate proper action for its conservation and economic utilisation in national interests. Control of

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these valuable assets must not be left in the hands of the extra-territorials through overt and covert methods.

Research and Industrial Development Neglected

There has not been any good effort at research with mica in the past, save and except a little effort made at the personal initiative of the late Dr. P. N. Ghosh of the University College of Science, Calcutta, whom the writer interested in it, (after the publication of the writer's *India Mica**.) Dr. Ghosh later contributed a chapter entitled "The Electrical uses of Mica", in the author's *Handbook of Mica** (published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. in 1939). I have since tried to interest others of eminence and affluence in the prospects of the development of mica and mica-products manufacturing industry in India but with little success so far. In India in the present mental make-up of the capitalists, in whose hands the country's wealth lies accumulated, it seems to be a difficult problem. These people, with rare exceptions, do not possess the necessary drive, resourcefulness and enlightened conscience, usually displayed by Europeans and Americans, so as to embark on such scientific development of industries in the collective national interests and for equitable distribution of benefits amongst all concerned. So far as the Indian scientists, inventors and pioneer entrepreneurs are concerned, it has been a sad and sordid tale of most shameless exploitation, often killing the gander that gave the golden eggs. Indeed the earnest and unassuming pioneers in this country, seldom get proper environs and opportunities for their talents and endeavours and they rot in miserable careers of life. Now that the national government has come into being and our popular leaders have taken over the reins of administration, it is expected that "*Proper man will find his proper place*" and the government will provide the suitable opportunities in stimulating private and state enterprises, free from unfair exploitation so that individuals of deserving talents and worth born under humbler auspices of life may build up prosperous careers to the general enrichment of the national exchequer.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose. when Member for the Mines in the Interim Government of India, made the following utterance :

> "Mica is at present mainly exported as a raw material but we feel that mica manufacture should be developed in this country to an infinitely greater extent than it is today. We should take steps to utilise our raw materials ourselves and with that end in view, we should examine and explore the possibilities of starting manufacturing concerns in different parts of the country at an early date and encouraging and developing the manufacturing concerns that exist."

More than a year has passed but nothing tangible has materialised in this direction. It was also stated by the Member:

> "The Central Government is probably in a better position than the individual provinces to evolve a common policy for the whole of India. The role of the Centre as I envisage it, would be to co-ordinate policy throughout India and ensure that the mineral wealth of the country is conserved and utilised to the fullest advantage."

Mica, At Present The Monopoly Of The Few

India as a whole, after the 'quitting' of the British, runs the risk of being entrapped by the Big Business on a broader context, for purposes which may not be conducive to the interest of the common man. In the line of mica, things are already concentrated in the hands of scarcely a dozen interests of which 4 or 5 own or command the bulk of the total strategic deposits. The National Government has to consider if it is safe in national interests, to leave the control, ownership or distribution of such a vital strategic asset of a vast country like India in the hands of a half-a-dozen hands. Sir J. D. Sifton, once the Chief Secretary and later the Governor of Bihar, once stated in the Bihar Legislative Council :

> "We have here in this province, the most important imperial asset. The Industry is therefore of more than local importance. The supply is by no means inexhaustible and it becomes the duty of the local government as trustees of this important deposit, to conserve the available supplies and to keep the industry in a healthy and prosperous condition."

The whole mica industry in Bihar today lies at the mercy of practically 3 major parties of whom one practically moulds the policy for the others and the rest, by various long-established influences and practices. In the present state of affairs, even in trading, the small man is cornered. The monopolists are merrily ruling on. In course of the last few months, exports of mica from Calcutta alone ranged between 25 to over 60 lakhs of rupees in value per month of which more than 50 per cent represent the totals of 3 firms. The controlling hand of Anglo-America continues behind the "India Ltd." screen; a high-level investigation is imperatively necessary, without the least loss of time. I appeal to Mr. Gadgil, the present Mines Minister in the Union Government.

* *India Mica*, published in 1932, price Rs. 5 ; *Handbook of Mica*, price Rs. 15. American edition published from Brooklyn, N. Y. in 1941.

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REFUGEE PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION.

By V. V. SAYANNA

Introduction

Evil work must have evil consequences and one of the most tragic legacies of the communal strife that has been deliberately fomented and freely nurtured in recent years is the huge refugee question. Broadly stated, since the last general elections and particularly after the horrid events that took place in Calcutta, Noakhali, and Bihar, the problem of refugees is faced by India as a whole which has only taken a serious turn after the partition of the country or after the announcemennt of what is known as 'Radcliffe's Award.' The widespread orgies of loot, arson and senseless savagery led to serious drop in levels of production, caused destruction or damage to wealth and property, public and private, and loss of thousands of innocent lives, both human and bovine. The consequent dislocation in all spheres of economic activity including the administrative services of the governments, and the ruling general feeling of fear and insecurity have resulted in diversion and wastage of time and energies which ought to have been profitably focussed towards consolidation of the economic, political, social and moral basis of each of the Dominions for the urgent task of their reconstruction and regeneration. These developments coinciding with the prevailing acute conditions with regard to food, cloth and housing cannot but aggravate the general state of things existing in both the new Dominions and may jeopardise their very existence, if no adequate and timely measures are taken up.

Present Position Of The Refugee Problem

Our refugee problem has *some characteristics* peculiarly its own which differ in a way from the emigration movements in the past or the refugee problems faced by certain countries of Europe and Asia during the last two great world wars. In the first instance the mass exodus of population in different parts is not the effect of emigration policies of the respective governments, such as the typical mass emigration among countries of the world particularly during the 19th and 20th centuries which was frequently assisted and directed by the Governments concerned.[1] In fact the Prime Minister of the Indian Dominion has clearly stated that the present national undertaking of mass transfers of population in the Punjab is rather forced on the Government against their declared intentions. Secondly, the problem does neither correspond exactly to the situation of the attack by a formidable aggressor from outside, nor to the situation of a violent revolution within the country like the October Revolution in Soviet Russia, because technically speaking conditions necessary for both these things are absent from the causes of the present trouble. The trouble is largely communal and therefore the capitalists as well as the proletariat and intellectuals, all alike, are liable to fall victims to the catastrophe. The flight of people *en masse* is practically confined to the individuals and those families who are driven to it by force of religious circumstances and psychological factors. Obviously there are no strong economic or political motives to forge these unhappy persons into a coherent association or a regular group of emigrants in course of time on either side of the frontiers,[2] as their decisions have no strong economic or political foundation and are the outcome of spontaneous actions taken under panic, religious frenzy and lawlessness. Moreover, the problem faced by us is twofold. On the one hand asylum has to be given for the refugees coming from outside, say from Pakistan, on the other hand the refugees belonging to the religious minorities in question have to be duly protected and, if so desired, arrangements have to be made for their safe removal to the other Dominion. As a matter of fact the nature of the refugee problem is very peculiar, as the position of the refugees does not conform to the status of regular emigrants or to political exiles.

Final statistics are not available about the *numerical position* of this compulsory displacement of people. Describing the problem as 'terrific', the Prime Minister of India has stated that at least two million people on either side of the West and the East Punjab have been moved or going to be moved, although according to the unofficial sources, it is estimated that at least three million persons must have crossed the borders on either side of the Punjab. As a matter of fact the exodus from the West Punjab actually started in the month of last March and since then about one million Hindus and Sikhs have come to India. However, the Westward movement of Muslim population in the Punjab has commenced relatively much later, for probably the Muslim population in the East Punjab must have been under the prolonged old impression of the provincial majority of their community before the announcement of the Award of the Boundary Commission. If it is finally agreed by the two Central Governments upon exchange of populations in the two sectors of the Punjab, it would approximately entail the transfer of about four million people on either side on the basis of the census figures of 1941. Accounts regarding exodus of religious minorities (Muslims and non-Muslims) taking place in various parts of the two Dominions are forthcoming, and they are not verified by official statements. It is reported unofficially that at least six lakhs of non-Muslims must have left the Province of Sind, since the outbreak of the Quetta riots (26th August, 1947) to neighbouring states and provinces. For the sake of argument, if it is assumed that there will

1. See. *International Migrations*, by the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1929. Vol. I.

2. *Cf.* Proletarian Mass Migration during 19th and 20th centuries *Vide International Migrations, Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 81-87.

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be similar movements of entire minority population between India and Pakistan, according to the figure of the last census, it would involve, if states are excluded, transfer of about 1,670 thousand Sikhs or broadly speaking 16,557 thousand non-Muslims from Pakistan to India and conversely about 30,998 thousand Muslims from India to Pakistan.[3]

The flare-up in the Punjab caught the two new Governments napping. Any estimate of the number of persons killed and the value of the loss of properties involved would be a wild guess, and the official figures given were highly conservative. In spite of the previous experiences in Bengal and Bihar and the pitch of communal tension prevalent particularly in the Punjab (where many military units were reported to have been mobilised in anticipation of trouble as a result of the award of the Boundary Commission), it is regrettable to note that Governments should be taken unaware by the communal outbreak which rapidly developed into a serious crisis. Pt. Nehru has referred to this point in an outspoken statement:

> "I must confess that we have several times underestimated the trouble,. . . . we were rather taken unawares by these happenings. Perhaps it was our fault and we ought not to have taken unawares by anything. And if a Government is taken unawares, it must suffer for it . . . . Having under-estimated once, twice, three times, we decided not to do it again. . . . So we built up a machinery which could deal with every possible contingency and emergency all over India."[4]

In brief the following appear to be the *measures taken* by the Government of India and Pakistan to meet the situation. The first question to which serious attention is accorded, is the evacuation of people concerned to the respective dominions by all possible means of quick transport, by land, sea and air in close co-operation with the Provincial Governments. The Governments have tried to ensure military protection to their respective communities even in the remotest regions in either of the Dominions and from there they are shifted to the refugee centres to effect, if the refugees wish, their final removal to the respective Dominions under military escort. As soon as the refugees cross the national borders, they find food, medical aid and other facilities to meet their most urgent needs given according to arrangements made by the Provincial Governments and benevolent organisations. It is happy to note that the prominent leaders in India and Pakistan have condemned unequivocally the acts of violence and bitter feelings of narrow and dangerous communalism and have given instructions to their followers to forget the past and to protect the minority communities in their localities. In India, a new Portfolio is created for the purpose of Relief and Rehabilitation of refugees and shipwrecked lives. Besides, an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet is set up to deal with the Punjab situation and the Committee has to meet day to day to discuss problems as they arise and issue directions. The Emergency Committee consists of the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Transport Minister and the Minister for Refugees, while the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief partake in the deliberations as invitees.

Broad Outlines Of The Task

After an analysis of the nature and position of the refugee problem, it is necessary to examine the broad outlines of the task of suggesting appropriate solutions. From the outset there are at least three distinct phases in the solution of the problem *viz.*, the immediate, the provisional and the final. The immediate task is the establishment of peace and order in places subjected to disturbances and the removal of minorities concerned to the refugee centres ensuring security to them under strong military force. In accordance with the desires of the people, they may be either evacuated to the other dominion or may be allowed to stay there under protection, till conditions improve and return to normal. The refugees who are not mobilised by Government are to report on arrival at the Refugee Registration centres opened at suitable places or at the nearest taluk or district government offices of the Mamlatdars and Collectors. Refugee Committees are to be formed out of the refugees to place their pressing needs, grievances and all matters of their common interest and well-being before the authorities concerned. Official announcements have to be made regularly from time to time regarding the various developments, the measures taken and the state of affairs to the public and to the refugees. Similar committees may be formed out of the majority communities and other social workers, known as the Refugee Aid Committees. Their work is to protect minorities in their own regions, to infuse them with confidence, to create and to work for the establishment of cordial and paternal relations between the two communities, to safeguard the properties seized or usurped by unauthorised persons, to trace out and recover wandering refugees, abducted women and children and to co-operate generally in the work of the Government in all such matters. Again Refugee Advisory Committees constituting representatives of Refugee Committees and Refugee Aid Committees may be formed to advise the Ministry of the Relief and Rehabilitation of refugees on the evolution of policy and its execution. These must constitute the non-official bodies to help in the solution of the refugee question.

The above proposals require some time for their effective realisation and therefore some provisional arrangements need be made for the interval. That is exactly the question of the distribution and placing of refugees, and making arrangements for their provisional maintenance or employment in provinces and states which have given them asylum. The provisional work chiefly consists of effecting temporary relief measures without any primary regard to the aspect of their rehabilitation. In the first place, the refugees have to be redistributed in various regions, as a result of negotiations entered into with the provincial governments and states as well as private or political organisations willing to accept the refugees, taking

3. If statistics for the States are also included, the corresponding figures are about 1,718 thousand Sikhs or 16,764 thousand non-Muslims from Pakistan and 41,569 thousand Muslims from India that are to be shifted to the respective Dominions.

4. *Vide*, Pt. Nehru in a Press Conference in Delhi on 13-9-47.

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into account the wishes of the refugees and the resources of the recipients. Unless the tasks of receiving and distributing are co-ordinated properly, there will be overcrowding or congestion in certain places which produce complications, especially when the refugees come all at one time, in large numbers. From the practical viewpoint refugees belonging to the minority communities may be encamped in urban areas in order to ensure them strong protection against any possible emergency, while the refugees belonging to majority community, largely coming from different parts of the other Dominion, may be removed to rural parts after a short period of their reception. They are to be sent to the chief town of the district for which they have been assigned in order that they may be distributed later on in suitable places in the district with the assistance of the village committees set up for the purpose of receiving and settling the refugees provisionally. This will avoid the possible other alternatives of refugees remaining stranded in provinces economically incapable of maintaining or absorbing them and also the congestion and increase in the size of the refugee population in urban areas. Though they may be housed in buildings fallen vacant due to evacution, to avoid complications or misgivings in the minds of the original owners for returning to their houses early, it is advisable as far as possible to find accommodation for the refugee in vacant public or private buildings huts, barns etc. after duly reconditioning them. The Collectors with the help of the local bodies like the District Boards and Municipal bodies have to look after the maintenance and welfare of the refugees until they find work or a final solution is reached. To make them self-reliant, it is desirable to help them in finding some employment within the limits of their new conditions of life. Partly since conditions in the countryside are not so satisfactory and partly since some of the refugees may not adjust themselves to rural life, it is possible that a good number of refugees tend to leave the districts to which they have been assigned and gravitate towards towns and industrial centres where they hope to obtain employment in commerce and industry. In such an event, issue of identity certificates to the refugees to enable them to move freely wherever they like may prove helpful.

The measures discussed above are only of a temporary character, and the question cannot be fully tackled, unless some final solution is found. That consists of repatriation, migration and permanent settlement of refugees. The implications of each of them are briefly laid down. The repatriation of the refugees to their original places is a suggestion par excellence. Obviously there are no economic, legal or political obstacles to the return of the refugees, as the refugees have got the legal recognition of their rights of citizenship and ownership of their properties etc. by the Governments of India and Pakistan, irrespective of whatever took place as a consequence of the disturbances. But it is difficult to estimate the exact number of the refugees who are likely to go back in the near future, particularly to Pakistan until the element of communalism is completely eliminated in the body politic of Pakistan. Repatriation is preferred in case of those who wish to return to their homes and to have a chance of recovering their property. However the possibilities of repatriating the refugees appear to be limited as it is a solution which depends on some practical and political considerations which cannot be discussed here.

The second consideration is emigration or migration. Migration policies in course of the last century or so fluctuated between enthusiastic encouragement and severe restriction.[5] In recent years under the influence of the depression a number of countries have more or less completely closed their frontiers to foreign labour. However acute the question of population to India, it is evident that there is no possibility of avoiding emigration of people from Pakistan. One redeeming feature is that the flow of emigration of population is not one-sided, as there is an equal proportion of displacement of population in the opposite direction. Owing to the short distance between India and Pakistan, the transport charges may be less. Looked at from this viewpoint, the spontaneous migration of persons who decide to move from one Dominion to another or from one part of the Dominion to another at their own expense and rely largely or entirely on their own resources is good inasmuch as it relieves some trouble and cost on the part of the Government, and proper facilities of transport are to be provided. But large-scale migration cannot take place without extensive developemnt schemes in the new regions. Migration must, like other economic activities, be planned to carry through a policy which will promote the interests of the countries of emigration and immigration and of the migrants themselves.

Hence in case of those refugees who cannot be repatriated, who perhaps form a majority, the possibilities of settling them permanently may be explored. It it is accepted as an inevitable solution, however painful the conclusion may appear, it is fair that the valuation of properties abandoned by the refugees may be undertaken under the supervision of a Joint Commission of both the Central Governments and that the refugees may be given compensation to which they are entitled, as soon as possible, in order that they may settle down permanently in the new territories. At the time of paying compensation at different rates, a certain percentage (say 10) may be deducted on payments made above a certain minimum towards Refugee Fund. If the general notion that economically the Muslims occupy a less advantageous position than the Hindus and Sikhs in the matter of ownership of wealth and property is accepted as true, the proposal is likely to enhance the liabilities of Pakistan State to India in the aggregate.

The organisation of settlement of refugees is great wherein the close co-operation between the Government and the private or public bodies is of vital importance. In this task, the Government, the Employment Exchange services, the employers, the Trade Unions, and other allied organisations have a part to play in helping the refugee population in finding their daily bread and work. Refugees belonging to agricultural communities may be settled on

5. *Cf.* Migration and settlement in some British Dominions (in Australia, New Zealand and Canada) by P. Christie Tait, *vide*, *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 34-65.

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poramboke or government waste lands. To reduce to a minimum the probable opposition against expropriation of private lands, acquisitions and reclamation of additional areas must be simultaneously taken up. There is also need for providing them with financial aid until they can stand on their own legs. For instance, refugees settled on land require a dwelling, livestock, agricultural implements, seed etc. in addition to farm land, while the non-agricultural refugees have to be provided with housing and, if they are artisans, with tools and machinery to carry on their work, besides provision for family expenses till income is derived from their occupations. Indeed complicated issues have however to be fully discussed to safeguard the interests of workers and other interests concerned in each of the provinces as well as the interests of the refugees. At this stage close co-operation between the Ministers for labour and for refugees together with the Department of Planning and Development is essential to give a relative prospect of success in life to the settlers.

Matters Of Organisations

The desired ends can be only obtained by collective efforts methodically organised. Statistics are to be collected by the Refugee services about the dates of arrival and departures of the refugees in different regions and their composition according to age, sex and occupation. Full details are to be gathered regarding number of families, number of persons in each family (number received casualties, died or missing); number of males, females and children (number of persons rendered orphans or widows to be shown separately); localities of origin (district, taluk and village); and lastly regarding previous occupations (Profession, Government or private services, business, artisan, peasant proprietors, agricultural landless workers, students, unemployed and the like). Owing to lack of proper means of registering the refugees in many provinces and states the compilation of census figures outlined above would be presented with many difficulties. However, with effective assistance of provincial governments, the Refugee committees, the Refugee Aid Committees approximate figures can be obtained. The final statistics supplied by the Refugee Department may be incomplete as a certain number of families may, for various reasons, fail to give correct information or to fill up the 'declaration forms' at the nearest Refugee centres on their arrival.[6] At a later stage researches have to be conducted by the Department of Refugees in collaboration with the Universities in the Provinces affected to study the refugee situation cheaply, its effects on labour conditions, employment etc. to make necessary improvements.

In order to avoid frictions, waste of efforts, duplication of functions and various other defects, the necessity to co-ordinate the work of various services dealing with the refugee problem is obvious. One of the essential duties of the new Ministry for refugees is to grapple with the problem of refugees by co-ordinating and consolidating the efforts and goodwill of the provincial governments and states with the help of the Central Refugee Advisory Committee.

Financial Implications

The effective implementation of these measures largely depends on the financial resources. Both as regards rehabilitation and settlement, the chief bottleneck is the same, namely, lack of funds.[7] No estimates can be made at present about the total cost of settling the refugees. It is equally impossible to express an opinion here and now, whether the provinces involved can raise funds entirely from their own resources and to what extent they have to look to the funds contributed from other areas and by the Central Government as it requires a detailed study of their economic and financial position. In view of the huge deficits previously faced by the Central Government in framing its budget, it is difficult to say whether the two states of Pakistan and India can stand by themselves without impairing the general economic position in the matter of raising sums within the countries, or the fulfilment of their obligations in connection with the refugee will necessitate them to have resource to an international loan. If the prospects of raising necessary funds within the two countries are not bright, the question of raising any international loan or approaching an organisation like the U. N. R. R. A. deserves full investigation. Various ways of raising funds have to be urgently devised. Collections may be made in money or in kind (foodgrains, fuel, and clothing consistent with the existence of rationing and controls) and the proceeds may be distributed among refugees by the Refugee Aid Committee. But it may be noted that collections of this kind have been made on various occasions in the last few years and it will be easily realised that the charitable sources of the common man have become almost exhausted, the amounts of such collections already having commenced recording diminishing returns in recent months. Therefore, a special tax on property owners in the country generally, and particularly in the Regions involved may be levied, besides imposition of an additional charge on all the wealthy and propertied persons at the time of handing over their properties to them on their return, may be resorted to.

Conclusion

The refugee situation has assumed great proportions and it is difficult to bring about fully the serious implications involved in dealing with problems of this kind—political and social. One cannot prophesy the new turn things may take in future which have to be boldly and determinately faced and overcome by the respective Governments by harnessing all their resources and energies to the fullest extent. The relief and rehabilitation of the refugees, the able-bodied as well as the disabled, shall be a hard task which can be only carried on an inter-provincial scale, as the work has a national character and no isolated or provincial measures are adequate.

6. See *International Labour Review*, January, 1928, Vol. XVII, No. 1 p. 78.

7. *Cf.* Mr. Jinnah assured the League legislators of West Punjab in a recent visit to Lahore (on 30-8-47) that the Pakistan Government would go all out to rehabilitate refugees even to the point of taking bankruptcy.

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SOME INFORMATION ABOUT OMICHAND FROM THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT RECORDS

By Dr. N. K. SINHA,
Calcutta University

OMICHAND (Amirchand) is an unfortunate figure of British Indian history. He stumbles from obscurity into the pages of history when his greatest financial gamble failed miserably. The fraud perpetrated by Clive made Omichand a figure of Indian history. But we do not really know much about him.

An exploration of the unprinted records of the High Court of Calcutta unexpectedly revealed the existence of a considerable number of papers concerning Omichand among the records of the Mayor's court and the Supreme Court. The notes of Hyde, one of the puisne judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta also contain some information about him. This accumulated miscellany is helpful in reconstructing the career of this Sikh merchant, though it throws no light on the part which he played in the conspiracy against Siraj-Ud-Daula.

Omichand's name was really Amirchand. Huzuri Mul (Hazari Mal), his brother-in-law, who was for a long time his close associate and later the principal executor of his will, refers to him as Amirchand in several documents. In one of the Bengali documents he describes himself—

"आमीर चन्द्रजीर दौलतेर मोक्तार" —which was

then turned (by slurring over *r*) into English as "manager of the estate of the late Babu Ameechand", which was spelt also as Umichand or Omichand.

The Seths of Sutanati worked as brokers to the East India Company in their Dadni business in the seventeenth century and in the early years of the eighteenth. In his early days Amirchand attached himself to one of the Seths. In 1795, in a case before the Supreme Court—Bulaki Singh *vs.* Gopinath Seth—Jogmohan Sen, an old servant of the Seths, who was more than seventy years old at the time, deposed to the effect that Bostom Das Seth was the maker of Amirchand's fortune. Bostom Das and Amirchand were for some time partners. Jogmohan Sen repeated with emphasis—"Who was Omichand? His fortune, character and all were made under the Seat. By Seat I mean Bostom Das Seat." Bostom Das was very unfortunate in later life and died in 1752. He summoned Amirchand and told his old partner in business that he could not hope to live long, that he was indebted to many people and he had many children. How were they to be taken care of and what would Amirchand advise him to do? Amirchand advised him to make a fictitious mortgage comprehending all his property in Amirchand's name and leave the document with his son Nemai Chand Seth. In case any creditor laid claim to any of Bostom Das's house property in Calcutta Amirchand would make a counter-claim as mortgage. Amirchand assured his old partner, "I will pay off all your debts and save your house from your creditors." It is relevant to note that the Calcutta estate of Bostom Das included "Tollah garden, Chowringhee garden which is now included in the esplanade and Jourabagan Garden." The sons of Bostom Das were alarmed at this prospect of a mortgage. But Amirchand assured them and said that the mortgage would bear no interest and Pitambar Seth, owner of half share must not sign it, the paper should be antedated and no one was to witness it. His plan was to scare away the creditors of Bostom Das, not to sell the property under duress but to make a gradual Sale and pay off the debts. Bostom Das died shortly after this fictitious mortgage was made. This episode reveals Amirchand in a characteristic role.

We have the first glimpse of Amirchand in the records of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta in July, 1749. This is one of the earliest records preserved in the High Court. An application was made for the administration of the effects of one Williamson deceased. His nearest of kin as also a large creditor Thomas Smith was appointed to administer them along with another creditor James Irwin. Amirchand, one of the creditors, moved that he might be joined in the administration of the effects of the deceased. The Court declined.

Amirchand again comes into prominence in the judicial records of 1755 in the proceedings of the Quarter Sessions. The Grand Jury, an institution now obsolete, made the following presentiment:—

> "The Jurors for our sovereign Lord the King present that Omichand of this place inhabitant, having been frequently presented to the Court by several Grand Jury for neglecting to repair his houses so great in number in this town which he is possessed of, several of which are quite untenable . . . remain still in a ruinous and untenable condition . . . the Jurors therefore do say that the accused's neglect is a great nuisance to the town in general and to the inhabitants thereof . . . the said nuisance still remains to the hazard of the lives of many inhabitants who are obliged to rent the said houses for want of others as likewise passengers passing by and endangering neighbouring houses by their fall."

The Court acquainted the Grand Jury that the purport of their presentiment should be immediately redressed. We learn from Orme that most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to Amirchand. His garden house three miles from the Fort of Calcutta is famous in history as the place where Siraj-Ud-Daula encamped when he attacked Calcutta in 1756. That Amirchand was also one of the worst landlords is perhaps not known to all.

In my search of facts relating to Amirchand's life during the fateful years of 1756 and 1757, I could only come across the evidence of George Williamson who was Sub-Secretary to the Council during the years of 1757 to 1761 and who deposed thus in a case relating to Amirchand's estate in 1793:—

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"I have seen Omichand and Dialchand (Diachand) together during Omichand's life. The first time I ever saw them was at Mr. Drake's, the Governor. I did not then know who either of them were but Omichand was leading Dialchand by the hand into the council room which must have been just after the capture of Calcutta, by his going up and embracing each member of the Council among whom Colonel Clive was sitting as Commander-in-Chief of the army. Omichand introduced Dialchand to each of them as his *palak betta* (adopted son)."

It was most probably after this large-scale embracing that Amirchand accompanied Watts as his adviser to Murshidabad, and thus was set in train the whole series of events in which he played his part, culminating in that famous trick of Clive.

Amirchand died in the month of Agrahayan B. S. 1165, early in December, 1758. For some time before his death he was not in Calcutta and was staying possibly at Malda. His absence from Calcutta is proved by a Sheriff's return of August 15, 1758 in the case of Edward Handles *vs.* Omichand. The return contained the following entry "The within-mentioned is not to be found within my district." The case was a claim for Rs. 5812-9-6, the amount of a bill of parcels for 3 pairs of emerald drops and a trinket. It was withdrawn by the plaintiff.

The story of Amirchand's becoming insane is a pure figment of imagination. In the prolonged litigation over his estate no mention was ever made at any time that he had ever lost his reason. No doubt he was very much annoyed with himself for his failure to get what he thought was within his grasp, especially when he looked around and found his European friends suddenly enriched beyond their wildest dreams. The feeling of a cheat when he is cheated by another can be easily guessed. But his business dealings with the East India Company continued almost as before. One new development is, however, clearly discernible. As a reaction from this money-making which was so long the be-all and the end-all of his existence, he developed a religious turn of mind. Some time before his death he talked of going to Amritsar as a pilgrim and in his will, after distributing about 1,60,000 among the different members of his family, he left the entire residue as *Debottur* to Sree Gobind Nanakji. This estate was later valued at 42 Lakhs after payment of Rs. 37,500|- to the Magdalen and Foundling Charities in England. For the management of this *Debottur* property there was prolonged litigation between Hira Singh (heir of Hazari Mal) and Bulaki Singh (nephew of Diachand, Amirchand's *palak betta*).

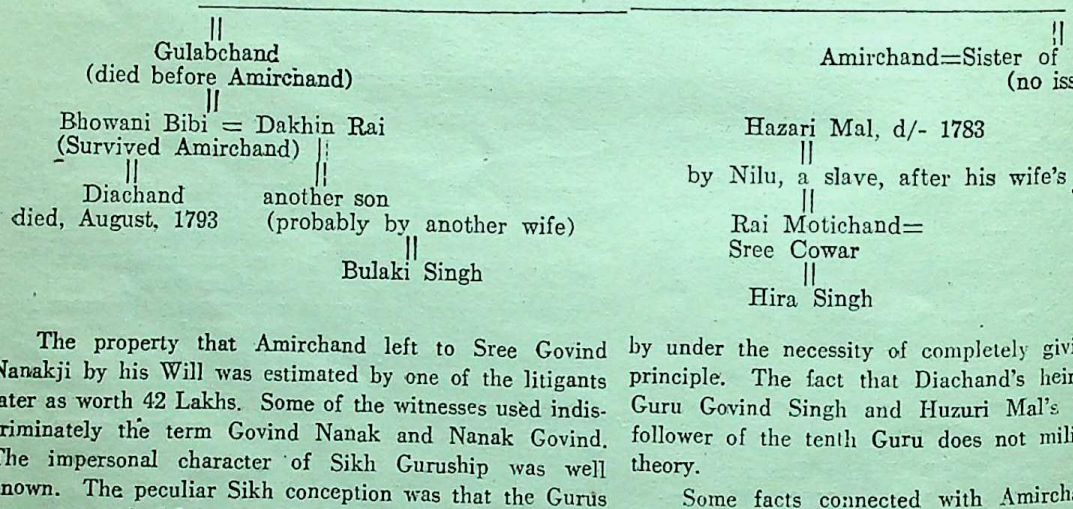
The Will of Amirchand has been published in the Report of the Regional Survey Committee for Bengal and Assam (1946-47) appointed by the Indian Historical Records Commission. History is not concerned with the long-drawn story of the litigation between Bulaki Singh and Hira Singh. But a genealogical table drawn up by Justice Hyde of the Supreme Court to help his memory may be reproduced here because that would correct some of the current mistakes.

||

Gulabchand
(died before Amirchand)
||
Bhowani Bibi = Dakhin Rai
(Survived Amirchand) ||
|| ||
Diachand — another son
died, August, 1793 — (probably by another wife)
||
Bulaki Singh

||
Amirchand=Sister of Hazari Mal
(no issue)

Hazari Mal, d/- 1783
||
by Nilu, a slave, after his wife's death
||
Rai Motichand=
Sree Cowar
||
Hira Singh



The property that Amirchand left to Sree Govind Nanakji by his Will was estimated by one of the litigants later as worth 42 Lakhs. Some of the witnesses used indiscriminately the term Govind Nanak and Nanak Govind. The impersonal character of Sikh Guruship was well known. The peculiar Sikh conception was that the Gurus were one and the same. The quarrel between Diachand and Huzuri Mal and between Bulaki Singh and Hira Singh helped to ruin this very valuable trust property of Amirchand.

I have seen Amirchand's name in intimate family correspondence, in official documents drawn up by him and his associates and nowhere is he described as a Singh. It is therefore natural to conclude that he was a Nanakpanthi Sikh. His niece Bhowani Bibi was married to Dakhin Rai. If name is an indication neither he nor Huzuri Mal was a Khalsa Sikh. As has been said, "A Khatri, when a Sikh is ordinarily a Sikh of Nanak rather than a devotee of Guru Govind", because he is not thereby under the necessity of completely giving up his caste principle. The fact that Diachand's heir was a Sikh of Guru Govind Singh and Huzuri Mal's heir was also a follower of the tenth Guru does not militate against this theory.

Some facts connected with Amirchand's affair after his demise deserve notice. At the request of the executors, Messrs. Frankland and Holwell acted in conjunction with them in collecting all his concerns at the *aurungs* with Mr. Scraftan as their assistant. Huzuri Mal, the principal executor, was anxious to please Englishmen of rank to an extent altogether improper for a person who was in charge of the management of a trust property. Clive took advantage of Huzuri Mul's anxiety to please him to do a favour to Raja Tilakchand of Burdwan, who was indebted to Amirchand's estate to the extent of 15 lakhs. A settlement of account was made at Lord Clive's house in 1765. Huzuri Mull was prepared to give Tilakchand credit for Rs. 2,90,000|-. But Lord Clive made him

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give up all except nine lakhs, thus making the executor forego a sum of 3,10,000 rupees.

The servility of Huzuri Mul to Sahibs is best illustrated by his payment to the Magdalen and Foundling charities in 1762. In the case—John Doe on the demise of Hira Singh *vs.* Bulaki Singh— Williamson, who has been quoted before, gave the following evidence:

"Huzuri Mul, the latter end of April in the year 1762 came to Mr. Vansittart when I was with him and told him that Omichand by his will had left a certain sum of money for two charities in England and begged to know what two charities he Mr. Vansittart would particularly recommend. Mr. Vansittart recommended the Magdalen and Foundling hospitals and he Huzuri Mul acquiesced in that and the next day gave into my hands as Secretary a letter to that effect in consequence of which an order to that effect was made out."

There is a slight inaccuracy in the evidence of Williamson and it is no wonder because he was giving his evidence in 1793. The verbal offer of Huzuri Mul must have been made on the 31st March, 1762 because the letter was dated 1st April, 1762. He expressed his intention to pay from Amirchand's estate 37,500 current rupees into the Company's cash, 3,000 rupees annually half to the Foundling and half to the Magdalen hospital. I have read the Will of Amirchand as thoroughly as possible and nowhere do I find any provision for the two charities in England. Huzuri Mul made this unauthorized payment of a very considerable sum of money out of Amirchand's estate only to please the Governor and his friends.

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A PLEA FOR HIGHER BANK RATE

A Measure Against Post-War Depression

By Prof. P. C. BANERJEE, ma.

The Post-War Boom

The first phase of the post-war period will be naturally a period of boom, as it is now. The demobilisation crisis has been momentary. As the war production is being over, peace production begins and a transfer from war work to peace work takes place. A great demand for repairs and renewal of the plants and machinery, a rush for the construction of buildings and railways and the necessity for starting the postponed social work of the State are being at once arisen. These greatly stimulate first the activities of the capital goods industries and then the consumption goods industries. On the other side, when the wartime controls and restrictions on consumption will be over, the people forced for so long a period to a strict austere living will try to satisfy their pent-up demand for consumption goods. Although the demand for both capital goods and consumption goods may thus be considered as immediate, the switch-over from war to peace economy will require some time. In the transition period, therefore, the rate of output of both the capital and consumption goods would be insufficient to cope with the intensity of demand and their prices would consequently shoot up. This will bring a windfall profit to the producers and the trades will experience a highly stimulated activity. This is what may be called a post-war boom.

The Post-War Depression

But this boom will be temporary and short-lived. It will be the herald of a great depression that awaits us all in the next phase of the post-war period.

The post-war demand will soon be satisfied. This will not be a continuing demand, but a sudden demand arising out of wants that had remained unsatisfied during the war and also out of war damages and postponed repairing and restockings of factories, shops and houses. Being allured by high profits and being facilitated by an abundant supply of funds available at low rates of interest in the transition period from war to peace, the *entrepreneurs* of capital goods would embark upon projects beyond necessity, and the producers of consumption goods would expand output beyond demand. People's savings in the banks would gradually be drawn upon and would not be replaced by inflated money as it used to be during the war under the regime of inflation. The affluence in the field of finance will now give place to scarcity and the banks would find it difficult to provide money to *entrepreneurs* as freely as they have been doing. Consequently the interest rates might tend to rise. This would at once reduce the prices of securities and also the shares of the industrial concerns. The cost of financing the projects in hands would rise and this would reduce the profitableness of the schemes launched. Many of the projects would be abandoned and unemployment would set in first in the capital goods industry. The unemployment in this industry would reduce the effective demand for consumption goods and the set-back in the capital goods trade would also spread to the consumption goods trade within a short time. A crash would occur and the prices would adopt a falling course. It would be difficult to bring a proportionate reduction in the high level of wages and thus the cost of production remaining high, in consequence, the industries would suffer from a cost-prices disequilibrium. Once the ball is set rolling it gathers impetus. Similarly, as the depression spreads, it tends to gather cumulative force. In India, capital goods industry being negligible the break would at once take place in the price of consumption goods, and the unemployment would be more wide in consumption goods industry.

We thus see that the seed of the post-war depression is thus sown in the post-war boom which will ultimately dig its own grave. In order, therefore, to avoid the post-war depression, we have first to avoid the excessive development of the post-war boom.

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The Banking Policy

The banking system will play no less a part in the price fluctuations that are inevitable after the war. In spite of a great increase in the demand for money in order to meet the colossal war expenditure, the pre-war Bank rate has been kept intact throughout the war period. In this country this *three per cent war* has been made possible by the abundant supply of paper currency which has made money surprisingly cheap. It would have been better if the Bank Rate were increased and the war were financed more through loans and less through inflation. The upheaval that has taken place in the country's economic and price structures would not settle down at once after the war. Violent fluctuations, as we have noted, both upwards and downwards of prices are likely to follow one after another before a readjustment of the different economic phenomena takes place. Much of the vagaries of price fluctuation can be checked if the banks take timely actions and adopt a wise policy. This the Reserve Bank can do to a certain extent through the manipulation of Bank rate according to the circumstances. Tinkering with the credit and the currency policy would be of little value to avert the crisis and a stable Bank Rate even then would be another blunder on the road to stabilisation.

The Present Higher Rate of Exchange

There is one more danger in India which may intensify the slump. The post-war exchange policy of the Indian Government will have a great bearing upon the period of transition from war to peace. If the rupee is not revalued after the war in terms of sterling and the policy of the Government is to hold on to the present rate of exchange, the banking authorities will be sparing every nerve to resist falls and encourage rises in the rupee-sterling rate of exchange when the free movements of international trade are restored. It is with this end in view that the Bank Rate in India might be raised higher and higher at certain later period of the post-war boom. Its efforts on the business psychology would be catastrophic, and it would accentuate the vigour of depression. After the first world war, the high rate of 2s., a legacy of the Babington Smith Committee, accentuated the trend of falling prices in India from 1920 onwards. England too, being eager to re-establish the gold standard after the last war at the pre-war rate, tried hard to resist falls in the dollar-sterling rate. The exchange in America was unpegged, and to raise the dollar-sterling rate in New York, England thought it prudent to attract funds from America. The Bank Rate was consequently raised in England to as high as 7 per cent, and, this at a time when the depression had already set in. As a result the depression was intensified and it continued so till the middle of 1922 when the Bank Rate was brought down to the level of 3 per cent which brought about an improvement in the situation. In India, we are threatened with a similar experience after this war, when the freedom in export and import trades would be re-instated fully, if no measure is taken against such calamities. While the prices there would be tumbling down, money wages and other costs of production would not follow suit. And this money cost of production lagging behind the associated price movement, which is a natural accompaniment of a severe monetary slump, will curtail heavily business profits, and this is surely to bring a serious contraction of employment.

A Higher Bank Rate Now

Every care should be taken by the banking system to be free from the temptation of creating an expansionary credit during the period of post-war boom. Noticing the sign of an all-round optimism, there is every possibility of the banking system to be allured to build up a huge structure of credit expansion which would at once crack as the depression would stealthily set in. Therefore, intead of waiting for the depression and then raise up the Bank Rate as a remedy, as England did after the first world war, it would be prudent to raise it now as soon as possible. This would not permit the Bank Rate to remain below the natural rate, as has been the case during the war just ended. Is not prevention always better than cure?

Conclusion

To sum up, in order to meet the immediate post-war crisis, the country should take every monetary, fiscal and necessary conrtol measure in order to prevent prices from collapsing. A big programme of public investment should at once be launched to replace the war expenditure. The object should be a gradual and orderly fall in prices all round and to prevent a drastic monetary contraction. In the meantime, the Bank Rate should be raised to a higher level in order to prevent the *entrepreneurs* from embarking upon projects beyond necessity with the help of cheap money available. When the control over import and export will be fully lifted, there would be a heavy rush of foreign goods into the country as the prices in India are comparatively higher. As a remedial measure the problem of the devaluation of the rupee would at once be taken up for consideration and a proper rupee-sterling rate should be fixed, so that the higher rate may not get an opportunity of increasing the country's import at the cost of its export. The effect of higher rupee ratio has already begun to tell upon the Indian prices, as the prices of a few articles of foreign consumer goods which have already made their appearance in the market are far lower than their Indian equivalence. Unless the rupee is revalued and the exchange rate is fixed at its new natural level, all the programme of stabilisation will be torn into pieces. As our sterling balances would gradually be dissipated by paying for our import, the contraction of currency would become inevitable. The country should, at all means, avoid such rapid deflation and, if necessary, issue *ad hoc* securities to prevent the currency from sudden contraction. When prices have come down to a reasonable and economic level, they should be scientifically stabilised.

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In the border sphere, the economic stability of the country can only be achieved if the currency policy of the India Government and the credit policy of the Reserve Bank are properly married together. The instability in the standard of value is to a large extent, responsible for the economic miseries and disappointment of expectation of the present-day world. Although difficult, it is not impossible, however, to maintain the stability of the measuring rod of value within limits with the help of the new ideas now developing in the banking world. A mind free from conservative and orthodox notions and having an aptitude for clear analysis of the real situation can confidently steer through difficult times and reach the destination safely. The future currency reforms in this country should be carried out in the above light.

5.11.46

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THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES

By Prof K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., M.L.A. (Patna State)

The latest declaration of H.M.G. makes the following points clear :

i. That the British would withdraw from India by June 1948.

ii. As far as the States are concerned, Paramountcy would cease to exist ; the States would regain their sovereignty and begin to exercise full governmental functions.

The average reader of this journal would at once begin to imagine big states like Hyderabad and Mysore when he reads or hears about Indian States. What we should note first is that there are about six hundred States in India occupying an area of 712,508 sq. miles and having a population of 93 millions according to the census of 1941. Of these only ten are bigger than the smallest of British Indian Provinces; there are only 30 States which are bigger than the average size of a British Indian District; Lava State in Rajputana is about 19 sq. miles; while there are some States which are no better than small holdings. It is illogical and much confusion would arise in calling all these entities by the same term as 'States'; but the recent declaration implies that all these States, big and small, though they came under the British under different circumstances and though they enjoy today different degrees of autonomy and power of internal government, would find themselves vested with full sovereign powers.

The declaration of H.M.G. has only one meaning to the States—Paramountcy would cease. What does it mean? Paramountcy is difficult to define; the Butler Committee could not exactly define it and they were content merely to remark that 'Paramountcy is paramount'. It simply means in non-technical language the sum-total of the powers exercised by the British Government through the Viceroy and the Political Department on the 'sovereign and inherent rights' of the Ruler of the State. The word is very elastic and its meaning varies in practice depending upon treaties, conventions, politics and personalities. It ranges from the right to advise the Nizam on the appointments to the Executive Council to the right to depose the Ruler. In fact, as Lord Curzon said, "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its prerogatives." Lord Reading made it complete when he asserted that the right of intervention in the internal affairs of a State was inherent in the paramountcy of the British Crown and the right might be exercised at the sole discretion of the Crown.

A perusal of the development of the relations between the States and the Crown would convince us that these States were never treated as equals at all and that they were allowed to enjoy internal autonomy as a matter of grace and to a degree according to contingencies. Paramountcy has never been defined and one of the points constantly urged by the Princes through their Chamber was for the definition of Paramountcy; and one of the points that troubled the Princes all these years was to whom Paramountcy would be transferred when the British quit India. Paramountcy all these years was exercised by the Crown not only in Imperial interests but also in the interests of British India. In his speech at Udaipur, Lord Minto stated that "there are also certain matters in which it is necessary for *the Government of India* to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of an imperial character." (Italics mine). If control of the Indian States was required to safeguard these general interests as stated by Lord Minto, the necessity to safeguard those interests is still there.

An unnecessary controversy is raging in India now on the question of Sovereignty. Independence is being given to India by legal transfer as a 'gift' of the British and just as we cannot question the right of the British to confer Pakistan so also we cannot question the right of the British to confer full sovereign status on the States. Yes, even Lava in Rajputana having an area of 19 sq. miles can be independent; but the question is not one of the *right* of being independent but one of *might* of retaining independence. Sovereignty is a question of *fact* and not one for theoretical discussion. Even I can declare independence at any time and the question is one of might; if I have ten atom bombs with me, probably I can declare independence at once—nothing can prevent me. Legally all the States do become fully sovereign States in June, 1948 and then there are three courses open to them :

i. They can declare independence and remain aloof or enter into some agreement with the Indian Union on some common matters ; or

ii. They can come into the Indian Union and

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form a Federation handing over a part of sovereignty to the Federal Governmnet ; or

iii. They can all form together into a Federation and enter into some agreement with the Indian Union or remain aloof.

Whatever course the Indian States take and whether all of them take the same course or not would depend on circumstances, practical difficulties and political realities, but not on the legal interpretation of sovereignty. There is as yet no international law governing national States and even if there is one it is bound to remain a dead letter in the absence of an international authority capable of enforcing it; in other words, law without force behind it, is bound to remain a dead letter whether it is in national sphere or in the international sphere.

Theoretically there are many possibilities. The States, even Lava, can declare independence and then adopt any of the following steps to retain that independence:

i. Seek *de facto* recognition from some of the strong nations like Britain, U.S.A., or U.S.S.R.—the three countries that are exercising the rights of an International authority by virtue of their might ; or

ii. Enter into an alliance—defensive and offensive—with any of them ; and/or

iii. Secure membership of U. N. O.

But practically, political wisdom would dictate to the States the advisability of joining the Indian Union in one form or the other, as no outside Government would be interested in these States to enter into alliance with them against India.

The only practical course open therefore is to join the Indian Union—and this can be done in the following manner, as indicated earlier :

i. By joining the Indian Union by surrendering a part of the sovereignty, as do the provnices, for federal purposes, specially for Defence, Customs and Communications.

ii. By declaring independence and then entering into an alliance with the Indian Centre for definite purposes, specially for Defence.

Whatever is the course taken, the practical effects are the same: the question that would arise in future is: what attitude should the Centre take if there is an internal disturbance? It is well-known that today the Princes are able to rule not by the will of the people—though the contrary cannot be asserted,—nor by any inherent strength of theirs, but simply by the protection offered by the Paramount Power. But the Paramount Power always insisted on the right of internal intervention in case of bad government as a corollary to the protection offered. If the same protection is expected from the Union Centre, the same right of intervention should be conceded also. Again Paramountcy was exercised, to quote Lord Minto, 'to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole....such as railways, telegraphs and other Imperial services', and these interests should still be safeguarded by the Indian Union which means intervention with Indian States' internal administration. So the Princes might be feeling, and with legitimate fears, that whatever might be legal phraseology of the relationship with the Indian Union, force of events would gradually [illegible] Political Department trying to interfere with their autonomy.

I concede the possibility but there is also another possibility that cannot be overlooked. Where the Union subjects are strictly limited by a written constitution, the actual working of Federations shows that the scope for intervention is less and less; even in India it was demonstrated by the inability of the Centre to intervene in Bengal. The Princes may rest assured that no Indian Political Department could be substituted for the present one under the new constitution, as the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suzerainty whereas the relationship of the Union with the States would be one of equality. A strong Federal Court would be the best safeguard against any incursions of the Union into States' powers.

By adopting the second course, namely, declaring independence and then entering into a sort of a loose but strong alliance with the Indian Union, the States would be getting a better bargain. Those that are thinking in these terms are no doubt clever but they are not counting upon the contingency of the Indian Centre refusing to enter into such an undertaking—the prospect of the British leaving with nobody to fill the void to protect them. The meagre armies that they maintain or they can maintain in future are not sufficient to stop the popular rising when specially such risings would be actively helped and encouraged by British Indian political parties; (There can be fear of internal disorders only but no fear of any external aggression in the coming years as far as the States are concerned).

It is a serious point that must engage the attention of all the parties concerned. Suppose there is a State [illegible] which has joined the Indian Union. Suppose after June 1948, there is a popular agitation against the government for self-rule; and suppose, in order to quell it, the Ruler as the Head of the Government asks the Union Centre for military aid. What is the attitude to be taken by the Union Government ? Can it refuse aid, or could it allow its army to suppress popular movements ? Whatever may be the legal position, the people of India would not allow the Indian army to be used against the people of the Indian States; and any Government of the Union with such designs would be forced to resign. So those of the States that are thinking in terms of declaring independence and then entering into military alliance with Indian Centre are simply gambling away their future; they hope to get everything, but the chances are they will surely lose everything—even the monarchial system of Government might vanish in those States—for nothing can save them against their own people helped by powerful neighbours.

The interests of the Rulers and the people of the States therefore lie in straightway joining the Union as federal units as is being advocated by Gaekwad of Baroda, Maharaja of Patna and other enlightened Princes.

Pandit Nehru's warning not to become 'hostile' and the Maharaja of Patna's warning not to become 'reactionaries' are timely. Time will prove that the lead given by Baroda and Patna is the only right course.

While what is written above applies largely to [illegible]

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States which number about ten to fifteen, the problem of small States is different. The income of none of these States is sufficient to enable it to stand alone. There are three courses open for them:

i. They can join the Union straight ; or

ii. They can first form a group and as a group they can join the Indian Union as a Unit ; or

iii. They can be absorbed into the neighbouring State or Province.

Of course No. (*i*) is out of the question. No. (*ii*) is feasible only when the small States are contiguous and can form a decent unit. Where the small States are scattered and cannot be formed into various groups, they have to be absorbed, but in this case the wish of the people concerned should be taken into account before any definite action is taken.

As an example of what can be done, the Eastern States' Agency can be taken. It has forty-two States. Out of these two are Bengal States and stand far away from the rest. The rest are more or less contiguous. They can form a decent Unit for a Group with a population of about 80 lacs and with an income of about 4 crores. Attempts are being made at a high level to form a Federal Union of these States with responsible government as the goal. The Maharaja of Patna has made a very bold declaration promising complete responsible Government to his people by 1952, or even earlier if circumstances permit. Thus a time-limit for the grant of responsible Government has been set in Patna and the interval is expected to train the necessary personnel. It is hoped that the other Rulers in India would take his example and follow suit and set a time-limit for the grant of complete Self-Government.* 1-5-1947.

* The author wants to make it clear that the views expressed in this article are entirely his own and the Government or the Maharaja he has the proud privilege of serving have nothing to do with them either directly or indirectly.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS IN THE FUTURE INDIAN FEDERATION : *By M. Ramaswamy, B.A., B.L. Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd. 1944. Price Rs. 4.*

The problem of distribution of powers between the centre and the units is a pivotal one in any scheme of federation and naturally it has engaged the attention of constitution-makers as well as publicists all over the world over more than a century and a half past that the federal form has come to be accepted as the most suitable one for all countries except very small ones with complete homogeneity of conditions. Whatever differences exist among different schools of political India about the future political set-up there is perfect unanimity in one point, *viz.*, that it should be a federal one. There has been a lot of controversy, however, on the question of allocation of legislative powers as between the federation and the constituent units in this country ever since the problem of constitution-making for a free India was broached. The problem is an intricate and difficult one in any federation. In fact, the success or failure of a federal scheme which is by its very nature an essay in a delicate balancing of centrifugal and centripetal forces depends on a satisfactory solution of this one problem which should leave adequate scope for the free self-expression of the units and at the same time provide for national unity and integrity. It does not, however, admit of a uniform solution in terms of a rigid formula. Different countries have adopted different plans of allocation according to their peculiar history and tradition, genius and needs. Unfortunately in our country the approach to this question also as in many others has been vitiated by communalism, the bane of Indian politics and instead of being determined, as it should have been, by considerations of economic, political and military needs of the country, the solution has been sought on the communal plane. The author has analysed the scheme of distribution in some of the typical federations as also in the Indian constitution under the Government of India Act, 1935, and has formulated his own scheme for the future constitution of India in the light of experience of working of those plans. The basic principle of allocation that he has adopted for this purpose is that the centre should have specific powers, residuary powers vesting in the units somewhat on the American model. He has, of course, put forward cogent reasons in support of his thesis. Applying this principle he has worked out in Chapter II a detailed list of legislative powers which should vest in the Centre. The proposed federal legislative list has been arranged under seven broad categories, *viz.*, (1) Defence and External Affairs ; (2) Industry, Trade and Commerce ; (3) Transport and Communication ; (4) Finance and Taxation ; (5) Subjects upon which uniformity of laws is desirable ; (6) Labour ; and (7) Miscellaneous. This list is to be divided into two parts—some subjects in each category being within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal legislature while others being under the concurrent jurisdiction of the legislatures of both the union and the units. Against any possible conflict in the concurrent field it is provided that federal law would prevail over the law of any unit. So virtually there would be three legislative lists. Although attempt has been made to make the federal list fairly

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wide yet the federation would necessarily be weak in comparison with the units under the proposed scheme. The author wrote in the perspective of a United India which the Muslim League could not be persuaded to accept except on the basis of a weak centre. A completely new situation has been brought about since by the partition of India. Moreover, recent events in the Punjab and other parts of the country with the gigantic problems of evacuation and rehabilitation that they have brought in their trail, besides the critical food situation and problems of economic planning and reconstruction are all a pointer to the need of a very strong centre in this country. The reviewer believes that the author would now feel inclined to modify his scheme in the light of recent developments. This, however, does not detract from the merit of the work. It is a very timely publication which must have been helpful to our constitution-makers for a thorough and masterly treatment of one of the thorny and vital problems confronting them. The author deserves to be congratulated on the exhaustive treatment of such a subject within the short compass of a monograph of only seventy-three pages.

A. K. GHOSAL

EVERYDAY PSYCHO-ANALYSIS : *By Girindra Shekhar Bose, M.B., D.Sc. Published by Susil Gupta, 1 Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.*

A detailed academic discussion about the merits of the book will certainly be out of place here. We, therefore, make only some general observations. It is perfectly true that one cannot learn psycho-analysis by reading books, but if there be one genuinely interested—and we believe there are many such at present—in knowing something about its nature and techniques, its wide scope, its utility not only as a therapeutic measure but also as a means of solving many problems of our individual and social life, he cannot do better than carefully go through the pages of this volume. Written by a recognised authority the book indicates in simple and easily understandable language, what psycho-analysis is, its methods and applications, how it can be of use to businessmen in his dealings, to criminologists, to theorists of human behaviours, as also to husbands and wives in their domestic troubles and to mothers in their onerous task of bringing up children. No student of psychology and we are of opinion, no intending social worker can afford to omit this book from the list of their basic studies. Every one having some interest in and curiosity to know the motives that drive men and women to do what they do in the various spheres of life, family, occupational, social, will receive a great deal of enlightenment from the perusal of the book.

S. C. MITRA

LOGIC FOR THE MILLIONS : *By A. E. Mander. Published by the Philosophical Library ; 15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y., U.S.A.*

We had occasion to make some adverse comment on a publication of these publishers. But we concede that in bringing out this book, they have justified their name. Though Logic is not philosophy, it is a necessary propaedeutic to philosophy. This logic has been shed of its old inelastic form and has been presented to learners in a new and very attractive garb. Avoiding the traditional scheme, emphasis has been laid by the writer only on the essentials and all unnecessary paraphernalia have been dropped. To the general and casual reader, the book has a special value. "Thinking is skilled work," as the author has aptly put it ; and he has shown in an excellent way that this skill may be acquired by any man of average intelligence with a little diligence and exercise. We hope the book will be read by all who desire to learn Logic and also by those who wish to think well without being logicians. Places of learning where Logic is taught will benefit by having a copy of this book. It can be recommended as an introductory study even for those who desire an advanced and more technical study of the subject.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BRITISH SAVAGERY IN INDIA : *Edited by Mr. Ram Narain Vidyarthi. Published by Messrs Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., Agra. Pages 333 + 20. Price Rs. 9-8.*

This is a very timely publication when the country is attaining her independence after a life and death struggle for over twenty-five years under the leadership of Gandhiji. August 8, 1942, is a red-letter day in the history of Indian struggle for independence, as it was on that date that the Congress passed the famous 'Quit India' resolution. August 9th saw the arrest of almost all Congress leaders of the A.-I. C. C. followed by untold repression started by the Government all over India. Leaderless, the Indian masses, burst into a revolution the like of which India never witnessed before. The author, by his quotations from various authoritative sources, has brought out a horrible picture of the atrocities perpetrated by guardians of law and order. It was the war of a Government equipped with modern weapons of destruction against unarmed masses of an unfortunate country groaning under the tyranny of foreign exploiters for centuries. Mr. Vidyarthi has proved by records whose authority cannot be challenged that the actions of the authorities were not justified and were pre-meditated. The Government was determined to kill the spirit of patriotism and nationalism. Indian leaders who were in prison can not be held responsible for the mass excesses in several parts of the country.

A book of this nature deserves to be kept in all the libraries of the country.

A. B. DUTTA

INDIAN AGRICULTURE : *By Dr. R. D. Tiwari, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Published by New Book Company, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 420.*

Dr. Tiwari's book is a valuable addition to our slender stock of literature on agricultural economics. The appalling poverty of the Indian people is due to the inefficient technique of utilisation of our resources and it is true both in respect of agriculture and manufacturing industries. The author has shown how the Indian technique of agricultural production has failed to take advantage of modern scientific developments and how the present method of production has involved colossal waste of natural and human resources. The chapters on the unit of agricultural work, and tillage and technique deserve special mention. The author has emphasised the imperative need to secure an immediate and effective solution of the problem of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. We fully agree with his view that an exclusive reliance on the co-operative spirit, specially at the present moment, will cause undue delay and, at the same time, the work cannot be entrusted to the Revenue Department so long as it continues with its present machinery and outlook. To accelerate the speed of consolidation of holdings, the Provincial Governments may constitute special consolidation Boards composed of trained economists, experienced officers of the revenue and co-operative departments and a senior member of the Bar. The constitution and

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functions of the Board, as suggested by the author, should receive serious attention of the Provincial Governments. If the units of agriculture can be sufficiently increased so as to make them economic and if the technique of cultivation is improved, most of our agricultural problems will be easily solved. Only a National Government can have the willingness and power to undertake the task of economic and social reconstruction. The Government of the Indian Union must now undertake improvement of agriculture as the first task in its programme for a reconstruction of Free India.

D. BURMAN

YOGA IN DAILY LIFE : *By Swami Sivananda. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, Rikhikesh. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book is comprised of ten sections, besides an appendix and a routine at the end. The ten sections deal with Bhakti Yoga, Karma Yoga, Raja Yoga, Jnana Yoga, Hatha Yoga, meditation, Brahmacharya, as well as stories and narratives, etc. The reader may find the volume as 'full of practical instructions, precious hints and helpful suggestions.' The author in a nutshell and in simple English has described the various useful practices of Yoga in daily life. That the book has been popular to many is evident from this revised, enlarged third edition under review.

The printing and get-up leave little to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

BIBHINNA DESHER NARI O SAMAJ (2nd Edition) : *By Kshitish Ch. Banerjee. To be had of the author, Po. Garia, Dt. 24-Parganas. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The author is a well-known world tourist who travelled over many countries of the East and the West. In the present volume he has presented in an interesting way the first-hand experiences which he gathered about the women of different nationalities during his tour round the world. Every passage of the book indicates that his power of observation is keen and his reflections are also thought-provoking. The chapter on Japanese women is decidedly the best chapter in the book.

KALOR ALO (3rd Edition) : *By Sourindra Mohan Mukherjee. The National Literature Co., 105 Cotton Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Sj. Sourindra Mohan Mukherjee is a voluminous writer of short stories and fictions. He is one of the most popular writers of Bengal and his popularity is mainly due to two things *i.e.*, simplicity of his style and note of sincerity in all his writings. The subject-matter of the present novel is selected from the every-day life of the middle class Bengali family. Sarat and Prafulla were two brothers, Sarat's wife Uma loved Prafulla with all tenderness, he was more than a son to her. But their domestic peace was disturbed immediately after the marriage of Prafulla with the daughter of a deputy. Prafulla's wife Sindhu cut of all connections with her husband's family but after the sudden demise of Prafulla she came to her senses and realised that her real place was amongst the members of her deceased husband's family. Her world was, as it were, covered with darkness. She was dismayed and prayed for light which would lead her towards the right direction. The writer has shown great skill in the treatment of characters. Of course, the discerning critic may trace subtle influence of the characters of Saratchandra's novels over some of them. In spite of this and some other drawbacks we can unhesitatingly say that the simple story-element of this novel will be a great relief to many readers who are tired of reading so-called intellectual modern novels, full of religious, social, economic and other problems.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

KAH PANTHA : *By Prof. Sudhansubimal Mukhopadhyaya. Introduction by Prof. Tripurari Chakravarti. Bina Library, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pages 136. Price Rs. 3.*

The book is a collection of twelve brilliant essays on social, political, economic, educational and cultural regeneration of the U.S.S.R. Russia today is a land of marvels. She has been rescued from the bog of misrule and effete administration by the makers of the Revolution. What could not be expected to be achieved in course of a century of Tsarist rule has been done in two decades. Russia in the modern world ranks as a class I Power not only militarily but also in respect of cultural advance. She stands for a new economic order based on classless society. Naturally, millions of proletariats whose vitality is being sapped by the ruthless factory-machine of the Capitalists look up to U. S. R. R. as the land of their dream and redeeming ideas, of big experiments involving the fate of toiling humanity.

Free India today has launched upon a new career; it is a voyage in an unchartered sea as it were. The task of making the country prosperous and happy is pressing and strenuous. The results of the Russian experiments achieved so far and the ways and means adopted by the Socialist leaders will undoubtedly be helpful to Indian leaders of thought and action in chalking out a line of progressive work. Hence the importance of books dealing with Russian experiments and achievements.

Sudhansu Babu has made a wide study of Russia and her problems. His articles are replete with facts and arguments arranged cogently and logically with an undercurrent of philosophic vein throughout. In the concluding article the writer has raised a query—Are the Socialists right? Are they wrong? Which is the right way to cure the ills of the old world? In a masterly Introduction Prof. Tripurari Chakravarty of the Calcutta University has discussed the ideals and achievements of the Socialists.

In order to make the book appealing to readers having knowledge of Bengali only we would suggest that the English quotations so copiously cited may be replaced by their Bengali renderings in the next edition.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDI

GITA-PRAVACHAN : *By Vinoba. Translated from Marathi by Haribhan Upadhyaya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In 1932 while under detention in Dhulia Jail, Shri Vinoba,—'the near-ideal *satyagrahi*' of Gandhiji's conception, a great scholar turned a man of action for the service of his suffering and suppressed fellow-countrymen,—delivered discourses in Marathi on the *Bhagavad-Gita*, which were then recorded by Shri Sane Guruji of Maharashtra. The present volume is a translation of his transcript, duly corrected by Vinobaji and since published in Marathi, in which language the book has become a hot favourite of the Marathi-speaking public, into Hindi by the well-known writer and scholar, Shri Haribhan Upadhyaya,—in itself, therefore, a guarantee of the excellence of his achievement. Vinobaji has, in these discourses, aimed only at bringing out the essential ideas in each of the eighteen chapters of the scripture, in question. But the clarity of his thought, the simplicity with which he sets it forth, and the abundance of analogy, anecdote, illustration in which he is an adept (and which indirectly gives one an idea of the volume and width of his reading) have invested his interpretation with an easy intelligibility; which is seldom to be met

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with in the usual pattern of prescriptions of profound, philosophical doctrines. *Gita-Prabachan* is, therefore, sure to find before long a permanent place on the shelf of every Hindi-knowing student of the *Gita*. It can be used admirably and effectively by all those who are engaged in social work, as a handbook for congregational spiritual instruction.

DHARMA-PALAN : *Gandhiji's post-prayer discourses—compiled by Shri Prabhudas Gandhiji. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 253. Price Re. 1-8.*

Gandhiji's post-prayer discourses have become both an institution as well as an abiding inspiration. But in order that others, beside those who happen to be present at the time, also may be able to derive benefit from these, it is indispensable that they should be recorded, as far as possible, verbatim and then published in book-form. So far, however, only a summary of these has appeared in the daily press as well as in the *Harijan*. Shri Prabhudas Gandhiji has, therefore, done a distinct service by showing the way in the desired direction. In the present collection, which covers discourses delivered at New Delhi from 1st April to 16th June, 1947, he has tried, with commendable success, to give the discourses as fully and in Gandhiji's own words, as far as possible. And to re-create the atmosphere, preceding the discourses, he has prefixed interesting and informative paragraphs bearing on the subject. At the end there are two useful appendices,—in one the prayer-verses from the various scriptures which are recited prior to the discourse which, by the bye, deals with crucial current problems—a kind of a running commentary by Public Conscience,—are given, while the other is a transcript of Gandhiji's historic speech at the A. J. C. Committee's session, at New Delhi on 25th June, 1947, *Dharma-Palan* is worthy of being the Bible of India's teeming millions.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) JAGATMAN JANAVAJHEVUN : *By Chotalal Mansing Kawdar, B.A. Thick card-board. Pp. 128. Price ten annas.*

(2) GRAHAJIVANNI KALA : *By "Samaj Shastri." Thick card-board. Pp. 127. Price ten annas.*

(3) ITIHASNE AJAWALE : *By Indra Vasavada. Thick card-board. Pp. 135. Price ten annas.*

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, 1945.

The title of the first book means "Wonders Worth Knowing in This World." It is written on the lines of such books in the English language, which try to give in a small compass but in popular style, all that is worth knowing about matters and objects round about us, such as, birds, animals, electricity; as to why sea water is salt, and as to why the cloth Alpaca is so-called, and several other useful matters. In the second book, "Samaj Shastri" (Student of Sociology) gives the reader several "tips" for the purpose of leading a happy, harmonious and peaceful domestic life, in other words, creating "A Happy Home." Its 19 chapters are full of kernel and also thought-provoking. "By the Light of History," the third book, is a record, in 10 chapters illustrated by instances from our mythology and history of India's greatness, from the Vedic Age down to the age of Rajput chivalry and valour. The compiler has been successful in showing that greatness of soul and largeness of heart of Indians as in a mirror.

(1) SHRI YOGA VASISHTHA : *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Card-board cover. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 4.*

(2) KALA ETALE SHUN : *By Maganbhai P Desai. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3-8.*

(3) HIND NUN PRAJAKIYA ARTHA SHASTRA : *By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Paper cover. Pp. 176. Price Re. 1-8.*

Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, 1945.

Yoga Vasishtha is one of the most difficult philosophical treatises in India's metaphysical literature. The philosophy of the Dwait and Adwait (Dual and non-dual) is so difficult to grasp. However this *chhayanuvad* (transtition of substance), with the learned introduction of the M. P. Desai, has tried to sail clear of the technical side of the subject, to make it as popular as possible and within grasp of the ordinary reader, and succeeded. Tolstoy's "What is Art" is translated, by Mr. M. P. Desai in the second book, into Gujarati in such a way as to preserve the spirit of the original and attract the reader to the subject. A treatise on National Indian Economics right up to the present period was over-due. The third book of Mr. Kothari intelligently planned and ably written, supplies the want.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CONGRESS MISSION TO MALAYA: By Dr. C Siva Rama Sastry of the Congress Medical Mission to Malaya, 1946. With a foreword by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. To be had of Shree Haranadha Murali, Tenali. Pp. 100. Profusely illustrated. Price Rs. 2.

NATIONAL HARMONY: By Percival Spear.

CO-OPERATION: By W. R. S. Satthianadhan & J. C. Ryan. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Nos. 38 & 39. The Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Price As. 6 each.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Shakespeare The Master-Builder

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Thomson King, an American engineer, writes of Shakespeare as the master-builder of word structures. He attained a pre-eminence that is unique among the creative artists of the world :

I have been asked to write of Shakespeare as an engineer, but I think the request was made because I am an engineer of sorts; not because Shakespeare was any sort of engineer.. He was a master-builder, but his materials were not those used in engineering. They were more vital, more enduring. He built for all mankind and for all time structures of words made imperishable by their meaning, by harmony, by beauty that is a joy forever.

He created characters that live today, that will be loved and hated as long as man continues to climb the upward path, so long as he can feel and think of love and hate, of triumph and despair. Above all he created dramas, those colourful tapestries woven of the threads of human life and character, whose patterns truthfully portray with infinite pathos and understanding the struggle and travail of our lives, the eternal conflict between good and evil.

In the building of word structure and the creation of characters Shakespeare showed tremendous creative power and rare originality. When he began to write, the makers of plays among the Western nations were still dominated by the ideas of the great writers of Greece and Rome. Tragedy and comedy were separate and distinct and never the twain should meet. A tragedy was unrelieved by any lighter interlude.

Very early he broke the shackles of the classic tradition and disregarded the oracles by showing tragedy with interludes of comedy.

His feeling for and fidelity to life were so great that the older method seemed unnatural. He began to write of life as he saw or imagined it. He followed no man or fashion whose dictates were foreign to his genius. His building of drama is characterized by a glorious originality and freshness. As the Parthenon and the Taj Mahal have been the inspiration of architects and the despair of imitators through the centuries, so the word buildings of Shakespeare have stood the supreme tests of time and change to enthral us today with matchless grace, dignity and beauty.

In the work of all great writers, teachers and philosophers we find something transcendent, almost divine, in the master's knowledge and portrayal of human nature, coupled with very human qualities. "Gods for they knew the hearts of men; men for they stooped to fame." Frequently Shakespeare gives us the whole summation of a character or a situation in one unforgettable brief sentence. Old Lear, hopeless, witless, broken in body and spirit by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" hears Gloucester ask, "Is't not the king?" The question strikes something submerged, but still alive; for a moment memory and pride return and he replies, "Aye, every inch a king." In those five words we see what he has been, what manner of man he was, with a clarity and an intensity that no elaborate description by a lesser man could produce.

The builder of words and drama, to an even greater extent than the builder in stone, must choose his materials from the common mass available to all. The grace and dignity of the completed edifice, the beauty of workmanship, come from the brain and skill of the architect and builder. The combinations of words, of sound and sense, the creation and delineation of character by words and actions, are found in the mind and imagination of the writer. In this respect Shakespeare is the superb, supreme prodigal of all time. There seem to be no bounds to his fancy, no exhaustion of his coinage of expressions, so apt and pertinent that they have become the heritage of every man, and are used every day by thousands without an idea of their origin. How many who say "To make assurance doubly sure" know they are quoting Macbeth? Who says "And none so poor to do him reverence" with the thought that he is quoting Antony? It is this quality that fills us with continuous admiration and amazement. We read and reread him all our lives and in the end can say "Time cannot wither, nor custom stale *his* infinite variety!" In each play he pours out such a wealth of thoughts and observations, such wisdom and fancy that one feels the treasure-house must have been emptied, but the next is equally rich with jewels of fancy and the refined gold of wisdom.

This master-builder of drama, otherwise the most original of writers, did not invent the plots of his plays.

He preferred to use incidents from history, the old chronicles or old stories and plays. He has not told us his reasons, he was not interested in autobiography. Perhaps it was because there was no such thing as a new plot. The basic emotions and situations in human relations are limited in number. The details, the way they may be presented and described are of infinite variety. Perhaps his audiences could better understand and appreciate plots of which they had some previous knowledge.

So he took the plots and principal characters of his historical plays from Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Plutarch. For non-historical plays he drew on Boccaccio and others who had in turn taken them from earlier sources. He took these plots and characters as a great sculptor takes a block of marble that other men have taken from the quarry and hews and shapes it into a statue of beauty and meaning to adorn a stately capitol or temple.

Twelve Aspects of American Literature

Krishnalal Shridharani writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

During the few months I have spent in India after my twelve-year stay in the United States, I have been asked many questions about the state of American letters. This quest for American literature is a part of India's new interest in the United States. It is more than that. It signifies the death of a popular myth.

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Formerly it was believed that America has no literature. And upon my return I find that American books have flooded the Indian market, as they have flooded the rest of the world.

It is hard to provide an introduction to American literature short of writing a tome. All I can do is to provide a peephole. And it is bound to be an Indian peephole, since I functioned as an Indian writer even in the United States.

The fact that I could function in America as an Indian writer is itself indicative of the open-door policy of American literature. Most cultures of the world are suspicious of foreign ways. Most professions are intolerant of foreigners. Especially the writers of a country opeate on the basis of closed-shop. A writer of one country writing in the language of another is hardly taken seriously. Take the instance of England. In its long and glorious literary traditions, it has accepted only one foreigner as its own—Joseph Conrad.

American literature offers a refreshing relief in this otherwise isolationist pattern. America has accepted and even glorified foreign writers residing on its soil and writing in English. I can cite many names but I shall limit myself to only two writers who are no strangers to thinking Indians—the late Dhana Gopal Mukerjee of India and Lin Yutang of China. America's literary tastes know no national boundaries; they are truly catholic in the non-religious sense of the term.

This open door policy of American literature reflects the character of America as a nation. America is the world in miniature. It is, like India, a melting pot of races and religions, colours and creeds. Fresh racial stocks continued to pour into the melting pot. And yet what emerged was not a hybrid but an authentic type—the American.

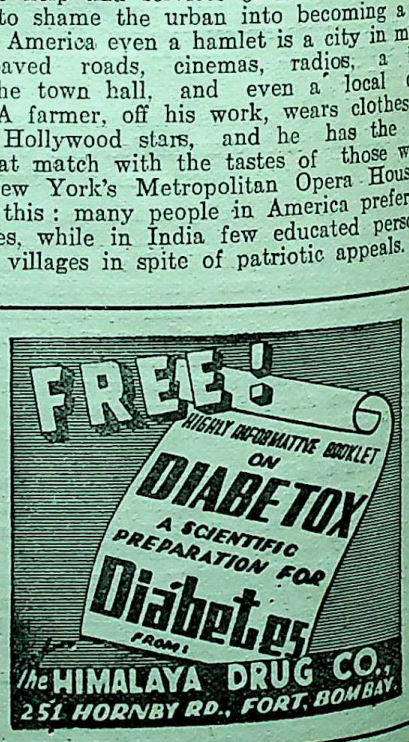
This is the first facet of the American life which we should bear in mind in order to understand American literature. And since literature mirrors the life of a people, we must understand what is called "the American Way." American literature has been enriched by the myriad cultural traits which go to make America. I will give only unexpected examples, unexpected, that is, to Indians. You will find Oriental mysticism in the haunting poetry of Khalil Jibran, the Syrian. You will find the elusive quality of Tagore's plays in the dramas of William Saroyan, the Armenian.

The second element that we should note is the physical immensity of the country. America is larger than India, but that comparison does not evoke the full image of the titan. This immense country was rugged and virginal only three hundred years ago. The lore of the Aryan pioneers who tamed India is now remote from our consciousness. But the saga of the sturdy pioneers who broke the American frontier is still a matter of family traditions. So the American novel has an epical overtone. It reflects the ruggedness and all the violence of its vast landscape which was untamed and unconquered until very recently. The turbulence and intensity of the frontier life continue to govern themes which are hardly pioneering. Take the instance of Theodore Dreiser whose naturalism matches that of Emile Zola, and whose *An American Tragedy* (1925) is the terrifying epic of weakness turning into strength through crucifixion. (I should be pardoned when I single out Dreiser because I lived for two years in a hotel suite which he once occupied for years). And the massiveness of the American landscape calls for the inexhaustible expressiveness that one finds in Thomas Wolfe. An endless flow of incident is America. An endless flow of observation is Wolfe's *Of Time And The River* (1935).

There is the third aspect of America, hoary of regionalism. This element might not be apparent enough to Indians who are familiar with very startling regional contrasts in their own country. They are apt to see in America a culture flattened by the steam-roller of standardization. But from the point of view of observers who come from small compact European countries, the regional variations in America are valid enough. Regional themes in novels and short stories are quite successful. There is the great American South, which provides themes associated with the Civil War. Just recall *One With The Wind*. It also abounds in themes of racial conflict. Remember *The Strange Fruit*? The puritan New England inspires comedies of manners and tragedies of aristocratic decay; read John P. Marquand. Or take the West and California as portrayed by John Steinbeck and Upton Sinclair, the latter being more popular in India than in America. The appeal of sectional treatment lies in the fact that one man's regionalism becomes another man's exoticism.

The fourth aspect of American life which we should remember in order to understand American literature is the brevity of American history. America is a body, however strong and husky, in the family of nations. This very shortness of American history has given birth to an acute historic sense. The contemporary rage is the historical novel. No country in the world has produced so many historical novels on such a short history. On the state, this historic sense expresses itself in conflicts between generations. In moving pictures, the historic sense bobs up in costume comedies. So much made of so little history.

The fifth characteristic of the American life is to be found in the obliteration of differences between rural and urban life. Gandhiji's India which glorifies the village will be interested to note that America has ever remained disenchanted by agrarian charms. The acid satire of Sinclair Lewis is vented in attacking the barrenness of small Middle Western towns. And yet *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922) won him the Nobel Prize. It is one thing to say that the village needs the help and services of the urban, and quite another to shame the urban into becoming a country hick. In America even a hamlet is a city in miniature. It has paved roads, cinemas, radios, a hospital, a school, the town hall, and even a local dramatic society. A farmer, off his work, wears clothes in the musical style of Hollywood stars, and he has the musical tastes that match with the tastes of those who frequent New York's Metropolitan Opera House. The result is this: many people in America prefer to live in villages, while in India few educated persons care to go to villages in spite of patriotic appeals.



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The sixth thing to remember is, that although America is a land of great trusts and combines and corporations, it has also a cult of creative artists who belong to the liberal revolt. Some time ago these were described as the "muckrakers," and now they are called progressive or leftists. Their aim is to hit big fortunes and to extol the common man through the medium of their art. Many have attacked the so-called Robber Barons, and noteworthy among them are Doss Passos, Steinbeck, James T. Farrell and Upton Sinclair.

I would like to include in this group Erskine Caldwell who follows the "party line" much more unabashedly than the rest. But his work has another value to me. His *Tobacco Road* (1932) is indicative of the seventh aspect of American literature—the casual acceptance of the grotesque and the horrible. There is even an element of relishment, as in the case of the artist Dali. Some people prefer nightmares to dreams, oddity to beauty. Maybe it is healthy from the Freudian point of view, and ventilating. Russia and the continent are familiar with this form, but India is certainly not.

The eighth fact about the American life is the dignity of labour which leads to the elevation of the common man. What Faulkner describes as the "quest for social justice" finds its strongest expression in the greatest of contemporary American novelists, Ernest Hemingway. Idolization of the common man has led him to the edification of the common man's language. Hemingway has become a great exponent of colloquialism in the tradition of Sherwood Anderson. Hemingway is also noted for the intensity of experience and the violence of passion.

The ninth aspect to remember is the American preoccupation with facts. Facts have some magic quality so far as the American is concerned. Know the facts, and the problem will be solved—that is the American credo. Americans are the world's best fact-finders, but not as good theorizers as the Germans or the British. This worship of facts has produced the factual novels of Upton Sinclair. But as novels, they leave one cold. They are like the documentary film in relation to a human drama.

The observation that I am going to mention as the tenth aspect of American literature will not be noticed by anyone save an Indian. It is alchoholism. Alchoholism is ubiquitous in American novels, plays, movies and paintings. Now this might not arrest the notice of a European, but it is bound to strike as strange to an Indian who can live and die without seeing a drunken man, and whose temperate country is on its way to becoming a prohibition land. Drinking constitutes a piece of polite business in artistic creations as well as in the actual lives of writers. And there have been heroes who drank themselves to death, both in fiction and among fiction writers.

In the eleventh place, it should be remembered that the backbone of America is the middle class. The mass of the American people belong to the middle class, while the mass of the Indian people belong to the masses. In other words, there is no appreciable middle class in India. Literature in America, therefore, is less class-conscious than in most countries of Europe and Asia. Most of the workers of America still think of themselves as potential millionaires. The myth of the social ladder still persists. The central note of American literature is, therefore, success and progress. The American mind refuses to regard even the sky as the limit. It is the most optimistic mind in the world.

The aspect of the American literary world which will round out our dozen pertains to the rewards of intellectual labour. In America literature pays, which ought to sound reassuring in this land of literary penury. And in quite a few cases literature brings high rewards. Some American novelists are as rich as industrialists. That is because book business has almost become an industry, like almost everything else in America. The mass production and mass enjoyment of a successful book have been possible mainly through the various book clubs whose business it is to guess beforehand what the public will like and then make the public like it. The greatest writers of the world gravitate to America in search of gold. So competition is very stiff, and standard extremely high.

So far I have mainly dealt with the American novel. That is natural. The novel is the thing in American literature. And this is the century of the American novel. No country in the world can come anywhere near America these days in the quality and the quantity of the novel.

In poetry, America has been poor in the past and it is poorer today. No doubt America had its Walt Whitman and its Edgar Allen Poe, and today it can claim such favourites of mine as Robert Frost and Archibald MacLeish and Carl Sandburg. But poetry is a dying art in America, as everywhere else in the world, save, perhaps, India. Somehow or other, our modern machine civilization does not allow a free reign to our fancy and to our emotions, and without these poetry dies. With it dies one of the tenderest segments of man's make-up, but this hard-boiled world leaves little room for tenderness anyway.

I am no expert, but to me the American theatre is, the liveliest I have seen anywhere. I have seen English dramas, and some French and Chinese plays. Unfortunately I have no knowledge of the Soviet stage, I know all too much about the Indian theatre not to feel pained. Of all the national stages I have seen I like the American stage most. Even today, America can boast of such playwrights as Eugene O'Neill, Robert E. Sherwood, and William Saroyan.

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The greatest thing about America is that it always looks to the future and seldom to the past. The promise of America is rosier than its past. There are quite a few young writers with promise, great promise. I would like to point out only three most obvious cases: William Saroyan in drama; Howard Fast and John Hershy in novel. These are the people to watch.

Minority Representation

The New Review observes:

India's Constituent Assembly has abolished communal electorates. The decision marked a re-orientation in India's politics, and a definite step towards unity. Now that the peninsula is divided, what India needs most is unity. Every measure that makes for real unity is welcome. Communal electorates which kept up communal opposition as a permanent characteristic of the body politic connived at India's division and turned cultural values into mere political stakes or stunts. They had to go. But 'in order that minorities may not feel apprehensive of the effect of a system of unrestricted joint electorates on the quantum of their representation in the Legislature,' seats will be 'reserved on the basis of population' at least for the first ten years. The minorities which were given this reservation were those which numbered between ½ and 1½ per cent of the population, namely, the Sikhs, the Assam tribes, and the Indian Christians in Madras and Bombay.

This privilege was denied to microscopic minorities like the Parsees and the Anglo-Indians or to large minorities like the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes. It was granted to groups that were weak enough to need protection and strong enough to need attention. Whatever was said on the floor of the Assembly, the reservation of seats is granted in a spirit of measured protection, and has no functional basis; it was not given because of a special contribution, economic, social or cultural, to the general welfare.

The Constituent Assembly was too aware of the disastrous consequences of communal electorates and of the evils attending the caste system to take kindly to any idea of representation of 'vocational groups.' When unity will have been strengthened and caste disabilities removed, and when our democratic views will have moved away from the British tradition, the idea of vocational or functional representation may be taken up with a fairer chance of success. As vocational groups mean not classes like employers and employees, but professions, they should be assigned a definite role in legislation. All professions make a distinct contribution to State-life, and consequently should have their say in State-organisation.

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Santiniketan and Sevagram

Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The idealism and aspirations of modern India, broadly speaking, are summed up in two symbols: Santiniketan and Sevagram. Both these institutions came into being as a protest against the late-nineteenth-century values of the West; individualism, industrialism and imperialism, more particularly as these were reflected in the systems of administration and education introduced in this country.

Santiniketan rose Minerva-like from the head of a poet. For, the very first day on which Rabindranath Tagore sat down in a *sal* avenue to be a playmate to three little children during the whole gamut of their youthful growth in the presence of Nature and their neighbours—the primitive people, the children of the human race—he presented to the professional schoolmaster an ideology in instruction which had on it the stamp of synthesis.

Sevagram, or its predecessor, Phoenix Ashrama in South Africa, or Sabarmati, on the other hand, was built brick on brick by an artisan who held honest manual labour as the primary principle of human existence, knowing as he did by faith that such labour gives both dignity and depth to man.

The poet had a vision of the oneness of all life and this he aimed at implementing in his forest hermitage, albeit adapted to changed conditions. Whatever stood in the way of the evolution of the inherent sense of unity, which dwells in the heart of every man, was therefore eliminated through study, self-discipline, service and song.

The ploughman, as Gandhiji may well be metaphorically called, with his philosophy, at once pragmatic and practical, of "One step enough for me," began with a conscious cultivation of every attribute which would aid him in effacing his ego gradually till he touched what is common to all.

In short, the *motif* of one was mysticism, while that of the other was asceticism.

And it is obvious that in the arduous task of regeneration, whether individual or collective, both these views and ways of life are absolutely necessary. For we need liberty as well as law, vision as well as virtue, the watch-tower as well as the work-shop.

The mystic is the flower which grows in sunshine and in shower. Therefore, he accepts everything, he rejects nothing. He is a kind of a witness to the ever-unfolding pageant of life.

The ascetic, on the other hand, is a sort of a servant who scrubs and scours one by one the pots and pans of the scullery till each one of them shines. Or he is a warrior, who struggles at every step to go nearer to the goal of his heart's desire or his soul's dream.

The impact of the intellectual ethos of England, though confined to a microscopic minority of our educated countrymen, had brought in its train sceptic-ism, softness and snobbery. Thus, a sort of "more proletariat" had sprung up in our country. It was cut off from the traditions of the past, which govern people's character and conduct in a rhythmic manner. And following the precedent initiated by their like-minded fellow-countrymen of the previous generation, both the Singer of Santiniketan and the Spinner of Sevagram raised their banner of revolt against the "proselytising" of the young by the politics and polish of the money-minded civilisation from across the seas. This entailed their giving up their respective careers of cushioned comfort and big bank balances. The poet exchanged his flute of beauty in the environs of his aristocratic upbringing and activity, for the sword of duty. The pleader left the premises of the law-courts,

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with all its prospects of the proverbial goose that lays the golden eggs, to plough the stubborn, sandy soil. But both were actuated by a spirit of self-sacrifice akin—to compare small things with great—to that of Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ, who surrendered the "kingdoms" promised to them, for the sake of service of the "great orphan humanity." Once again, thus, the truth of the ages and the sages was illustrated that sacrifice is the seed of the evolution and advancement of mankind ; nay, of all Life.

The poet sang :

"When one knows thee, then alien there is none, then no door is shut Oh, grant me my prayer that I may never lose the bliss of the touch of the One in the play of the many."

And he revealed and radiated this "touch of the One" in the fields of literature and art, education and rural reconstruction.

And the ploughman-*cum*-spinner confirmed the perpetual presence of the "One in the play of the many" from his side :

"He (God) is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil !"

Both cast away the crown,—and who does not covet it ?—of personal paradisiacal salvation and engaged themselves in the work of the world with a view to making and leaving it better than they had found it.

"Deliverance ? Where is the deliverance to be found ? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation ; he is bound with us all for ever."

In short, Santiniketan and Sevagram deepened the inherent human urge for perfection as against what passes muster under the protean term "progress." And the best and truest expression of perfection, in spirit as well as in substance, is simplicity. As the Poet has said somewhere, "Simplicity is the physiognomy of perfection."

And has it not always been so ? The prophet or the poet has found himself, while passing through the corridors of history, side by side with the priest or the ploughman. In our times the priest has failed to fulfil his holy avocation and the prophet has not as yet appeared. In their place, however, we have witnessed the sublime spectacle of the poet and the ploughman travelling together to the Temple of Truth. And Truth has generally been approached along the avnues of *ananda*—joy—and asceticism. This may be the explanation of the observation which the Poet made on one occasion : "Santiniketan represents the *ananda* of Truth, Sabarmati, the *tapasya* of Truth." And is not Truth the Beautiful Bird with two wings or the Tree with two birds sitting on its branches ?

—

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New Day, New World

Under the above heading in *Between the Lines*, the following interesting editorial appears, to which our notice is drawn by Rev. G. H. Schanzlin of Springfield, Ohio :

Most of us need right now to make a deep and lasting change in our thinking. We have thought of the world as mostly the U. S., with Great Britain, France, Italy and the other western European countries crowding close about us, and the ponderous shadow of Russia rising just beyond our more immediate arena. The rest of the world,—China, India, Malaya, Burma, and the other parts of Asia, we have thought of merely as indistinct, inarticulate and rather unimportant outer parts of the world. *That picture has now gone forever out of date with the rush of an express train.*

We are still an important part of the world, of course, —with little Britain, France, Italy, and the others on the fringe of our own immediate horizon . . . . *but the world that is awakening,—potentially overwhelming, powerful, increasingly articulate,—is the world of Asia.* And unfortunately for us, and due to our own blindness and blundering,—*Russia stands with Asia.*

It is the emergence of India that has made this transition become so dramatically and drastically important. In fact, two large new states have suddenly arisen. The Moslem state of Pakistan—with over 90 million people, —and Hindustan with its 300 million.

Two huge nations are coming to life, each vaster than most existing nations. Together, they have a population as great as all of Europe and greater than that of the whole western hemisphere, and their awakening symbolizes the end of yesterday's world,—the world in which the United States emerged and has lived.

What is still more important,—never before has such a transition come without war.

For generations historians have taught and militarists have insisted that war was a necessary evil in the evolution of the state and human society.

But now one of the greatest changes in human history has been fostered and completed without war. The rioting and street violence that is played up in the press is only the froth on the deep silent sweep of the waves of change. Even a civil war, which could conceivably break out in India, would be incidental to the fact that these two great states have gathered themselves together, swept aside the long established grip of conquest,—have organized themselves for self-government and have become established without resort to organized violence. Such an achievement cannot be measured yet,—but it will be measured in the future when men of the West will reflect upon the time when they first began to realize that war was not necessary to man's development but an evil disease actually frustrating and perverting man's progress.

The people of Asia, such as the Chinese and the Hindus, centuries ago renounced war as a national policy. *The soldier in much of Asia has long been considered little higher than a beggar or a bandit.*

The next century will not be "the American century" that so many of our own extreme nationalists have been talking about. In the face of these new events, such talk is callow and immature. We will never be able to dominate and control these nations upon nations of awakened people. *Already the new Hindu government has proclaimed a "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia.* It was this proclamation that shook the Dutch into realizing that they could never again really control Indonesia and provoked them to commit their final violent acts in the suicide of Imperialism.

We *can* co-operate with the people of Asia, drop our absurd and adolescent mantle of race superiority and, by working with them in a spirit of Christian goodwill and on democratic economic principles, have a golden century of world-wide friendliness and prosperity. Such an achievement would take no more time than another world war and would cost infinitely less. In fact, it would earn enormous commercial dividends.

But we can't inaugurate that kind of a century by hogging all the oil in the world for British-American control, by maintaining a strictly British and American monopoly on all strategic waterways (with the Dutch and French as our stooges) and thus controlling world trade, —and by doing the many other things we have been guilty of in our effort to keep it a white man's world.

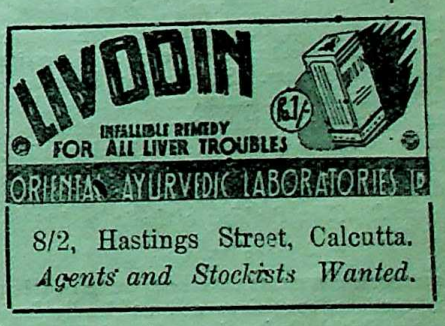
All these out-of-date policies are playing into the hands of Russia. While we keep ourselves blinded with our own propaganda, Russia continues to champion the rights of the colored peoples. Even in China, in spite of civil war, Russia is succeeding in winning the attention and sympathy of millions of the young Chinese away from the American and British backed Chiang government.

These issues make up much of the inner tensions now between Russia and the U. S.

The Future of Indo-British Relations

Under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, July, 1947, P. D. Saggi of the Indian Nationals Overseas Congress, observes :

The future of Indo-British relations is not a matter of sentiment or party politics. It has now assumed the dimensions of an international question. Statesmen all over the world are looking towards India, for what happens in India is going to affect the peace, progress and prosperity of the world.



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To speak of the future is an exacting task. With a view to discussing the future we have to glance over the past, for present, past and future are closely interlinked. That the East India Company, during the first 150 years of its relations with India, was animated by considerations of commerce and trade is well known. After the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Company became a political power. Indian history for the next hundred years was a record of the exercise of absolute power divorced from responsibility to the people, though great statesmen like Amherst, Munro, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Bentinck, and many other Company's servants laboured for the common good and were actuated by a genuine solicitude for the people of India. Many reforms were introduced, social and educational, to meet the demands of a developing and self-conscious society.

With the spread of English education and increasing knowledge of English social and political ideas, the educated classes began to agitate for civil and political rights; which culminated in the grave crisis of 1857. With the Royal Proclamation of the following year power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. In 1861 the first India Council's Act was promulgated and the right of Indian representation was recognized. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was established with the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy, as a safety valve for and register of public opinion. In 1892 the principle of election was admitted by the back door, and the powers of the Council were extended to the point of asking questions and discussion of the Budget.

Stages of Reform

A much bolder step was taken in 1909 by the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms. The Legislative Council were enlarged; the principle of direct election was accepted; and non-official majorities were provided. But unfortunately a great blow was dealt to the unity of India by the introduction of separate electorates. Our main difficulties today can be traced back to this. Time does not permit my relating the story of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy at that time—a "command performance," as the late Maulana Mohamad Ali put it. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, until lately a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has observed:

"The deputation urged that the Muslims should be represented in the Legislatures in greater numbers than his numerical proportion permitted, in recognition of the historical importance of his community and his service to the Empire. So far the claim was just and eminently reasonable. But the device of separate representation sowed the seeds of a growing separatism, and the progressive growth of separatism has rendered the device inadequate. Seldom was so just and right an end vitiated by so wrong a means." [*A Treaty Between India and the United Kingdom*, p. 66.]

In 1921, under the Act of 1919, parliamentary reforms were introduced with the avowed object of "a gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to a progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The India Act of 1935 was the outcome of years of discussion, commissions and conferences. Shevalankar, however, calls it a "prodigy of Imperialist statesmanship, an elaborate and ingenious device to frustrate the emergence of a free India and to secure so far as constitutional provision could secure the continuation of British rule in circumstances totally different from those prevailing at the time of its establishment." [*The Problem of India*, p. 186.]

The 1935 Framework

Unfavourable comments have been made in this country about the cautious, suspicious and unfriendly Indian approach to the British declarations of good faith and goodwill towards India. But in the words of Professor Coupland: "If the Act [1935] came into full operation (which of course was difficult to work) the status of India would be comparable with that of a Dominion before 1914." When war came the federal structure was shelved, and British India worked under the other provisions of the Act in the Provinces and of the 1919 Act at the Centre.

Next came the Cripps proposals. They conceded the demand for a Constituent Assembly and introduced the idea of a treaty to be negotiated between the two countries. The proposals were considered, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, "a post-dated cheque," and were rejected.

The next attempt at the solution of the problem was the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946. Thereby an interim Government was set up, and India's right to secede from the Empire was accepted. The demand for fixing a time limit had been persistent, and Mr. Attlee rose to the occasion by declaring in the House of Commons on February 20 that all British forces would be withdrawn by June, 1948. The news was reassuring, and proved the sincerity of the Labour Government and the integrity of British statesmanship. This improved Indo-British relations, and achieved much. Throughout the constitutional history we find that public demand has been always ahead of the concessions made and the reforms introduced. India was not only democratic in her outlook, but she wanted to reach the goal of complete independence at the earliest opportunity.

A very pertinent question is asked at this stage. Having won freedom, can India retain it? I say yes. Indians fought to defend liberty, freedom and democracy in France, Germany, Egypt and the Desert campaign; from Dunkirk to Hongkong they fought everywhere. And they will fight again and again till the foes and forces that threaten freedom and democracy today are humbled and humiliated.

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Defence

Some people opine that shorn of the British Navy, Army and Royal Air Force, the defence of India will be almost impossible. I do not subscribe to this view, though I realize that some sort of technical aid will be necessary in the beginning to train Indian personnel. Germany, Italy and Japan are finished as potential dangers. France is licking her wounds.

Britain is slowly recovering from war losses. The two great Powers that remain are Russia and America. Many a time the question has been asked, Are Indians pro-Communists? Without any hesitation I say no. There may be certain things which we could learn from Russia, because she and India are agricultural countries; both have rural economies and raw materials and markets. All that Russia wants today is capital and machinery, and India can supply neither. Therefore, India is not afraid of any aggression from Russia. Regarding America, the danger is even more hypothetical. America wants markets for her goods, and for a long time to come we shall need all the machinery, all the technical skill, and all the mechanical paraphernalia that America or Britain can spare. Moreover, Americans are independent people; they are not prepared to build their palaces on the graves of others.

India is a great country, rich in men and material resources. An independent India can definitely raise an army efficient and strong for her purposes. Moreover, in these days, defence is a joint problem. To say nothing of India, even America, Russia or Britain cannot stand alone. In this atomic age defence is more a regional matter. "Days of big Empires are gone," says Pandit Nehru, "and so are those of individual entities." For our defence we have to make common cause with China, Australia, Egypt and other countries that lie in this region. Hence India need not necessarily remain within the Commonwealth for the sake of defence. In due course India will contribute more towards international amity and goodwill than she will need in the shape of protection. The other possible groups that can be formed are: (*a*) Central European; (*b*) Slavonic; (*c*) Far Eastern; (*d*) American.

On close scrunity we find that, whereas India has much in common with other groups, her continued connection with the British Commonwealth is more natural, and history in the past two decades has forged the links stronger.

Trade and External Relations

The activities of the East India Company in India were more than trading. Even English historians have called them "loot" and "shaking the pagoda tree." Even after 1858, when government by the British Crown began, trade relations were still conducted preponderantly in the interests of Great Britain. Such industrialization as exists in India today is the outcome of the two wars, which gave her a chance to equip herself. She remains a great market for British goods, and will be so for a long time to come provided political relations are not embittered. The conductors of British trade and commerce have a reputation in India for fair dealing; their integrity and soundness are relied upon.

The United Nations Organization is being built up to bring peace and to end wars. But will it do so? As the time passes the gulf between big powers, instead of being bridged, is widening. I was in Paris at the time of the Peace Conference and it was clear that though the Allies had won the war they had yet to win the peace. The nations were divided into blocks and factions. Once again separate zones of influence were sought to be created and different ideologies were pushed forward. In the presence of clashing theories—of capitalism, imperialism and communism—which side should India take? By nature Indians are peace-loving. Not only India, but the East generally has given birth to policies of peace. Such great religions as Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity have taught peace. India's role in present circumstances is to strengthen her own position and go on promoting peace as best she can.

Within or Without

The Cripps Declaration gave India the choice either to remain within the Commonwealth or to sever her connections if she so desired. Under the Statute of Westminster, 1931, all the Dominion Parliaments became formally and legally independent for internal and external purposes alike, but the way they stood with the Mother Country during the last war showed that there was something stronger than a formal contract between Britain and the Dominions. In the face of a common danger they stood as a unity to fight the forces that threatened the overthrow of democracy.

Sir George Schuster in *India and Democracy*, referring to Britain and the Dominions, observes: "There is a spirit which binds these separate units in a string like beads: (*a*) Common way of life; (*b*) allegiance to a common sovereign; (*c*) a common home of origin."

By these tests India does not belong to the Commonwealth. Moreover, in South Africa, Ceylon, Australia, Canada, East Africa, Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, Indian nationals suffer from political disabilities of one kind or the other. "All these restrictions and racial discriminations," says Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, "are not only very humiliating and irritating, but they also raise the fundamental question, What does the Commonwealth stand for? 'If our nationals,' to quote Viscount Peel at the Imperial Conference in 1923, 'are to be regarded as a foreign body politic of these dominions,' it is time we asked ourselves, Should not India go out?"

On the other hand, there are uniting factors between India and the Commonwealth: (*a*) Common struggle and suffering during the two world wars; (*b*) common allegiance to the ideology of democracy; and (*c*) two hundred years of historical relation. Links so strong cannot be easily disregarded by snapping the connections which have grown out of them. The seeds of democracy were present centuries ago in the village system in India. But they had no opportunity to develop, because of internal insecurity and invasion from without. With the coming of the British and the study of their self-governing institutions, a movement grew for the revival of ancient self-governing local institutions in the light of modern notions of democratic government. This was crystallized in the birth of the Indian National Congress. No wonder that India has come to have a great faith in the parliamentary form of government, and, in spite of everything, has retained

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great love for political traditions on the British model. She desires to draw inspiration from the same source in the building of the new Constitution for a United India in the future.

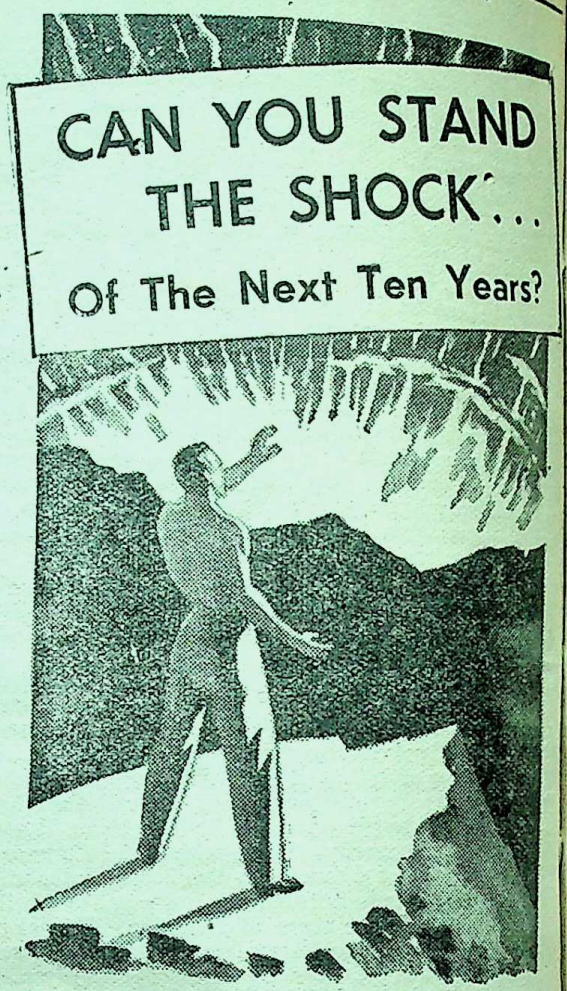
The Internal Conflict

Another factor which will greatly influnece the future of Indo-British relations is that of the internal travail. There is the triangle of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes. The Constituent Assembly, boycotted by the Muslim League and before any States' representatives attended, passed a resolution declaring the intention to make India a sovereign republic. As you are aware, the League meeting at Lahore in 1940 asked that India should be partitioned into two blocks—Pakistan and Hindustan.

Mr. Jinnah does not seem to me to have gone beyond the Lahore resolution. All that he has done is to give it flesh and blood and to clothe it in a new spirit. As such, it appears very much inflated. Gandhiji is willing to concede the substance of the Lahore resolution. Mere academic controversies regarding India being a nation or a congeries of nations should not stand in the way of a final settlement. If India is to be free, democracy must decide on its particular pattern, and Muslims will, and must, be given the right of self-determination. Once Hindu and Muslim differences are composed, the question of the State can be taken up and solved without much difficulty. The States, by resolutions of the Chamber of Princes, have shown their willingness to join the rest of India; rightly they wish to avoid siding with one party or the other. It appears that the settlement of the Indian problem is within sight, and the country is accepting the inevitable. Such a settlement will not only vastly improve internal conditions in India, but also place Indo-British relations on a much better footing.

There may be certain differences of opinion between the politicians and the statesmen in India as to whether she should remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But there can be no difference of opinion that a free India will not only be friendly, but also a close ally of Britain. Destiny—or call it the force of history—has brought us together, and together we shall remain. The links that have been forged between the two countries are no common links and it is not easy to tear them asunder. All we have to do at present is to understand each other better. In the past, I must admit, little was done to explain the English viewpoint. India was considered of small importance. The goodwill of a small country in the Balkans or the Middle East was regarded as of greater consequence than the goodwill of millions in India. This perhaps was due to India being a subject country. But now conditions have changed. India is at the threshold of independence, and good relations with her cannot be a matter of indifference.

There remains much prejudice in both countries to be overcome. Maybe it arises from pride on one side and long frustration on the other; but I feel that, given the chance, these features will disappear and the sun of friendship and amicable relationship will arise. Then the mutual destiny of India and Great Britain set in the historical background will be reached—that is, to promote peace, amity and goodwill in the world. Only then can we proceed from the British Commonwealth to the Commonwealth of Mankind.



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Philippine Republic Holds First Elections Nov. 11

With state and local elections just past, U. S. public attention today turned toward the Republic of Philippines which will hold general elections November 11 for the first time since full independence was granted by the United States, July 4, 1946. The present Filipino Government was elected while the nation was still a Commonwealth.

More than three million Filipinos are eligible to vote this year, and estimates indicate about 85 per cent will go to polls. Balloting will determine eight senatorial seats, 45 provincial governorships, 100 provincial board members, 1,130 municipal mayors and about 7,000 municipal councilmen.

The November 11 elections culminate 45 years of systematic political progress for the Philippines. Completely without political privileges when the United States took over in 1898, the Filipinos voted for the first time in 1901 when mayors, vice-mayors and municipal councilmen were elected by less than two per cent of the total population.

Since then, the number and level of elective offices has been increased steadily and franchise has been extended gradually through the expansion of voting qualifications and education. Women's suffrage was adopted 10 years ago, and this year there is a woman candidate for the Philippine Senate.

A Commonwealth Government for the Philippines was set up under the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which also fixed 1946 as the year for attainment of nationhood.—*USIS.*

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The Social and Economic Role of Engineers and Technicians

In an article under the above caption, J. H. E. Fried writes in the *International Labour Review*, June, 1947, about the close inter-relation of the work of engineers and technicians with general social factors and economic policies, from which the introductory portion is quoted below :

The urgent and challenging task of the post-war era is to translate into reality what has been made possible through the constant progress of technology. In the accomplishment of this task, engineers and technicians have an important and often decisive part to play.

Technical developments are going on in industry all the time ; everywhere numerous engineers and technicians are constantly engaged in finding new and improved methods of production, and the range of their activities is constantly widening. The effects of these developments in production methods are far-reaching. One has but to consider the example of the mechanisation of agriculture, which promises to do away in time with the chronic state of hunger to which large parts of the world have hitherto been subjected, and which must also change profoundly the conditions of life and work and the social structure of agricultural workers, who still form the largest section of the population of most countries. Changes in production methods bring about changes in consumption and distribution, in employment and population movements, in exports and imports.

Realising this intimate connection between technical developments and social and economic changes, Governments have carried out exhaustive official investigations during the last decades in order to furnish the background information for adequate legislative and governmental action. These investigations have shown the repercussions of technological changes to be so great that all countries are considering how technological development may be directed in such a way as to ensure the achievement of desirable social ends—above all, how to combat technological unemployment and attain full employment.

The most direct approach to the problem is to distinguish between ends and means, to acknowledge that technology is a means and that social and economic progress is the end. The first task, then, is to establish in broad outline what are the desirable economic goals; the technological means of achieving those goals can then be determined. It is almost universally agreed that social and economic progress depends largely on technical progress ; but there is also a growing belief that the development of technology can and must be largely directed by social considerations. There is an increasing tendency to repudiate the notion that technological development is a blind force ungovernable by man. What machines and what industries shall be developed, what production methods shall be prohibited, what raw materials shall be used, what type of research shall be stimulated or discouraged—these questions are now considered to be of national—and often international—concern, and therefore to be decided, or at least influenced, by the community as a whole, or by international agreement. Technical development is valuable in so far as it promotes the legitimate aspirations and the welfare of the community. In other words, the technological system must be regulated by choices based on considerations of social desirability and by the realisation of the need for international co-operation.

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This, in a very approximate way, is what is meant by the 'planning' or 'social engineering' which is now going on in many countries, particularly in those confronted with the huge tasks of reconstruction. In the countries which have not directly suffered from the destruction of war, there is also a growing awareness that deliberate action must be taken against the hazards of the industrial system (such as technological unemployment; underpayment, job insecurity and the dullness of life of the worker; uneven use of resources and uneven economic development which leads to "scarcity in the midst of plenty, or potential plenty"; etc.). The increased sense of urgency with which these problems are now considered is due partly to the complexity of present-day industrial society, but also partly to the belief that present-day technology is able to master these problems. Few would deny that the immediate evils of the earlier stages of the industrial era were greater than those of the present stage; and that the development of technology, while increasing the dangers that might result from mismanagement, provides unparalleled possibilities.

What is, in view of this situation, the position of the engineers and technicians as professional groups? Firstly, for the successful solution of the great tasks which have been briefly outlined, the advice and collaboration of the engineers and technicians is indispensable, as is, on the side of the latter, a full understanding of their social and political responsibilities. Secondly, however much the problems and tasks of engineers and technicians of the various countries differ, they "speak the same language." Their methods of work and investigation, their professional standards and ethics and their social and economic interests are fundamentally identical. However, engineers have suffered from specialisation and insufficient contact among themselves; they have also suffered from insufficient contact with other groups, as much as other groups have suffered from lack of contact with technical experts. Finally, it must always be remembered that engineers and technicians are not only the creators of, but are also themselves conditioned by, the course and application of technology, and that their own activities contribute as much to shaping their own lives as to shaping those of their fellow citizens. This is particularly so because the large majority of engineers and technicians belong to the employed group. They are givers, but also receivers, of orders. Legislation and practices concerning industrial relations, collective bargaining, salary scales, etc., are of immediate importance to them and their families; they are covered by social insurance schemes; they are liable to suffer from adverse working conditions and unemployment, and to gain from favourable working conditions and full employment; in brief their fate is tied up with that of the community as a whole and they are as directly interested as any other group in property and progress.

Hence it is the opinion of competent observers in many countries that the engineers and technicians must, more than hitherto, be integrated in social and political life, both on a national and on an international scale.

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Turkish Women Today and Yesterday

For the better appreciation and realization by the outside world of the progress and evolution undergone by Turkish women during the last 50 years, Miss Sureyya Agaoglu writes in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1947 :

Today in Turkey women enjoy all the rights enjoyed by all women of the civilized world. With the exception of military service they are active in all walks of life, share the same remuneration and are subject to the same regulations for promotion. In order to understand the real value of the freedom and equality of women, which appears to us only natural, it is necessary that her social position in the past should be studied. It should be borne in mind, however, that Turkish women only acquired these rights after the Kemalist Revolution in 1923. Prior to this date the role of women in Turkey could be divided into two distinct phases. In the first phase before the influence of Arab, Byzantine and Iranian civilizations, they enjoyed all rights held by men, just as they do today. Even in those days the Hakan, the State ruler, could not receive or grant audiences to Ambassadors without the presence of the Hatun, the ruler's wife. The Hatun was present at all State conferences, and her opinion was consulted in important affairs of State. Peasant women, like their sisters of the towns, were recognized as important factors in their homes and communities.

The second phase began in the tenth century, when Turkish civilization came in, together with Iranian, Arab and Byzantine. Zoroastrianism, which was the national religion of Iran, looked upon women as profane creatures. In Byzantium, due to patriachial family life, the position of women was very low. Before the Islamic religion was founded, it is true, Arabs had considered women with disdain and as instruments of amusement. Arab women were deprived of the rights of inheritance, of holding property and of acting as witnesses in courts. Muhammad strove hard to elevate the position of women, saying that a paradise was under the feet of motherhood, and he assured many rights to women. Men, who previously had been allowed to marry as many women as they pleased, were prohibited from taking more than four wives in marriage ; he recognized the rights of women in laws governing inheritance, property and choice of witnesses in courts.

Consequently the result of the contact with such civilizations has been unfavourable for Turkish home life. Under their influence the place of the Turkish women in Turkish home and society became debased. Thus Turkish women withdrew themselves from social life, and their intellectual and moral education became neglected. They were not allowed to read books other than moral and religious ; they were made to wear thick black veils on their faces, and their windows were fitted with wooden lattices to prevent them from being seen. Behind such lattices and veils there remained no other prospect than that of getting married. A young girl could marry as soon as she was fifteen. She could not talk to men other than the members of her own family, and her marriage was arranged through the family.

Under these circumstances no prospective bride or bridegroom could see each other before the wedding. After the marriage the wife would display complete submission towards the husband. A man could marry up to four wives. To obtain a divorce it was not necessary to appeal to State authorities or to get a court ruling. As it was only men who could form a bond of union it was practically only they who could

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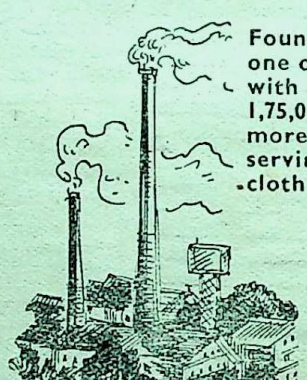

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loosen it by pronouncing the words, "I have divorced thee." Men had the right of priority in inheritance. After a simple elementary school education the doors of further education were closed to women.

After the reforms of 1850 women's movements started. Turkish women began to get in touch with European movements, to learn foreign languages, and to read foreign books. After the second constitutional period of the Young Turk Revolution in 1909 women were given a little more freedom, and secondary schools for girls were opened, as a result of which thousands of young girls flooded the schools, and the voices of women were observed to rise in social life along with those of men. The veil became gradually thinner and Carzaf was turned to an elegant dress. In a very short time the veils were entirely lifted and drawn up on to the head, forming a band of tulle as an ornament. At first the change was observed only in certain cities and among the upper classes. However, in spite of these great changes in the lives of women, even until the end of the first world war, in public places, such as trains, trams, cinemas, theatres, women's seats were separated from men's by partitions made of either wood or cloth. When the girls started to attend universities they worked entirely separated from men, and this was called Women's University. Although complaints were heard from time to time by some narrow-minded people, women continued to develop in their social life. The Turkish girl, finding that all educational establishments held their doors open for her, worked as hard as she could.

When Turkish men went to the front in the first World War, women began to take the place of their menfolk. But these activities were on a small scale, although they began to earn their own living.

The Turkish woman, however, was not constitutionally placed on an equal social footing with man until 1923. During the wars of independence women were of the greatest assistance to men, both in the towns and villages. Townswomen looked after the wounded, comforted them and produced food for the troops. Village women carried ammunition to the front on ox-drawn wagons, and when necessary even bore arms as valiantly as did their brothers and sons. It is for this reason that in Ankara one of the monuments represents a peasant woman carrying heavy missiles on her back and plodding along with patience, fortitude, gravity and dignity.

As soon as the war was over, Ataturk launched a new campaign for the freedom of women. He made speeches about women's freedom, and all these found a joyous echo in every part of the country. The progress begun in women's life took a more rapid turn, a wider aspect and a safer course under Ataturk's protection. Women were to be seen working in every sphere of social life.

The Turkish women obtained all her social rights through the civil law in 1926. This law proclaims the following Statutes in favour of women :

1. Man may marry only one woman.
2. Girls may not marry before the age of seventeen.
3. Marriage had been freed of religious ritual and had assumed legality under civil law.
4. According to the new law either party may apply to court for a divorce. Whether such a plea is justifiable depends on the decision of a court of law.
5. In the absence of any special understanding the only difference which exists between husband and wife is that which concerns private property.
6. In matters of inheritance no difference exists between men and women.

Four years after the introduction of civil law, civil rights were granted to Turkish women as a natural outcome of a regime which looks upon women as an important half of society. In 1934 they were also given the right of a seat in the National Assembly. Today a woman has complete freedom of action. She can be a teacher, doctor, architect, engineer, lawyer or judge. She can engage in business and administration, and can become a Member of Parliament or of any Municipal Council.

The women working in the fields, the thousands of women in factories, in public works as labourers—all these women contribute their share, are very diligent in their work, are paid on equal basis with men, and perform their work with complete success. While the Turkish woman is carrying on her professional work with great zeal and vigour, she is at the same time not neglecting her part in the family life, and most of the women holding important posts are married and have children.

Turkish women know that there is a duty far higher and more virtuous than any other—the duty of being a good mother. In social work women also play a prominent part. They are leaders in the Red Crescent (Turkish Red Cross), in Child Welfare Societies, in finding employment and caring for the poor, as nurses, as workers in children's hospitals and nurseries, and as teachers of the illiterate.

In one word it is the aim and object of Turkish women to do everything in their power to raise the standard of life in their own country and to cooperate with the other women to build a better understanding and to make one world.

—

The Philosophy of Sufis and Saints

East and West reproduces the above illuminating article by Gurudas Ram from *Kalyan Kalpataru* :

The philosophy of Sufis nad Saints is the religion of Love Divine. They lay the maximum stress on spiritual environment, the company of the living Spiritual Master, known as *Murshid* or *Guru*, for the cultivation of Love Divine. The principle can claim to have its basis on science. The influence of environment is one of the greatest doctrines of science and is recognized to be one of the most potent factors in the evolution of life. Just as without the harmony of a scientist with the natural environment there can be no real science, in like manner, there can be no true religion without the correspondence of spiritual environment.

"God can be reached only by those
Who on the Master wait for help :
O thou who seekest after Him,
To Him alone thy worship give."

The religion of externalism, or of the orthodox type with its narrow fanaticism and bigotry – and meticulous performance of rituals and ceremonials, is reprehended by Sufis and Saints. The religious faith reposed in a living Spiritual Master, who has communion with the Almighty Creator, is higher and nobler than the faith in the paraphernalia of externalism. In the religion of Sufis and Saints, the religious Master is the personal living center of theology around whom the whole religious system is ensphered.

"Like the Hajis I too circumambulate,
But around my Master Beloved ;
Like the dogs I am not disposed
To walk around the bodies dead."

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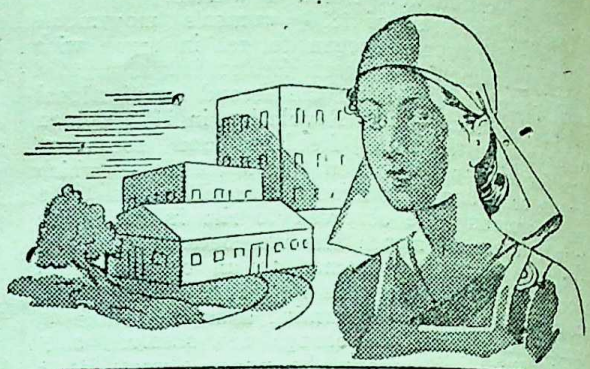

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Nor do the Sufis and Saints recognize the study of books nad scriptures as sufficient means for the comprehension of the Ultimate Reality. They prescribe "knowledge through acquaintance" for the realization of Divine Wisdom, and not "knowledge through description." Words may hint at reality through symbols and metaphors, but they do not help a seeker in the realization of the Ultimate Truth. Religion is to be experimented with and experienced, and the experience essentially relates to Spirit.

The fact is that the path starts from the heart of a student. It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance that the dust which has accumulated on the mirror of heart through the fierce and distorting gusts of sense desires, must be brushed away by the gentle breeze of Love Divine. Love Divine purifies the heart and helps the devotee to soar up moth-like through the citadel of egoistic selfhood to the Divine Candle—the candle which consumes all sense of duality.

The spiritual practices prescribed by such Spiritual Masters are simple and direct. They are not complicated by tortuous and rickety paraphernalia, and can be practised by any one, anywhere and at any time. They are entirely free from any bias and have an intellectual basis. An ordinary householder can achieve wonderful results by devoting even a slice of his time to the performance of these spiritual exercises which comprise: "repetition of the Holy Name" (termed *Zikr* or *Sumirana*), "contemplation of the Holy Form" (*Fikr* or *Dhyana*) and "perception of the Spiritual Sound" (*Sultan-ul-azkr* or *Surat Sabda Yoga*). The performance of these practices puts the lower-self of the seeker out of action and ultimately enables him to attain a state of oneness with the Supreme Being.

"I became Thee, Thou didst become me.
I became the body and Thou the life,
No one can say now, Oh none!
That Thou and I are not one."

The prophets and messengers of God descend to this planet to harmonize and unify suffering and staggering humanity. The Sufis and Saints have consequently trampled under foot all distinctions of caste, creed and nationality. They have preached brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God.

"How can I solve this riddle, O followers of Islam!
For I do not know my own nationality,
I am neither a Jew nor a Christian.
Neither a Zoroastrian nor a Muslim."

Religion is a system of Truths. Truth is one and harmonizing. Like Lord Christ who has said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil," the Sufis and Saints have corroborated and substantiated the religion of each other.

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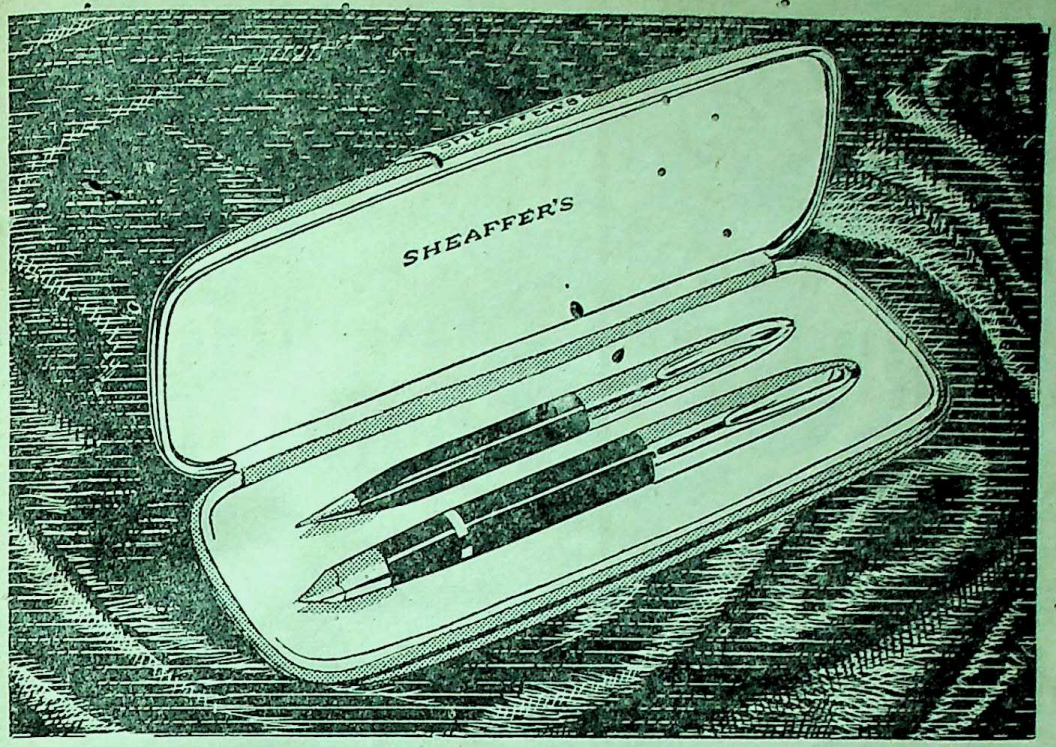

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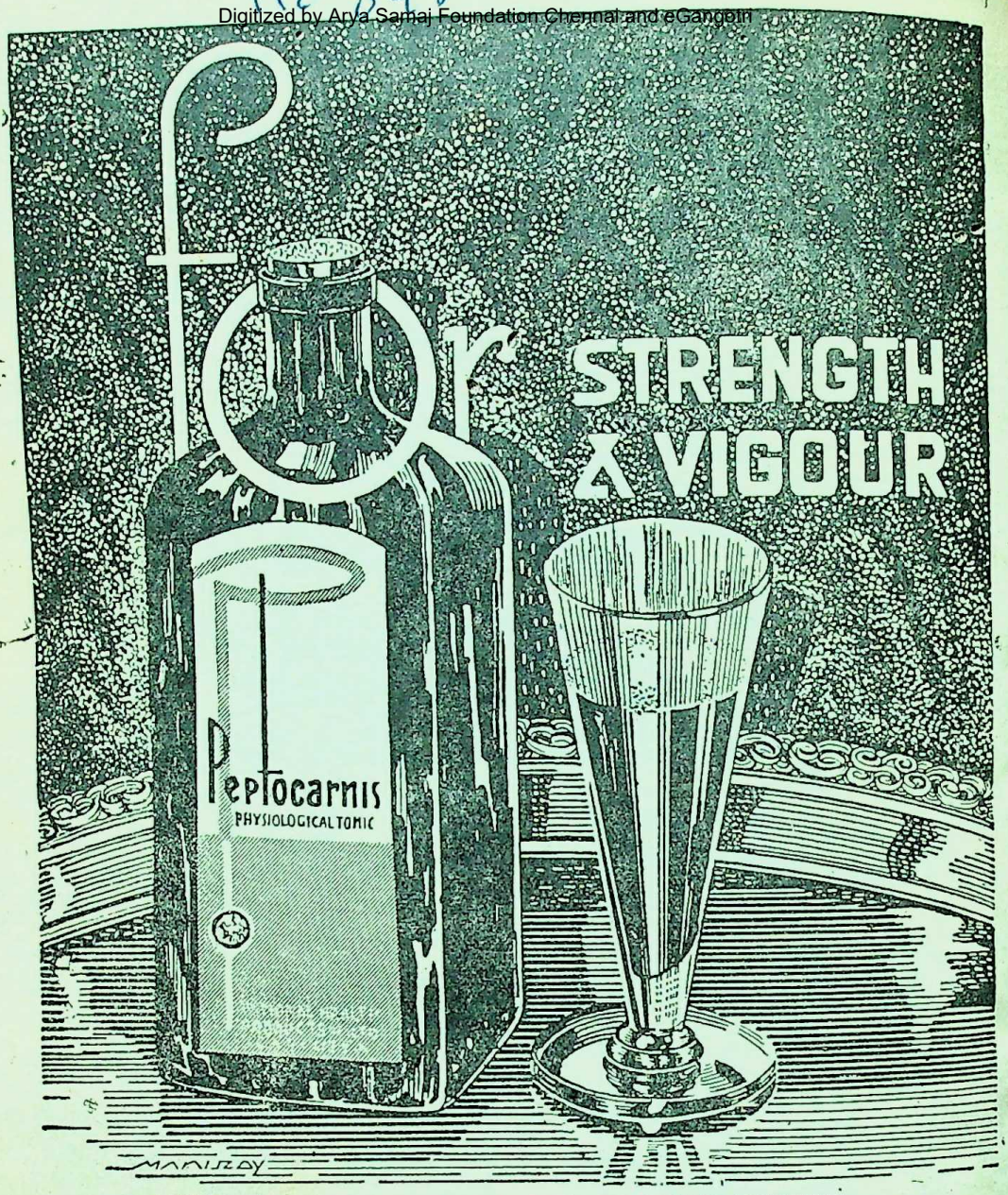

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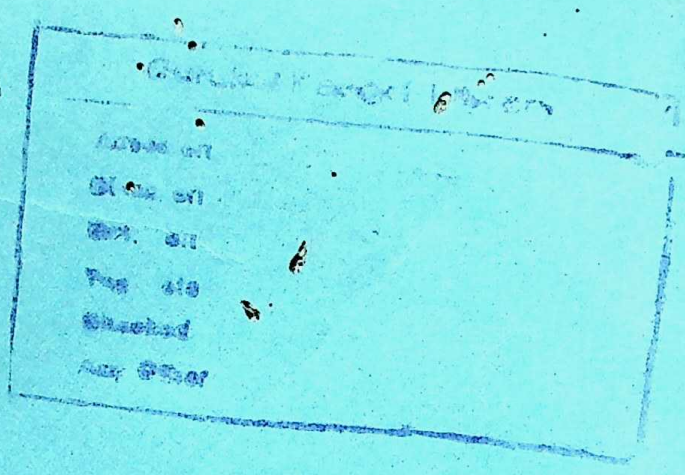

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